A Reference Grammar of
Chinese

Edited by
Chu-Ren Huang
Dingxu Shi

A Reference Grammar of Chinese

A Reference Grammar of Chinese is a comprehensive and up-to-date guide to the linguistic structure of Chinese, covering all of the important linguistic features of the language and incorporating insights gained from research in Chinese linguistics over the past thirty years. With contributions from twenty-two leading Chinese linguists, this authoritative guide uses large-scale corpora to provide authentic examples based on actual language use. The accompanying online example databases ensure that a wide range of exemplars are readily available and also allows for new usages to be updated. This design offers a new paradigm for a reference grammar where generalizations can be cross-checked with additional examples, and also provides resources for both linguistic studies and language learning. Featuring bilingual term lists, this reference grammar helps readers to access relevant literature in both English and Chinese and is an invaluable reference for learners, teachers, and researchers in Chinese linguistics and language processing.

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A Reference Grammar of Chinese
中文参考语法

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Dedicated to 献给

Y.R. Chao 赵元任　　*Zhu Dexi* 朱德熙

Giants Whose Shoulders We Stand On
高山仰止 景行行止

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Preface

A reference grammar is a snapshot of language in action as well as a comprehensive description of how language is used. In addition, a reference grammar attempts to describe the range of possibilities of how words and other larger linguistic units may be put together in the language, and how they can present different meanings in different contexts. Moreover, a reference grammar aids linguists in constructing theories for one language in particular, and all languages in general. A reference grammar also provides roadmaps for both language learners and teachers to navigate the complexity of learning or teaching a new language. Lastly, a reference grammar shares with all language lovers the beauty of language as a knowledge system, including the cultural heritage of the language.

A Reference Grammar of Chinese is designed with all of the above functions in mind. We are keenly aware of the challenge and constraints of containing a grammar within the confines of the book format. Hence, we worked out a solution by constructing an example corpus in parallel while drafting our grammar. This example corpus constitutes a distinguishing feature of this book. On the one hand, all the generalizations reported in this grammar are based on expert linguists' observations of a large set of corpus data. On the other hand, when reading this reference book, a reader can refer to the example corpus (at the website http://crg.cbs.polyu.edu.hk) using chapter, section, and example numbers, so that the reader can form his/her own generalizations and/or tease out more details that could not be included in the grammar due to space considerations. Thus, the example databases allow *A Reference Grammar of Chinese* to be not only an evidence-based grammar, but also a grammar not constrained by the limitations of the pages of the book.

We are also fully aware of the fact that a reference grammar must refer to a familiar framework of grammar. As English is the academic metalanguage used for this book, and English grammar is the most familiar language grammar due to its largest number of second language learners, we choose to adopt and follow the framework of English descriptive grammar. In particular, we follow the structure and drafting guidelines of *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (*CGEL*) as closely as possible. In this connection, we would like to express our gratitude

to the two authors of *CGEL*, Professors Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey Pullum. Professor Pullum flew to Hong Kong to meet both chief editors as well as many chapter authors and to provide us with advice and encouragement as we embarked on our long and arduous journey.

Similar to the *CGEL*, *A Reference Grammar of Chinese* (*ARGC*) has chief editors who have done research on various aspects of Chinese grammar in their respective academic careers. However, even though the *ARGC* chief editors were heavily involved in drafting and revising, they are not listed as co-authors of the chapters except for the chapters in which they had a direct hand in the original drafts. It is perhaps not difficult to see that in a grammar covering such a wide range of topics, inconsistencies in descriptions among the submitted early drafts would arise and the editors would eventually need to be responsible for the final revisions to ensure a consistent voice and perspective. In such a context, the chapters were meticulously modified by varying degrees. Therefore, please bear this in mind while reading and attribute the contributions to both the chapter authors and the editors. Any remaining errors, however, are the responsibilities of the editors.

The completion of this reference grammar was the result of a long journey that we took with many friends. In addition to thanking Geoffery Pullum for sharing his wisdom and encouragement, we would like to thank Helen Barton of Cambridge University Press for her unfailing support to guide us through this journey and for helping us with various unexpected difficulties. We would also like to thank the enthusiasm, professionalism, and linguistic acumen of all the editorial team members, including the associate editors Prof. Kathleen Ahrens, Dr. Jing Jin, Dr. Sophia Y. M. Lee, and Dr. Jingxia Lin, and assistant editors Dr. Helen Kai-yun Chen, Dr. Jiajuan Xiong, and Dr. Hongzhi Xu. Many colleagues in our research group helped at various stage of preparation, especially with extraction of examples from corpora, and among the people whom we cannot list exhaustively here, we would like to thank in particular Dr. Shuang Hong, Dr. Jia-fei Hong, and Ivy Wing Shan Chan. In addition, we would like to thank Professor Qin Lu for the construction of the working database and interface for extracting and storing example sentences from corpora. Last, but not least, we would like to thank the Department of Chinese and Bilingual Studies of the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, as well as the PolyU-Peking U Research Centre on Chinese Linguistics for providing support for research that was crucial to the completion of this grammar.

Acknowledgements

English–Chinese term list

A	啊
abstract noun	抽象名词
accomplishment (verb)	完结(动词)
achievement (verb)	达成(动词)
acronym	缩略词
activity (verb)	活动(动词)
adjective	形容词
adjunct	附接语
adverb	副词
adverbial	状语, 副词短语
affirmative	肯定式
affix	语缀
agent	施事
AI	唉
anaphor	照应语, 回指语
anaphoric chain	回指链, 照应链
antecedent	先行语
appositive	同位语
argument	论元
article	冠词
aspect	体, 体貌
atelic	无终结
attributive	定语(的)
auxiliary (verb)	助动词
BA	吧; 把, 将
BALE	罢了
bare NP	光杆名词, 光杆名词短语
BEI	被
beneficiary	受益者
blending	缩合
borrowing	借词

bounded	有界
case	格
CL	classifier, 量词, 分类词
cleft	分裂句
closed class	封闭类
code	语码
common noun	普通名词
complement	补(足)语
complex sentence	复(杂)句
concessive	让步语
conditional	条件句
consonant	辅音
coordinator	并列连词
copula	系词
corpus	语料库
correlative	关联(词)
DE	地, 得, 的, 之
declarative (sentence)	陈述(句)
definiteness	有定, 定指
deictic	直示
demonstrative	指示代词
denotation	外延
deontic	义务(情态)
dependency relation	依存关系, 依赖关系
derivation	派生
determiner	限定词
deverbal	动转(的)
direct object	直接宾语, 直接受词
ditransitive	双及物
entailment	衍推
existential (sentence)	存在句
experiencer	感受者
gap	缺位
GEI	给
generic	通指
goal	目标
gradability	级差性
grammatical function	语法功能
GUAN	管

GUO	过
headless relative clause	无核关系句
illocutionary force	示意语力, 言外力量
imperative	祈使
imperfective	未完成体
indirect object	间接宾语 间接受词
inflection	屈折
instrument (case)	工具格
intensifier	程度状语
interrogative pronoun	疑问代词
intonation	语调
intransitive	不及物的
inversion	倒置
irrealis	非现实
lexeme	词位
LA	啦
LAIZHE	来着
LE	了
Lit.	literal
LI	哩
MA	吗; 嘛
mass noun	不可数名词
metalinguistic negation	元语言否定
metaphor	隐喻
metonymy	转喻
modality	情态
mood	语态
morphology	形态学; 构词, 词法
NA	拿; 哪
NE	呢
NEG	不, 不是, 未, 非, 没有, 不必, 没
nominal	名词性成分
O	喔
object	宾语, 受词
oblique	旁格, 斜格
ORDINAL	ordinal marker, 第
part of speech	词类
particle	小词, 助词
passive	被动

patient	受事
perfective	完成体
phoneme	音位
PL	们
polarity	极性
PREP	preposition, 介词
preposing	前置
presupposition	预设
pro form	指代形式
progressive aspect	进行体
proper noun	专有名词
proposition	命题
prosody	韵律
QI	起
QILAI	起来
quantifier	量化成分, 量词
recipient	接受者
reduced clause	缩减小句
reduplication	重叠
reference	指称
referent	所指
reflexive pronoun	反身代词
resultative	结果补语
resumptive pronoun	复指代词
rhetorical question	反问
scope	辖域
selectional restriction	选择限制
SHI	是
state (verb)	状态(动词)
stative	静态
subordinate	从属(成分)
suffix	后缀
SUO	所
SUOXIE	缩写
syntax	句法
telic	终结
thematic role	论旨角色
theme	主位
topic	话题

trajectory	轨迹
truth conditions	真值条件
truth value	真值
type	类
variable	变数; 变体的
vocative	呼格
voice	语态
volition	意愿
vowel	元音
WA	哇
XIAQU	下去
YA	呀
YO	哟
YOU	有
ZAI	在, 正在
ZHE	着
ZHE_NE	着呢

Chinese–English term list

啊 *a4*	A
唉 *ai0*	AI
吧 *ba0*	BA
把 *ba3*	BA
罢了 *ba4liao3*	BALE
被动 *bei4dong4*	passive
被 *bei4*	BEI
变数 *bian4shu3*	variable
变体的 *bian4ti3de0*	variable
宾语 *bin1yu3*	object
并列连词 *bing4lie4lian2ci2*	coordinator
补(足)语 *bu3(zu2)yu3*	complement
不必 *bu2bi4*	NEG
不是 *bu2shi4*	NEG
不及物的 *bu4ji2wu4de0*	intransitive
不可数名词 *bu4ke3shu3ming2ci2*	mass noun
不 *bu4*	NEG
陈述(句) *chen2shu4(ju4)*	declarative (sentence)
程度状语 *cheng2du4zhuang4yu3*	intensifier
重叠 *chong2die2*	reduplication
抽象名词 *chou1xiang4ming2ci2*	abstract noun
词法 *ci2fa3*	morphology
词类 *ci2lei4*	part of speech
词位 *ci2wei4*	lexeme
从属(成分) *cong2shu3(cheng2fen4)*	subordinate
存在句 *cun2zai4ju4*	existential (sentence)
达成(动词) *da2cheng2(dong4ci2)*	achievement (verb)
倒置 *dao4zhi4*	inversion
的 *de0*	DE
得 *de0*	DE
地 *de0*	DE

第 *di4* — ORDINAL, ordinal marker
定语(的) *ding4yu3(de0)* — attributive
定指 *ding4zhi3* — definiteness
动转(的) *dong4zhuan3(de0)* — deverbal
反身代词 *fan3shen1dai4ci2* — reflexive pronoun
反问 *fan3wen4* — rhetorical question
非现实 *fei1xian4shi2* — irrealis
非 *fei1* — NEG
分类词 *fen1lei4ci2* — CL, classifier
分裂句 *fen1lie3ju4* — cleft
封闭类 *feng1bi4lei4* — closed class
辅音 *fu3yin1* — consonant
副词短语 *fu4ci2duan3yu3* — adverbial
副词 *fu4ci2* — adverb
附接语 *fu4jie1yu3* — adjunct
复(杂)句 *fu4(za2)ju4* — complex sentence
复指代词 *fu4zhi3dai4ci2* — resumptive pronoun
感受者 *gan3shou4zhe3* — experiencer
格 *ge2* — case
给 *gei3* — GEI
工具格 *gong1ju4ge2* — instrument (case)
关联(词) *guan1lian2ci2* — correlative
管 *guan3* — GUAN
冠词 *guan4ci2* — article
光杆名词短语 *guang1gan3ming2ci2duan3yu3* — bare NP
光杆名词 *guang1gan3ming2ci2* — bare NP
轨迹 *gui3ji4* — trajectory
过 *guo4* — GUO
后缀 *hou4zhui4* — suffix
呼格 *hu1ge2* — vocative
话题 *hua4ti2* — topic
回指链 *hui2zhi3lian4* — anaphoric chain
回指语 *hui2zhi3yu3* — anaphor
活动(动词) *huo2dong4 (dong4ci2)* — activity (verb)
级差性 *ji2cha1xing4* — gradability
极性 *ji2xing4* — polarity
间接宾语 *jian4jie1bin1yu3* — indirect object
间接受词 *jian4jie1shou4ci2* — indirect object
将 *jiang1* — BA

接受者 *jie1shou4zhe3*	recipient
结果补语 *jie2guo3bu3yu3*	resultative
介词 *jie4ci2*	PREP, preposition
借词 *jie4ci2*	borrowing
进行体 *jin4xing2ti3*	progressive aspect
静态 *jing4tai4*	stative
句法 *ju4fa3*	syntax
肯定式 *ken3ding4shi4*	affirmative
啦 *la1*	LA
来着 *lai2zhe0*	LAIZHE
类 *lei4*	type
哩 *li0*	LI
量词 *liang4ci2*	CL, classifier; quantifier
量化成分 *liang4hua4cheng2fen4*	quantifier
了 *liao3*	LE
论元 *lun4yuan2*	argument
论旨角色 *lun4zhi3jue2se4*	thematic role
吗 *ma0*	MA
嘛 *ma0*	MA
没有 *mei2you3*	NEG
没 *mei2*	NEG
们 *men0*	PL, plural marker
名词性成分 *ming2ci2xing4cheng2fen4*	nominal
命题 *ming4ti2*	proposition
目标 *mu4biao1*	goal
拿 *na2*	NA
哪 *na3*	NA
呢 *ne0*	NE
喔 *o0*	O
派生 *pai4sheng1*	derivation
旁格 *pang2ge2*	oblique
普通名词 *pu3tong1ming2ci2*	common noun
祈使 *qi2shi3*	imperative
起来 *qi3lai2*	QILAI
起 *qi3*	QI
前置 *qian2zhi4*	preposing
情态 *qing2tai4*	modality
屈折 *qu1zhe2*	inflection
缺位 *que1wei4*	gap

让步语 *rang4bu4yu3*   concessive
施事 *shi1shi4*   agent
示意语力 *shi4yi4yu3li4*   illocutionary force
是 *shi4*   SHI
受词 *shou4ci2*   object
受事 *shou4shi4*   patient
受益者 *shou4yi4zhe3*   beneficiary
双及物 *shuang1ji2wu4*   ditransitive
缩合 *suo1he2*   blending
缩减小句 *suo1jian3xiao3ju4*   reduced clause
缩略词 *suo1lüe4ci2*   acronym
缩写 *suo1xie3*   SUOXIE
所指 *suo3zhi3*   referent
所 *suo3*   SUO
体貌 *ti3mao4*   aspect
体 *ti3*   aspect
条件句 *tiao2jian4ju4*   conditional
通指 *tong1zhi3*   generic
同位语 *tong2wei4yu3*   appositive
哇 *wa1*   WA
外延 *wai4yan2*   denotation
完成体 *wan2cheng2ti3*   perfective
完结(动词) *wan2jie2* (dong4ci2)   accomplishment (verb)
未完成体 *wei4wan2cheng2ti3*   imperfective
未 *wei4*   NEG
无核关系句 *wu2he2guan1xi4ju4*   headless relative clause
无终结 *wu2zhong1jie2*   atelic
系词 *xi4ci2*   copula
辖域 *xia2yu4*   scope
下去 *xia4qu4*   XIAQU
先行语 *xian1xing2yu3*   antecedent
限定词 *xian4ding4ci2*   determiner
小词 *xiao3ci2*   particle
斜格 *xie2ge2*   oblique
形容词 *xing2rong2ci2*   adjective
形态学 *xing2tai4xue2*   morphology
构词 *gou4ci2*   morphology
选择限制 *xuan3ze2xian4zhi4*   selectional restriction
呀 *ya0*   YA

言外力量 *yan2wai4li4liang4*	illocutionary force
衍推 *yan3tui1*	entailment
依存关系 *yi1cun2guan1xi4*	dependency relation
依赖关系 *yi1lai4guan1xi4*	dependency relation
疑问代词 *yi2wen4dai4ci2*	interrogative pronoun
义务(情态) *yi4wu4(qing2tai4)*	deontic
意愿 *yi4yuan4*	volition
音位 *yin1wei4*	phoneme
隐喻 *yin3yu4*	metaphor
哟 *yo1*	YO
有定 *you3ding4*	definiteness
有界 *you3jie4*	bounded
有 *you3*	YOU
语调 *yu3diao4*	intonation
语法功能 *yu3fa3gong1neng2*	grammatical function
语料库 *yu3liao4ku4*	corpus
语码 *yu3ma3*	code
语态 *yu3tai4*	mood; voice
语缀 *yu3zhui4*	affix
预设 *yu4she4*	presupposition
元音 *yuan2yin1*	vowel
元语言否定 *yuan2yu3yan2fou3ding4*	metalinguistic negation
韵律 *yun4lü4*	prosody
在 *zai4*	ZAI
照应链 *zhao4ying4lian4*	anaphoric chain
照应语 *zhao4ying4yu3*	anaphor
着呢 *zhe0ne0*	ZHE_NE
真值条件 *zhen1zhi2tiao2jian4*	truth conditions
真值 *zhen1zhi2*	truth value
正在 *zheng4zai4*	ZAI
之 *zhi1*	DE
直接宾语 *zhi2jie1bin1yu3*	direct object
直接受词 *zhi2jie1shou4ci2*	direct object
直示 *zhi2shi4*	deictic
指称 *zhi3cheng1*	reference
指代形式 *zhi3dai4xing2shi4*	pro form
指示代词 *zhi3shi4dai4ci2*	demonstrative
终结 *zhong1jie2*	telic
主位 *zhu3wei4*	theme

助词 *zhu4ci2*	particle
助动词 *zhu4dong4ci2*	auxiliary (verb)
专有名词 *zhuan1you3ming2ci2*	proper noun
转喻 *zhuan3yu4*	metonymy
状态(动词) *zhuang4tai4*(dong4ci2)	state (verb)
状语 *zhuang4yu3*	adverbial
着 *zhe0*	ZHE

1

Preliminaries

Chu-Ren Huang and Dingxu Shi

A grammar is the system of knowledge of the relation between what people do and what people know when they use a particular language. Since what people know in the context of their language use is often implicit, linguistic theories are proposed as a foundational hypothesis to enable the explicit explanation of a grammar of any particular language. This presents an underlying dilemma in the writing of any grammar. On the one hand, descriptive work is the foundation of any scientific study and is crucial to the language sciences. Modern linguistics emerged as a result of a conscientious effort to move from prescriptive to descriptive studies of language. On the other hand, once any theoretical framework or account is adopted, a grammar becomes prescriptive in the sense that it imposes a set of conceptual primitives and structure of rules prescribed by a sub-set of linguists. How to capture the system of implicit knowledge without prescribing an *a priori* theoretical framework remains the biggest challenge to any descriptive grammar.

A Reference Grammar of Chinese meets this challenge with an empirical approach focused on describing what people do when they use Mandarin Chinese, while allowing generalizations to emerge from our descriptions as well as from the readers' observation of the data. We believe that a keenly observed description of the generalizations and tendencies based on the observation of the extensive data of language use will lead to capturing the implicit knowledge people share without prescribing an explicit rule. To achieve this goal, corpora and Web-extracted examples are used extensively, with an occasional supplementation of made-up sentences. These data have been carefully examined by our authors for their distributional patterns and tendencies. None of the examples cited in this grammar are single instances of language use; rather, they were chosen as an illustrative representation based on a set of similar examples selected by the authors. In other words, this reference grammar is intended to be read like a guide to the Chinese language, mediated by an extensive set of extracted examples for each grammatical point we make. Readers can consult the example database when they read the grammar to strengthen both their understanding of the generalizations and the complexity of language in use.

This grammar assumes a minimal set of theoretical concepts, which include grammatical categories, basic grammatical functions, and some intuitive semantic concepts, such as the thematic roles of agent, theme, goal, etc. A more detailed discussion of the grammatical categories is presented in Chapter 2.

1.1. The Chinese language

Chinese, or Mandarin Chinese, has the most native speakers in the world as well as one of the longest cultural heritages. Mandarin Chinese also has become one of the most learned foreign languages in the world. The 2005 version of *The Language Situation in China* claimed that more than 30 million people in the world were learning Chinese as a foreign language. The need for a linguistically felicitous and accessible reference grammar of the Chinese language is clear and urgent. Authored by leading Chinese linguists in each topic area, this volume serves as a comprehensive and accessible reference grammar of Chinese in that it aims to cover all the important linguistic facts of the language; moreover, these facts are presented in a way that does not presuppose knowledge of a particular linguistic theory or grammar of Chinese.

This grammar provides a synchronic, descriptive grammar of present-day Standard Mandarin Chinese. It shares some of the major design philosophy with that of *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002).

1.1.1. Standard Mandarin Chinese

Standard Mandarin Chinese has the phonological system of the Beijing variant of Northern Mandarin as its norm of pronunciation. Historically, Mandarin (官话 *guan1hua4*) has been the common language adopted by officials, yet it developed into different variants among the areas where it was primarily spoken, such as Northern Mandarin, Southern Mandarin, and Sichuan Mandarin. In common English usage today, however, Mandarin and Chinese are used interchangeably and loosely to refer to Standard Chinese. The Chinese described in this reference grammar refers to the Standard Mandarin Chinese that is generally accepted in a wide range of public discourse, such as government, education, broadcasting, and publishing. This standard language is referred to as Putonghua (普通话 *pu3tong1hua4* 'common language') in Mainland China, Singapore, and Macau, and as GuoYu (国语 *guo2yu3* 'national language') in Taiwan, while both terms are used in Hong Kong. Broadly speaking, Putonghua follows Mainland China conventions and GuoYu follows Taiwan conventions, and they do differ from each other occasionally, not unlike the contrast between UK and US English. While focusing on the widely accepted usages as reflected in standard written and spoken Chinese, and on the common usages shared by Putonghua and GuoYu, we will point out significant distinctions when necessary.

1.1.2. Synchronic description of present-day Chinese

The earliest record of a well-developed system of Chinese writing dates back to more than three thousand years ago. Although linguists do not agree on all the details, the history of the Chinese language can be divided into four stages: 上古汉语 *shang4gu3han4yu3* 'Old Chinese' (Shang Dynasty to Han Dynasty, sixteenth century BCE–220 CE), 中古汉语 *zhong1gu3han4yu3* 'Middle Chinese' (Southern and Northern Dynasties to Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, CE 220–960), 近代汉语 *jin4dai4han4yu3* 'Early Modern Chinese' (Song Dynasty to May Fourth Movement, 960–1919), and 现代汉语 *xian4dai4han4yu3* 'Modern Chinese' (1919–present). Throughout these periods, substantial changes took place in all linguistic aspects of Chinese. In terms of grammar, Old Chinese can be identified by the lack of more complex constructions, which developed later. Middle Chinese is the period when many new constructions and forms emerged, including the 把/将 *ba3/jiang1* constructions, the 被 *bei4* passive, and a pronoun system that is very similar to that of present-day Chinese. During this period, Chinese prepositional phrases also moved from the predominantly post-verbal position to the pre-verbal position. In Early Modern Chinese, aspectual markers such as 了 *le0* and 着 *zhe0* and phrasal suffixes such as 的 *de0* and 地 *de0* were widely used. Writing based on vernacular Chinese (白话文 *bai2hua4wen2*) emerged in the Tang Dynasty, but Classical Chinese (文言文 *wen2yan2wen2*) was still used in formal writing until Modern Chinese, particularly after the May Fourth Movement in 1919, when most publications in China started to use the vernacular language.

The historical change of Chinese is of great linguistic importance and interest, but as a synchronic grammar, this volume limits the description to present-day Modern Chinese, especially the language since 1991, because all the generalizations of this grammar are based on corpora with natural Chinese data collected from that time. It is important to bear in mind, however, that conventionalized historical forms are still used in Modern Mandarin Chinese, especially in formal registers. As such, they are part of present-day Chinese and will be covered in this grammar.

1.1.3. Varieties of Chinese

The term World Chineses (全球华语 *quan2qiu2hua2yu3*), though not as common as World Englishes, is becoming more and more widely used with the increasing popularity of Chinese as a second language and with the Chinese diaspora spreading and growing. Despite the same linguistic heritage, Mandarin Chinese in different regions has evolved in different ways as a result of the political, economic, cultural, and social development of each region. Variations can be found in pronunciation, lexicon, and syntax. While it is important to investigate these

differences, this reference grammar aims to present the shared core of grammar. In the rare cases where the variations render the description of a shared core difficult or if the variations present a special challenge to learners and speakers, observations and descriptions will be provided.

The varieties of Chinese also differ orthographically in adopting traditional characters (Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau) or simplified characters (Mainland and Singapore). Orthography projects language identity through the formation of a community of practice and may introduce language variations, although strictly speaking it is not part of the grammar. In this grammar, we adopted simplified characters as the most commonly learned system. It is, however, important to note that although a meaning-preserving mapping from traditional characters to simplified characters can be performed without ambiguity, the same cannot be said for mapping simplified characters to traditional characters.

1.1.4. Chinese dialects vs. Sinitic languages

"Chinese" as the language spoken by ethnic Han people is traditionally divided into seven major groups: Mandarin (or Northern Chinese), Wu, Xiang, Gan, Kejia (Hakka), Yue (Cantonese), and Min. Speakers of different groups are mutually unintelligible in terms of speaking, although they share the same written language and the grammar of written Chinese for each group does not differ substantially from that of Standard Chinese. Such facts bring about the question of whether they should be referred to as dialects or as languages (i.e. Sinitic languages), a linguistic issue with strong cultural, political, and societal implications. Since this grammar concentrates on present-day Standard Chinese, when references to other varieties is necessary, only the language/dialect name will be used, without explicit reference to its language/dialect status.

1.1.5. Descriptive account

The descriptive account of this grammar is succinct and theory-neutral, based on corpus observation and reflecting how the language is actually used. For non-standard or ungrammatical usages, the grammar reports that the usages are rarely or not found in the corpora, rather than providing created examples in contrast to the standard and grammatical examples.

1.1.6. Grammar

We agree with Pullum and Huddleston (2002: 4) that a grammar is divisible into syntax and morphology; the former is concerned with the way words combine to form phrases, clauses, and sentences, while the latter is concerned with the formation of words. Because a word plays a prominent role as a basic unit at

different levels, this grammar pays attention to the definition and identification of words, in addition to other important linguistic facts of the language.

This grammar includes a chapter on classifiers (Chapter 7), a grammatical category less familiar in grammars of English and other Western languages. Classifiers are essential components of noun phrases in Chinese and they represent important selectional and semantic information. In addition, following the conventions established in Chao (1968), this grammar assigns the semantic correspondents of adjectives in English and many other languages, such as 'small' (小 *xiao3*) and 'quite' (安静 *an1jing4*), as well as the category of (state) verbs, and reserves the category of adjectives for the non-predicative types, such as 超级 *chao1ji2* 'super' (see Chapter 10).

1.2. A data-driven and corpus-based reference grammar

While more and more linguistic research and reference grammars have adopted corpus-based empirical approaches, this grammar takes a further step by being both data-driven and corpus-based. The developments in the past thirty years have made it possible for people to access and extract generalizations from corpora. The large-scale corpora accessible for this grammar include the POS-tagged Chinese Gigaword Corpus (1,400 million characters from Mainland China, Taiwan, and Singapore; data collected during 1991 to 2004, Huang 2009) and the manually tagged Sinica Corpus (10 million words collected primarily since 1996, Chen et al. 1996). The availability of large-scale corpora also enables the use of computational tools, such as Word Sketch Engine, to extract grammatical information directly from the corpora. For this grammar, the authors' expertise and judgments have been greatly enhanced by their access to both the Sinica Corpus and the 2nd edition of the Chinese Gigaword Corpus, through the corpus interface of Chinese Word Sketch (Huang et al. 2005). Most of the examples in this grammar, with very few exceptions, have been carefully selected from the corpora with minimal modification. In this sense, this grammar is the first Chinese grammar written based on corpus data. It is also among the first such reference grammars in the world.

As a reference grammar, our emphasis is to get the facts and generalizations right, especially those facts or generalizations missed or mischaracterized by previous grammars. This goal was achieved through a two-pronged empirical approach. First, the authors had access to the largest available Chinese corpora as well as the most powerful corpus interface. In addition, they were encouraged to consult the Web through Google when in doubt. This ensured that the widest range of language data was accessed. Second, each chapter was drafted by a designated author(s) who has done extensive work on the topic area. After the initial draft, the chapter was presented and discussed at authors' workshops, and each chapter

also underwent extensive comments and review by at least two other experts. Lastly, each chapter was reviewed and revised by the two chief editors. In sum, each and every chapter reflects the collective research knowledge of four or more leading Chinese linguists in the field, each contributing to the consistency and comprehensive coverage of the facts.

This reference grammar is anchored by illustrative example sentences. All of these corpus-extracted realistic examples are presented in the standard four-line format: the first line consists of the text in Chinese characters; the second line consists of a word-for-word Pinyin transcription; the third line is aligned with the second line to provide a gloss; and the last line provides faithful free translation. The example [1] is the sentence [2b] from Chapter 4.

[1]   有空的时候, 到公园里去走一走, 呼吸呼吸新鲜空气。
       you3kong4   de0   shi2hou0   dao4   gong1yuan2   li3   qu4
       have_time   DE   when   go_to   park   in   go
       zou3yi1zou3   hu1xi1hu1xi1   xin1xian1   kong1qi4
       walk_a_walk   breathe_breathe   fresh   air
       'When you have some time, have a walk in the park and breathe some fresh air.'

Following linguistic conventions, the example sentences are discussed and grammatical information is explicated in the text immediately before or after the example given. The above example shows that we have ordered the examples in each chapter according to their order of appearance, and use a, b, c, etc. to differentiate a group of similar sentences given under the same example number.

This grammar will be accompanied by a periodically updated online example database in order to supplement the examples of the grammar and to add value to the restriction of the finite number of printed pages. The original database was constructed together with the grammar, when at least twenty example sentences were selected for each linguistic topic described in the grammar. Each sentence is not only annotated with the topic for which the sentence is selected, but also annotated and indexed with all other relevant linguistic topics covered in the grammar.

This reference grammar aims to make the underlying set of linguistic facts from which we built our generalizations sharable with others who may construct a parallel reference grammar with different design criteria. Therefore, in addition to the example database, a citation database was constructed based on the topics of the grammar. The periodically updated database consists of all the bibliography used for this grammar and all the articles from the major journals of Chinese linguistics, including 中国语文 *zhong1guo2yu3wen2* '*Chinese Language and Writing*'

and *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*. With such a database, this reference grammar will remain relevant with respect to the most updated research topics, even if the printed version is not updated as frequently.

1.3. Chinese writing system

The Chinese writing system is the longest continuously used system in the world. The system is composed of characters (汉字 *han4zi4*, kanji in Japanese as well as in common English translation), which are logographic symbols encoding both phonetic and semantic information. Unlike phonological writing systems, each Chinese character is grounded with some conceptual knowledge information that was conventionalized at the time the character was created. Furthermore, the writing system is considered a cultural symbol that unifies the Chinese people speaking mutually unintelligible varieties of Chinese. By this design, the Chinese writing system is not as arbitrary as phonological writing systems, which are common among other languages in the world. This non-arbitrariness, in turn, has allowed the Chinese writing system to reflect more about the grammar of Chinese; hence, some discussion of the writing system in this reference grammar is required.

It is important to debunk the myth that the Chinese writing system consists of Chinese characters only. This may have been the case as recently as fifty years ago; however, most contemporary Chinese dictionaries nowadays include a few hundred so-called alphabetic words (字母词 *zi4mu3ci2*). These alphabetic words are *bona fide* entries in the lexicons of modern Mandarin Chinese, with full grammatical functions in the category to which they belong, as discussed in Chapter 3. These words can be composed of all alphabets (Q *kyu* 'to have sustainable good texture when chewed on'; HSK *eich-es-kei* Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi/'Mandarin Standard Test'; IBM *ai-bi-emu* 'International Business Machine'), or start with one or more alphabets but end with a character (AA 制 *ei-ei-zhi4* 'to go Dutch'; K 书 *kei-shu1* 'to hit the books hard'), or start with a character but end with an alphabet (阿 Q *a1-kyu* 'a fatalist, a fictional protagonist in Lu Xun's novel'; 卡拉 OK *ka3la1-ou-kei* 'karaoke'). Unlike Japanese katakana, these alphabetic words are not restricted to loanwords, although many have loanword origins (especially those referring to new technology or brand names). However, the blended translation alternative remains a desirable alternative, so many loanwords are actually represented by Chinese characters (such as 可乐 *ke3le4* 'able-enjoy cola'; 爱疯 *ai4feng1* 'love-crazy iPhone'). It is worth noting that many alphabetic words originate from either Pinyin-based abbreviations or vivid imitations of/associations with the sounds/shapes of the alphabets. Alphabetic words also have a unique linguistic feature in that they do not conform to the phonological integrity of Chinese. The alphabetic parts of the alphabetic words are typically pronounced without an assigned tone, and many

of them represent syllables which are not part of the Chinese phonological repertoire, such as *emu* (from IBM), *kei* (from K 书), and *kyu* (from Q, 阿 Q). They simply represent a conventionalized way to pronounce these alphabets. These alphabetic words can be a noun, a verb, or an adjective, and the alphabet-plus-character template seems to be the most productive pattern of neologism.

1.3.1. A brief history of Chinese script

The Chinese character script has been continuously used for more than 3,000 years. The oracle bone script (甲骨文 *jia3gu3wen2*) of the Shang Dynasty (1600–1046 BCE) is the earliest surviving evidence of a well-developed writing system of Chinese and is directly related to the subsequent Chinese scripts. Oracle bone inscriptions are found mainly on turtle shells (甲 *jia3*) or ox and other large animal bones (骨 *gu3*), hence 甲骨文 (*jia3gu3wen2* 'shell-bone-writing'). These inscriptions are the records of the answers from the divinatory practice of the royal family communicating with their ancestral spirits. Evolving from the oracle bone script, bronze inscription script (金文 *jin1wen2*) is found on ritual bronze vessels of the late Shang Dynasty to Zhou Dynasty (1100–403 BCE). After the Zhou Dynasty, the writing systems of different parts of China diverged until the Qin Dynasty (221–207 BCE) unified China and set the Qin variant of seal script (篆书 *zhuan4shu1*) as the national standard script. For easier and faster writing in government bureaucracy, clerical script (隶书 *li4shu1*) was adopted and it gradually replaced seal script in the Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). Clerical script is structurally and rectilinearly very similar to the modern Chinese scripts and is thus considered the ancestor of modern scripts. Clerical script then evolved into standard script (楷书 *kai3shu1*) and was replaced by standard script during the Southern and Northern Song Dynasties (420–589 CE). Since then, standard script has been used as the standard form of orthography in China.

Two crucial observations can be made based on the four example characters shown in Table 1.1 below. First, many characters are decomposed into components (such as 明 *ming2*, which consists of the two components 日 *ri4* 'sun' and 月 *yue4* 'moon'), and these components may or may not be characters themselves. This point will be addressed in more detail in the next section. Second, all of the different historical scripts are variants, and the internal structure of each character is largely preserved between script changes. For example, 明 *ming2* 'bright' is composed of the two components 日 *ri4* 'sun' to the left and 月 *yue4* 'moon' to the right. Regardless of how much the graph representing the character changes, both the composition and the left–right structure of these two components remain the same. The consistency of this component composition relation can also be observed to have occurred over time for 渔 *yu2* 'to fish,' as in Table 1.1. Furthermore, even for non-decomposable characters, such as 水 *shui3* 'water' and

Table 1.1 Evolution of Chinese scripts[1]

	'water'	'to fish'	'up'	'bright'
Oracle-bone script				
Bronze script				
Small seal script				
Clerical script	水	漁	上	明
Standard script	水	漁	上	明

[1] The Chinese scripts were extracted from Academia Sinica's Database of Chinese Characters Composition (漢字構形資料庫) at http://cdp.sinica.edu.tw/cdphanzi

上 *shang4* 'up,' it is possible to see that the internal structure of the critical components of the graph stays the same. It is with this consistency of the internal component composition relation that we can show that the Chinese writing system is a single, continuously used system. Any historical text, regardless of the style of script it is in, can be directly mapped to any other script to be read.

1.3.2. Structure of Chinese characters

A character is the smallest meaningful unit of the writing system in Chinese, compared with a morpheme, which is the smallest meaningful unit, and a word, which is the smallest unit with independent syntactic functions. In contrast to phonographic languages, such as English, that are mainly composed of symbols that encode phonetic values only, the character-based writing system of Chinese is featured as logographic in that it is mainly composed of logographic symbols that encode both phonetic and semantic values. Phonetically, each Chinese character represents a syllable, compared to English where a letter or a group of letters represents a phoneme. Semantically, a Chinese character usually encodes a lexical concept, which allows it to stand for the same (or similar) meaning regardless of language changes and variations.

The misconception that Chinese characters cannot be learned without rote memory covering the stroke-by-stroke order of all the strokes of a character has both added to the notoriety of Chinese (and to the myth of the complexity of Japanese, since it uses kanji as one of its complex writing systems) and lent

support to the proposal to convert Chinese to an alphabetic writing system. However, studies have shown that Chinese characters are composed of components (部件 *bu4jian4*). Each component can in turn be composed of smaller components or, eventually, a fixed number and order of strokes. What this means is that recognizing and writing a character only requires knowledge of the components of a character as well as how these components are put together once the basic components are known. There is also a general rule of the order of the composition of left-first, before top-first, and outside-in when other rules do not apply. For instance, the character 明 *ming2* 'bright' is formed by the composition of 日 (on the left) first, and 月 second. The character 盟 *meng2* 'alliance' starts with the same 日＋月 sequence, with the third component 皿 *min3* 'basin' last and at the bottom. The character 萌 *meng2* 'to sprout' is formed with the grass radical 艹 *cao3* on top, followed by the same 日 ＋月 sequence. These component sequences are largely preserved through the evolution of different scripts (including most cases of simplified characters) and even apply to some regional glyph variants. For instance, 峰 and 峯 *feng1* 'peak' are variants of the same character and they can be described by the same component composition rule of 山＋夆 *shan1 + feng1*, except that one variant follows the left–right order while the other follows the top-down order.

A Chinese character is not only formally composed of components, but its formal composition also follows rules of internal composition. 说文解字 (*shuo1wen2jie3zi4*, 121 BCE, literally, *Explanations of simple graphs and analyses of composite graphs*) compiled by the Eastern Han scholar Xu Shen was the first comprehensive dictionary to analyze the structure of Chinese characters. Xu Shen proposed six principles of Chinese character composition, of which four are firmly established in modern philology: pictographic (象形 *xiang4xing2*), ideographic (指事 *zhi3shi4*), semantic–semantic composition (会意 *hui4yi4*), and semantic–phonetic composition (形声 *xing2sheng1*). Pictographic characters such as 日 *ri4* 'sun' and 月 *yue4* 'moon' resemble the objects in the physical world. Ideographic characters such as 上 *shang4* 'up' and 下 *xia4* 'down' represent abstract ideas. A semantic–semantic compound is typically composed of two or three pictographic or ideographic characters and encodes a combination of the meanings of the characters. For example, 明 *ming2* 'bright' is a combination of the pictographic 日 *ri4* 'sun' and 月 *yue4* 'moon,' while 森 *sen1* 'forest' is composed of three 木 *mu4* 'tree,' which by itself is a pictographic character. Semantic–phonetic compounds typically consist of a phonetic unit and a semantic unit. For instance, 妈 *ma1* 'mother' is composed of the radical 女 *nü3* 'woman' and the phonetic 马 *ma3* 'horse,' representing the phonetic part, suggesting the sound of 妈 when the character was created. The semantic–phonetic composition is considered to be the most frequently used principle, estimated to represent more than 90 percent of the characters; moreover, the radical–phonetic

composition is sometimes taught as the general principle underlying Chinese character formation.

The 540 radicals (部首 *bu4shou3* 'class-head') proposed by Xu Shen, as well as some later modified variations, have become the canonical way to classify characters adopted by traditional Chinese dictionaries. However, whether a group of characters sharing the same radical necessarily has the same basic semantic concept or not has been hotly debated. This hypothesis seems intuitive and works reasonably well with radicals such as 言 *yan2* 'word,' which heads a group of characters, including 语 *yu3* 'language,' 论 *lun4* 'argue,' 讲 *jiang3* 'talk,' and 请 *qing3* 'invite,' which are all types of speech acts. However, this generalization is not as obvious for radicals such as 艸 *cao3*, instantiated as 艹 *cao3* on top of a character. This radical is supposed to encode the concept '(leafy or grass-like) plant,' such as 兰 *lan2* 'orchid,' 葱 *cong1* 'green onion,' or 芥 *jie4* 'mustard green.' However, among the most frequently used characters with the radical 艹, there are also characters such as 花 *hua1* 'flower,' 芳 *fang1* 'fragrance, fragrant,' 落 *luo4* 'fallen, to fall,' 菜 *cai4* 'vegetable,' and 药 *yao4* 'medicine' which do not represent any kind of plant. Nevertheless, these characters are semantically dependent on the meaning of the radicals in different ways: 花 *hua1* 'flower' and 萌 *meng2* 'sprout, to sprout' are parts of a plant; 菜 *cai4* 'vegetable' and 药 *yao4* 'medicine' are what plants are used for; and 芳 *fang1* 'fragrance, fragrant' and 落 *luo4* 'fallen, to fall' are salient states crucial for describing plants. Taking this telic (i.e. function and purpose-driven) view, it can be shown that all the characters in a radical group, at least in their original meaning, are semantically dependent on the basic meaning of the radical.

Another generalization underlining the semantic relevance of the Chinese character writing system is the fact that all disyllabic morphemes are written with two characters with identical radicals. There are more than sixty of these disyllabic morphemes, which are traditionally called 联绵词 *lian2mian2ci2* 'interlinked words.' Unlike more prevalent patterns of disyllabic words composed of two morphemes, these morphemes contain two non-morpheme syllables which cannot be used alone because they do not have any independent meaning of grammatical function. 蝴蝶 *hu2die2* 'butterfly' and 葡萄 *pu2tao2* 'grape' are two of the most common examples of a single syllable not being able to occur independently except when it serves as an abbreviation of the disyllabic morpheme. Such disyllabic morphemes can also be found in the verbal category, such as 怂恿 *song3yong3* 'to egg on,' or in the adjectival category, such as 狡猾 *jiao3hua2* 'cunning.' Maintaining the semantic dependency between a morpheme and its written form, the Chinese writing system assigns the two component syllables of a disyllabic morpheme the same radicals without exception, as exemplified by all four examples above. An interesting pair of disyllabic morphemes serves to underline the importance of

semantic dependency in the Chinese character system. It is known that 琵琶 *pi2pa2* 'Pipa, a Chinese stringed lute' is etymologically related to 枇杷 *pi2pa2* 'loquat,' not unlike the recent borrowing of the fruit blackberry by the device BlackBerry. Even though these two morphemes remain homophones, they are conventionalized to be represented by different written forms, the instrument with the 琴 *qin2* 'string instrument' radical (i.e. the top part of both 琵 and 琶) and the fruit with the 木 *mu4* 'wood' radical (i.e. the left part of both 枇 and 杷). Furthermore, the homophonic syllables are not substitutable, as in using one for the other (e.g. 枇 with 琶 for *pi2* or 琶 with 杷 for *pa2*). The component composition nature of characters as graphs and the semantic primitives as the motivation for the grouping of characters by radicals are the two most foundational facts for the linguistic description of the Chinese writing system.

1.3.3. Simplification of Chinese characters

As mentioned above, the seeming complexity of the Chinese character writing system has prompted attempts during the first half of the twentieth century to replace Chinese characters with different alphabetic systems. These efforts of alphabetizing Chinese did not succeed. A more moderate change of adopting a simplified script in 1965 to promote literacy was more successful. In total, 2,235 characters are simplified, and different strategies have been adopted for simplification. For example, 穀 *gu3* 'grain' is simplified to 谷 *gu3*, which is an existing character with the same pronunciation; 書 *shu1* 'book' is simplified to 书 *shu1*, a simpler form based on cursive and informal handwriting; 廠 *chang3* 'factory' became 厂 *chang3* after the half-enclosed component 敞 *chang3* as well as the dot stroke on top were omitted; and 衛 *wei4* 'guard' has been replaced by the newly created form 卫. Of the simplified characters, more than 1,700 are derived from the simplification of the radicals these characters share. For example, 言 *yan2* 'word' as a radical is simplified to 讠, so characters such as 語 *yu3* 'language,' 話 *hua4* 'words,' and 説 *shuo1* 'speak' are changed to 语, 话, and 说, respectively.

Currently, places using simplified characters include Mainland China and Singapore, whereas traditional characters are still used in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau. In countries where Chinese is learned as a foreign language, textbooks with simplified Chinese are increasingly popular, partially because of China's rise as an economic power. The ongoing debates on the merits of the traditional or simplified character systems not only discuss the linguistic benefits and drawbacks of learning and using simplified characters, but also involve the practical, aesthetic, cultural, and political effects of the two concurrent systems. Nonetheless, it is foreseeable that the two systems will coexist for a long time.

1.3.4. Direction of text and use of punctuation

Traditional Chinese text lines run top down, and the vertical text columns are ordered from right to left. Hence, a page starts from the top-right corner and ends at the bottom-left corner. In addition, punctuation was not used in old Chinese writing and printing; thus, 点书 *dian3shu1* (literally, 'to punctuate a book') was deemed to be one of the required basic skills in Chinese scholarship. After the vernacular Chinese movement, however, a modified punctuation system combining the 点书 *dian3shu1* annotation tradition and Western punctuation was introduced and conventionalized and is commonly used (see Appendix I). However, the full stop (i.e. the Chinese period '。') is used parsimoniously and often does not occur until the end of a topic group or a paragraph, with commas used more freely even at the end of a sentence. This is probably due to the influence of the 点书 *dian3shu1* tradition, where full stops mark the natural end when reading a text.

Horizontal texts are widely used now with the influence of Western texts and books. The left-to-right text orientation has become the standard for horizontal text, especially for scientific, translation, or new media texts. However, the vertical text is still commonly used for classical texts. Regions using traditional characters tend to use more vertical texts, while regions adopting simplified characters use predominantly horizontal texts. It should be noted that right-to-left horizontal texts can still be found, especially in traditional signs or banners.

2

Syntactic overview

Dingxu Shi and Chu-Ren Huang

The description of Chinese grammar in this book is based on the following princi-
ples: sentences are composed of parts, which may themselves have parts; sentence
parts belong to a limited range of types; and different parts of a sentence have
specific roles or functions within the larger parts to which they belong. This
description is divided into two major components: morphology and syntax. The
former deals with how words are put together, while the latter deals with how
words are combined to make phrases, clauses, and then sentences.

2.1. Morphemes, words, and word classes

A morpheme is the smallest unit with meaning. A word is the smallest unit that has
independent functions in syntax, while a sentence is the largest syntactic unit. The
main constituent of a sentence is a clause, or several coordinated clauses, which
represents a proposition and usually appears in the form of a subject–predicate
construction. The other constituents in a sentence are final particles, which are
attached to the end of the main clause to form a sentence while providing addi-
tional and necessary information. A clause can function as part of another clause,
namely, as a subordinate clause. The clause that is not contained in any other
clause is the main clause. The subject, predicate, and their modifiers are phrases,
while the object inside the predicate is also a phrase. A phrase has one or more
words as its immediate parts and one of the parts is its head, which determines its
syntactic status. For example, a verb phrase has a verb as its head and an adjective
phrase has an adjective as its head.

2.1.1. Morphemes

Most native Chinese morphemes are monosyllabic, like those in [1a]. Native disyl-
labic morphemes, such as those in [1b], are few in number and a large portion
of them have either a consonant alliteration, such as 蜘蛛 *zhi1zhu1* 'spider,' or a
vowel rhyme, such as 迷离 *mi2li2* 'bewildered.' Some disyllabic morphemes are
borrowed from other languages, such as those in [1c]. Multisyllabic morphemes
are predominantly loan items, such as those in [1d].

[1]   a.   猪 *zhu1* 'pig,' 山 *shan1* 'mountain,' 铁 *tie3* 'iron,' 花 *hua1* 'flower,' 跑
             pao3 'run,' 哭 *ku1* 'cry,' 扔 *reng1* 'throw,' 杀 *sha1* 'kill,' 追 *zhui1* 'chase,'
             好 *hao3* 'good,' 旧 *jiu4* 'old,' 脏 *zang1* 'dirty,' 臭 *chou4* 'stinking,' 大 *da4*
             'big'

       b.   蜘蛛 *zhi1zhu1* 'spider,' 秋千 *qiu1qian1* 'swing,' 玫瑰 *mei2gui0* 'rose,' 迷离
             mi2li2 'bewildered,' 嘹亮 *liao2liang4* 'loud and clear,' 从容 *cong2rong2*
             'calm, sufficient'

       c.   骆驼 *luo4tuo0* 'camel,' 克隆 *ke4long2* 'clone,' 扑克 *pu1ke4* 'playing cards'

       d.   爱因斯坦 *ai4yin1si1tan3* 'Einstein,' 洛杉矶 *luo4shan1ji1* 'Los Angeles,' 伏
             特加 *fu2te4jia1* 'vodka'

2.1.1.1. Inflectional morphemes

Inflection does not play a major role in Chinese syntax. The few inflectional morphemes which do play a role include the plural marker -们 *men0* that is a suffix to personal pronouns and certain human nouns, aspectual markers -着 *zhe0*, -了 *le0*, and -过 *guo4* that are suffixes to verbs, and, to a certain extent, infixes like -得- *de0* '-able' or its negative form 不 *bu4* 'NEG' that appear inside a V(erb)-R(esultative) complex word.

2.1.1.2. Derivational morphemes and word formation

Most Chinese morphemes, no matter whether free or bound, or whether content or functional, are active in word formation. The derivation of Chinese words in terms of the status of their component morphemes is discussed in Chapter 3.

2.1.2. Words

A few thousand Chinese lexical items are simple words containing a single morpheme, although many of them are not frequently used any more. Many more Chinese words are compounds consisting of two or more morphemes. One common way to form a compound is by simply juxtaposing the morphemes in a predetermined order, like similar processes in many languages, as discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Another way is reduplication, a productive lexical process in Chinese that duplicates the entire word or part of it. Reduplication does not typically change the inherent meaning of the root. It mostly targets monosyllabic or disyllabic roots and the output is characteristically in the form of Aa, AaBb, ABab, or AaB, where A represents the first syllable, B the second syllable, and a or b the duplicated syllable.

Monosyllabic roots that undergo reduplication can be verbs, as in [2a], or adjectives, as in [2b]. If a verb represents an action lasting for some time, its reduplicated

form typically stands for a shortened duration that bears some casual or tentative flavor. The 听听 *ting1ting0* in [2a] is thus more casual than the root 听 *ting1* 'listen.' If a verb represents an action that ends instantly, its reduplicated form typically means repeating the action, and it bears some casual flavor as well. The 跳跳 *tiao4tiao0* in [2a] thus means to repeat the action of 跳 *tiao4* 'jump' in a light-hearted way. If a gradable adjective undergoes reduplication, the process will alter the gradation of its meaning and the effect of the change will depend on the new form's syntactic function. The reduplicated version of 大 *da4* 'big' means less big but quite cute when it modifies a noun or functions as a predicate, as in 大大的眼睛 *da4da4 de0 yan3jing1* 'lovely biggish eyes' and 眼睛大大的 *yan3jing1 da4da4 de0* 'eyes are lovely big,' but it means bigger than normal when it modifies a verb, as in 大大地喝了一口 *da4da4 de0he1 le0 yi1 kou3* 'take a very big sip.'

[2]   a.   听听 *ting1ting0* 'listen casually,' 跳跳 *tiao4tiao0* 'jump repeatedly'

      b.   大大 *da4da4* 'rather big,' 红红 *hong2hong2* 'reddish'

Not many nouns can undergo reduplication, and many duplicated forms have become fixed expressions with derived meanings. The expression 山山水水 *shan1shan1shui3shui3* 'mountains and rivers' is predominantly used in its derived meaning of 'scenery,' even though it is indeed the duplicated version of 山水 *shan1shui3* 'mountain and river.'

When a disyllabic adjective undergoes reduplication, it usually takes the AaBb or ABab form, while it occasionally takes the AaB form. An adjective consisting of two coordinated morphemes predominantly takes the AaBb form in reduplication, as in [3a]. If the first morpheme is the modifier of the second one, then reduplication predominantly takes the ABab form, as in [3b], and sometimes takes the AaB form, as in [3c].

[3]   a.   漂漂亮亮 *piao4piao4liang1liang1* 'beautiful,' 整整齐齐
           zheng3zheng3qi2qi2 'orderly'

      b.   雪白雪白 *xue3bai2xue3bai2* 'snow white,' 滚烫滚烫
           gun3tang4gun3tang4 'boiling hot'

      c.   通通红 *tong1tong1hong2* 'fire red,' 冰冰凉 *bing1bing1liang2*
           'icy cold'

When it undergoes reduplication, a disyllabic verb generally takes the ABab form, as in [4a]. Like its Aa counterpart derived from a monosyllabic root, an ABab verb typically represents a shortened duration of action or a repeated instant action, and thus bears some casual or tentative flavor. Unlike its root or its Aa counterpart, an ABab verb generally takes a definite object; thus, the verbs in [5a] and [5b] cannot change places. Some V–O sequences are built with one or two

bound morphemes and thus behave like ordinary verbs but not verb phrases. Such a verb typically takes the AaB form in reduplication, as in [4b]. There are a small number of AaBb compound verbs, which form a closed class. A few of them have corresponding AB compounds as origin, as in [4c], but many of them seem to be formed through conjunction of reduplicated monosyllabic verbs Aa and Bb, as in [4d].

[4] a. 休息休息 *xiu1xi0xiu1xi0* 'rest for a while,' 讨论讨论
        tao3lun4tao3lun4 'discuss informally,' 照顾照顾 *zhao4gu0zhao4gu0*
        'give some special treatment, favor'

     b. 打打拳 *da3da3quan2* 'play boxing casually,' 养养神
        yang3yang3shen2 'cultivate spirit, rest,' 游游泳 *you2you2yong3*
        'swim casually'

     c. 蹦蹦跳跳 *beng4beng4tiao4tiao4* 'jump repeatedly,' 摇摇摆摆
        yao2yao2bai3bai3 'swing, vacillate'

     d. 跌跌撞撞 *die1die1zhuang4zhuang4* 'stumble,' 走走停停
        zou3zou3ting2ting2 'walk and stop'

[5] a. 咱们先讨论一个问题。
        zan2men0 xian1 tao3lun4 yi1 ge4 wen4ti2
        we   first discuss   one CL   problem
        'Let's discuss the problem first.'

     b. 咱们先讨论讨论这个问题。
        zan2men0 xian1 tao3lun4tao3lun4 zhe4 ge4 wen4ti2
        we   first discuss   this CL   problem
        'Let's discuss this problem first.'

A third way of constructing a compound is to arrange morphemes according to syntactic relations. All the structural relations found in clauses are also found inside compounds and the overall meaning of such a compound is derived on the basis of that relation. The verbal morpheme in [6a] takes the nominal morpheme as the object and such a V–O compound predominantly has the reading of an intransitive verb. Some V–O compounds such as 读书 *du2shu1* 'attend school' have obtained a metaphoric interpretation while some others such as 怀疑 *huai2yi2* 'suspect' have become transitive. The two morphemes in the compounds of [6b] also have a verb–object relationship and could produce a verb reading, but they also have a derived meaning of the person who does the action. The two morphemes in [6c] have a subject–predicate relationship. Most of these compounds represent events or natural phenomena, either as a noun or as a verb, but some

of them have undergone changes to represent something else, such as pampering represented by 心疼 *xin1teng2*.

[6]   a.   怀疑 *huai2yi2* 'hold-doubt, suspect,' 用功 *yong4gong1*
       'use-effort, work hard,' 读书 *du2shu1* 'read-book, attend school'

       b.   司机 *si1ji1* 'control-machine, driver,' 司令 *si1ling4*
       'control-order, commander,' 掌勺 *zhang3shao2* 'hold-spoon, chef'

       c.   海啸 *hai3xiao4* 'sea-shout, tsunami,' 眼红 *yan3hong2* 'eye-red,
       jealous,' 心疼 *xin1teng2* 'heart-ache, feel-sorry-for, pamper'

The two morphemes in [7] are in a conjunctive pattern: two nominal morphemes conjoined to form a nominal compound like 人民 *ren2min2* 'people,' two verbal morphemes conjoined to form a verb like 算计 *suan4ji0* 'to plot against,' and two adjectival morphemes conjoined to form an adjective like 漂亮 *piao4liang0* 'beautiful.' The meaning of the compound can be a simple sum of its morpheme components, like that of 攻击 *gong1ji1* 'attack,' but it can also be metaphorically derived, like that of 江山 *jiang1shan1* 'territory, realm.'

[7]   人民 *ren2min2* 'person-person, people,' 江山 *jiang1shan1* 'river-
       mountain, territory, realm,' 攻击 *gong1ji1* 'attack-hit, attack,'
       漂亮 *piao4liang0* 'beautiful-bright, beautiful,' 辛苦 *xin1ku3*
       'spicy-bitter, hard'

The first verb morpheme in [8] represents an action and the second one represents the resulting status brought about by the action, just like in resultative constructions. Such a compound characteristically has the meaning and function of a verb.

[8]   推翻 *tui1fan1* 'push-overturn, overthrow,' 冻僵 *dong4jiang1*
       'freeze-stiff, frozen stiff,' 改良 *gai3liang2* 'change-good, improve,'
       说明 *shuo1ming2* 'speak-clear, explain'

The second nominal morpheme in [9] is modified by the first morpheme, as a nominal like 钢梁 *gang1liang2* 'steel-beam,' an adjectival like 红旗 *hong2qi2* 'red-flag,' or a verbal like 行人 *xing2ren2* 'pedestrian.' Such a compound is predominantly a noun. The second verbal morpheme in [10] is modified by the first one, as a verbal like 回顾 *hui2gu4* 'back-look, reflect' or as a nominal like 席卷 *xi2juan3* 'mat-roll, conquer totally.' Such compounds are predominantly verbs. The meaning of such compounds can be a sum of its components, like that of 刀劈 *dao1pi1* 'cut with a knife,' but it can also be derived metaphorically, like that of 席卷 *xi2juan3*, which means to take control over a large area as if rolling the whole place up like a mat.

[9]   钢梁 *gang1liang2* 'steel-beam,' 电影 *dian4ying3*
       'electricity-shadow, movie,' 红旗 *hong2qi2* 'red-flag,' 黑手
       hei1shou3 'black-hand, evil backstage manipulator,' 行人
       xing2ren2 'walking-person, pedestrian,' 跑车 *pao3che1* 'running-car,
       sports car'

[10]   回顾 *hui2gu4* 'back-look, reflect,' 赡养 *shan4yang3*
       'back-up-raise, support parent,' 刀劈 *dao1pi1* 'knife-cut, cut with a
       knife,' 席卷 *xi2juan3* 'mat-roll, conquer totally'

There is no overt marking within a compound to indicate the syntactic rela-
tionship between its roots and this may lead to ambiguity as in the case of
烤肉 *kao3rou4*, which consists of a verb 烤 *kao3* 'roast' and a noun 肉 *rou4* 'meat.'
It could be understood as a V–O compound to mean the action of roasting meat,
but it could also be interpreted as a noun modified by a verb to mean barbequed
meat.

The interpretation of the relation between roots of a compound is subject
to constraints such as semantic compatibility, cultural tradition, world knowl-
edge, and idiomatic usage. For instance, both 买方 *mai3fang1* 'buy-side, buyer' and
买凶 *mai3xiong1* 'buy-killer, hire assassin' have a V–N structure with the same verb
but the interpretations of the role of N differ. The 方 *fang1* 'side' in 买方 *mai3fang1*
'buy-side, buyer' is a bound root that refers to a participant in an activity, and it is
predominantly used in nominal compounds like 卖方 *mai4fang1* 'sell-side, seller,'
军方 *jun1fang1* 'army-side, the military' and 警方 *jing3fang1* 'police-side, the police'
to represent such entities. The 凶 *xiong1* 'killer' in 买凶 *mai3xiong1* 'hire assassin'
is also a bound nominal root standing for killer or killers. It could be used either
in nominal compounds like 真凶 *zhen1xiong1* 'real killer' to represent entities or
in V–O compounds like 追凶 *zhui1xiong1* 'chase-killer, assassin-hunt' to represent
actions.

2.1.3. Word classes

The role of a word is determined by its meaning and the syntactic properties
derived from its meaning. Words are therefore categorized according to their
meaning: verbs, nouns, numerals, classifiers, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions,
coordinators, interjections, sentence-final particles, and onomatopoeia.

2.1.3.1. Verbs

Prototypic verbs represent actions. A verb will appear in its root form or bear an
aspect marker if it is the head of a predicate. The root form is the only choice if
the verb directly modifies a noun, a verb, or an adjective.

Verbs can be classified according to the number of arguments they take or the situation type they describe. Certain words are classified as verbs even though they do not actually represent actions. One type is copulas such as 是 *shi4* 'be' and linking verbs such as 属于 *shu3yu2* 'belong to.' Another type is modal auxiliaries, which can be classified into epistemic modals such as 会 *hui4* 'will' and 可能 *ke3neng2* 'can'; deontic modals such as 必 *bi4* 'must' and 可以 *ke3yi3* 'may'; and dynamic modals such as 肯 *ken3* 'be willing' and 愿意 *yuan4yi4* 'be willing.'

2.1.3.2. Nouns

Nouns represent entities that can be concrete, abstract, or imaginary. Pronouns represent entities indirectly and are treated as a subcategory of nouns.

A noun can function as the head, the complement, or the modifier in a compound. It can also function as the ultimate head of a nominal phrase. The prototypical function of a nominal phrase is to be an argument in a clause. The ultimate head of a nominal phrase can sometimes be a deverbal element like the 检修 *jian3xiu1* 'maintaining' in [11], which represents an action but has the syntactic properties of a noun. Although 检修 usually takes an argument with a patient role, the patient phrase cannot appear after 检修 as an object in [11] but instead has to appear before it as a modifier.

[11]   工程处没有进行设备的检修。
gong1cheng2   chu4   mei2you3   jin4xing2
engineering   department   NEG   perform

she4bei4   de0   jian3xiu1
equipment   DE   maintaining
'The Engineering Department did not carry out the equipment maintenance.'

Another function of deverbal nouns is to modify nouns in compounds. Arguments of such a deverbal word can no longer function as the subject or the object. Instead, they become the modified like the 工人 *gong1ren2* 'worker' in [12] or the modifier like the 汽车 *qi4che1* 'car' in [12].

[12]   汽车修理工人
qi4che1   xiu1li3   gong1ren2
car   repairing   worker
car-repairing worker

2.1.3.3. Numerals and classifiers

Numerals represent the result of counting, while classifiers are the measurement units or the natural division units with which the counting is done.

Numerals and classifiers predominantly appear as components of a nominal phrase with the order of determinative−numeral−classifier−noun, like the one in [13a]. A numeral−classifier sequence occasionally functions as a predicate like the 三十八个 *san1shi2ba1 ge4* 'thirty-eight pieces' in [13b].

[13]   a. 我要那两张桌子。
           wo3   yao4   na4   liang3   zhang1   zhuo1zi0
           I   want   that   two   CL   desk
           'I want those two tables.'

       b. 三筐南瓜一共三十八个。
           san1   kuang1   nan2gua1   yi1gong4   san1shi2ba1   ge4
           three   CL   pumpkin   altogether   thirty_eight   CL
           'There are altogether thirty-eight pumpkins in these three baskets.'

2.1.3.4. Adjectives

Adjectives predominantly represent properties of entities, including size, shape, color, age, state, hardness, heaviness, dimension, speed, kindness, cruelty, simplicity, complication, and so on.

A major function of most adjectives is to be the head of a predicative phrase, which characteristically consists of an adjective and a degree adverbial, like the 聪明 *cong1ming0* 'smart' and 很 *hen3* 'very' in [14a]. An adjective phrase can also be a postverbal descriptive expression, as in [14b].

[14]   a. 这小女孩很聪明。
           zhe4   xiao3   nü3hai2   hen3   cong1ming0
           this   little   girl   very   smart
           'This girl was very smart.'

       b. 那位老师讲得非常清楚。
           na4   wei4   lao3shi1   jiang3   de0   fei1chang2
           that   CL   teacher   explain   DE   very
           qing1chu3
           clear
           'The teacher provided an explanation that made it very clear.'

Most adjective phrases can function as subjects or objects, as in [15a] and [15b]. Certain adjective phrases can function as adverbials, as in [15c].

[15]   a. 过分小心就不值得了。
           guo4fen4   xiao3xin1   jiu4   bu4   zhi2de2   le0
           over   cautious   thus   NEG   worth   LE
           'It is not worth it to be overcautious.'

b. 他一直在追求完美。
    ta1   yi1zhi2   zai4   zhui1qiu2   wan2mei3
    he   all_the_time   be-at   strive_for perfect
    'He has been striving for perfection all the time.'

c. 火车慢慢停了下来。
    huo3che1   man4man4   ting2   le0   xia4lai2
    train   slowly   stop   LE   down
    'The train slowly came to a halt.'

An adjective can directly modify a noun as in 小河 *xiao3he2* 'small river, stream.' An adjective phrase cannot modify a nominal phrase directly but can do so as part of a relative clause.

2.1.3.5. Adverbs

Adverbs describe particular aspects of an action or a state, depicting the degree, scope, frequency, and contextual relations of a predicate or indicating the speaker's stance about a proposition.

An adverb can modify a verb or an adjective in a compound, as in 常备 *chang2bei4* 'constantly prepare' and 绝妙 *jue2miao4* 'absolutely wonderful.' An adverb phrase can modify a predicate, as in [16a], or modify a clause, as in [16b]. Although the 居然 *ju1ran2* 'unbelievably' in [16c] modifies the predicate, it actually represents the speaker's stance on the issue.

[16] a. 我们从来没有深入交谈过。
          wo3men0   cong2lai2   mei2you3   shen1ru4   jiao1tan2
          we   ever   NEG   deeply   communicate
          guo4
          GUO
          'We have never talked to each other in depth.'

      b. 总之这件事已经结束了。
          zong3zhi1   zhe4   jian4   shi4   yi3jing1   jie2shu4   le0
          In_a_nutshell this   CL   issue   already   finish   LE
          'In a nutshell, the incident has come to an end.'

      c. 这么一大笔钱居然就不见了。
          zhe4me0   yi1   da4   bi3   qian2   ju1ran2   jiu4
          so   one   big   CL   money   unexpectedly   thus
          bu4jian4   le0
          disappear LE
          'Unbelievably, such a large sum of money vanished.'

2.1.3.6. Prepositions

A preposition establishes the relationship between its object and the action represented by a verb phrase. The object of a preposition is typically a nominal phrase, as in [17a], but it can also be an adjective phrase or a verb phrase, as shown in [17b]. Some prepositions can take a clause as a complement, and the 跟 *gen1* 'with' in 跟 . . . 没有关系 *gen1 . . . mei2you3 guan1xi0* 'have no relation with' in [17c] is a typical case.

[17] a. 他又<u>朝杯子里</u>倒了一些红酒, 灌了下去。

ta1	you4	chao2	bei1zi0	li3	dao4	le0	yi1xie1
he	again	PREP	cup	inside	pour	LE	some

hong2jiu3,	guan4	le0	xia4qu4.
red_wine	gulp	PERF	down

'He added some wine to the cup, and gulped it down.'

  b. 我们只好<u>从进攻</u>转入防守。

wo3men0	zhi3hao3	cong2	jin4gong1	zhuan3ru4
we	can_only	PREP	offense	switch_to

fang2shou3
defense

'We had no choice but to turn from offense to defense.'

  c. 我<u>跟公司亏损</u>没有任何关系。

wo3	gen1	gong1si1	kui1sun3	mei2you3	ren4he2
I	PREP	company	loss	NEG_YOU	any

guan1xi0
relation

'I had nothing to do with the company's losing money.'

2.1.3.7. Coordinators and connective adjuncts

Coordinators mark the conjunction of two or more elements but contribute little to the overall meaning of the coordination. Connective adjuncts are mostly adverbs and adjectives that signify the logical relation between clauses, while maintaining certain modifying or predicative functions.

Coordinators that signify conjunctive relations include 和 *he2* 'and,' 跟 *gen1* 'and,' 同 *tong2* 'and,' 与 *yu3* 'and,' 及 *ji2* 'and,' and 以及 *yi3ji2* 'and' that conjoin nominal elements. 和 *he2* 'and' is used in most contexts, 跟 *gen1* 'and' and 同 *tong2* 'and' are mainly used in colloquial speech, and 与 *yu3* 'and' typically appears in formal writing. When two nominal elements are conjoined by 及 *ji2* 'and' or 以及 *yi3ji2* 'and,' the one appearing before the coordinator is typically given more

importance than the one after it, as in the case of [18b]. 并 *bing4* 'and,' 并且 *bing4qie3* 'and,' and 而且 *er2qie3* 'and' predominantly mark the conjunction of verbal, adjectival, or clausal elements, as in [19].

[18]   a.   老师和学生 *lao3shi1he2xue2sheng1* 'teachers and students,' 生姜跟大蒜 *sheng1jiang1gen1da4suan4* 'ginger and garlic,' 司机同乘客 *si1ji1tong2cheng2ke4* 'driver and passengers,' 名词与动词 *ming2ci2yu3dong4ci2* 'nouns and verbs'

    b.   美国总统奥巴马及随行记者

mei3guo2	zong3tong3	ao4ba1ma3	ji2	sui2xing2
American	president	Obama	and	accompany

ji4zhe3
reporter

'American President Obama and accompanying reporters'

[19]   a.   会议讨论并通过了2010财政预算。

hui4yi1	tao3lun4	bing4	tong1guo4	le0	2010
meeting	discuss	and	pass	LE	2010

cai2zheng4	yu4suan4
finance	budget

'The meeting discussed and passed the budget for the 2010 fiscal year.'

    b.   消防车早已进入火场, 而且突击队已经找到了火源。

xiao1fang2che1	zao3	yi3	jin4ru4	huo3chang3
fire_engine	early	already	enter	scene_of_fire

er2qie3	tu1ji1dui4	yi3jing1	zhao3dao4	le0
and	commando	already	find	LE

huo3yuan2
source_of_fire

'The fire engines have entered the scene of the fire and the commandos have found the source of the fire.'

但 *dan4* 'but' and 但是 *dan4shi4* 'but' predominantly conjoin two verbal, adjectival, or clausal elements and indicate an adversative relation, as in [20a]. Although 可 *ke3* 'but' can be a modal and 可是 'but' can be an adverb, they can also be used as a coordinator to indicate an adversative relation, as in [20b]. 而 *er2* 'and' is mainly used in formal written genres to represent a distinctive or adversative relation, as in [21].

[20] a. 我的工作不错, 但工资低了一点。

wo3de0   gong1zuo4   bu4cuo4   dan4   gong1zi1   di1
my   job   NEG_bad   but   salary   low

le0   yi1dian3
LE   a_bit

'My job is not too bad, but the pay is a little low.'

b. 这套三居室的房子不大, 可是却非常实用。

zhe4   tao4   san1ju1shi4   de0   fang2zi0   bu4   da4
this   CL   three_bedroom DE   apartment NEG   big

ke3shi4   que4   fei1chang2   shi2yong4
but   yet   very   practical

'This three-bedroom apartment is not big, but it's very practical.'

[21] 这种杂交西瓜大而不甜。

zhe4   zhong3   za2jiao1   xi1gua1   da4   er2   bu4
this   CL   hybrid   water_melon big   but   NEG

tian2
sweet

'The hybrid water melon is big but not sweet.'

Coordinators that indicate disjunctive relations include 或 *huo4* 'or' and 或者 *huo4zhe3* 'or.' They mark the disjunction of two nominal elements, as in [22a], or two verbal or clausal elements, as in [22b].

[22] a. 这款新车可以用汽油或天然气推动。

zhe4   kuan3   xin1   che1   ke3yi3   yong4   qi4you2   huo4
this   CL   new   car   can   use   gasoline or

tian1ran2qi4   tui1dong4
natural_gas   propel

'The new car is powered by gasoline or natural gas.'

b. 医药费由保险公司先行支付, 或者由肇事者垫付。

yi1yao4fei4   you2   bao3xian3   gong1si1   xian1xing2
medical_bill   PREP   insurance   company   in_advance

zhi1fu4   huo4zhe3   you2   zhao4shi4zhe3   dian4fu4
pay   or   PREP   perpetrator   pay_in_advance

'The medical bill should be settled by the insurance company first or be settled by the person who caused the accident.'

Although it is common to use coordinators in conjunctions, it is also quite normal not to use any marker in conjunctive constructions. The three nominal phrases 红烧肉 *hong2shao1rou4* 'red cooked pork,' 炒鸡蛋 *chao3ji1dan3* 'scrambled eggs,' and 家酿米酒 *jia1niang4mi3jiu3* 'home-made rice liquor' in [23] are conjoined together without any markers, as are the two clauses in this compound sentence.

[23]   桌上摆着红烧肉、炒鸡蛋、家酿米酒, 散发着诱人的香味。
        zhuo1shang4   bai3   zhe0   hong2shao1rou4
        table_on   place   ZHE   red_cooked_pork

        chao3ji1dan4   jia1niang4mi3jiu3   san4fa1   zhe0
        scrambled_eggs   home_made_rice_liquor emit   ZHE

        you4ren2   de0   xiang1wei4
        tempting   DE   smell
        'On the table lay red cooked pork, scrambled eggs, and home-made rice liquor, and they smelled wonderful.'

Connective adjuncts mainly signify the logical relation between clauses in compound sentences and certain types of complex sentences, while they also function as adverbials, modals, or predicates. They typically work in pairs but sometimes half of a pair can represent the same logical relation. There are also some connective adjuncts that usually work alone.

Connective adjuncts are categorized according to the logical relationship they represent. The relationship between two clauses in a compound sentence can be an equal one represented by 既 . . . 又 . . . *ji4 . . . you4 . . .* 'while . . . while . . . ,' as in [24a], a temporal sequence represented by 一 . . . 就 . . . *yi1 . . . jiu4 . . .* 'as soon as . . . then . . . ,' a progressive sequence signified by 不仅 . . . 而且 . . . *bu4jin3 . . . er2qie . . .* 'not only . . . but also . . . ,' or an adversative one indicated by 不仅不 . . . 反而 . . . *bu4jinbu4 . . . fan3er2 . . .* 'not only not . . . but on the contrary . . . ,' as in [24b].

[24]   a.   处理事故时, 你们既要有原则性, 又要有灵活性。
              chu3li3   shi4gu4   shi2   ni3men0   ji4   yao4   you3
              handle   accident   when   you   also   need   have

              yuan2ze2xing4   you4   yao4   you3
              quality_of_sticking_to_principles   but_also   need   have

              ling2huo2xing4
              flexibility
              'When handling the accident, you should uphold the principles while exercising enough flexibility.'

b. 小偷不仅没有逃走, 反而将失主打伤。

    xiao3tou1   bu4jin3   mei2you3   tao2zou3   fan3er2

    thief   not_only   NEG   run_away   instead

    jiang1   shi1zhu3   da3shang1

    BA   loss_owner   beat_hurt

    'The thief did not run away but instead beat the victim.'

Other connective adjunct pairs of equal status include 边…边…*bian1… bian1…* 一面…一面…*yi1mian4…yi1mian4…* and 一方面…一方面… *yi1fang1mian4…yi1fang1mian4…* all of which are based on the space metaphor 'on the one side…on the other side,' 起先…后来…*qi3xian1…hou4lai4…* 'at the beginning,' 首先…然后…*shou3xian1…ran2hou4…* 'at first…then…,' 接着…然后…*jie1zhe…ran2hou4…* 'right after…then…,' and 然后…终于…*ran2hou4…zhong1yu2…* 'then…at last…,' which indicate a temporal sequence; 不但 *bu4dan4*/不单 *bu4dan1*/不独 *bu4du2*/不光 *bu4guang1*/不只 *bu4zhi3…* 甚至…*shen4zhi4*/并且 *bing4qie3…* 'not only…but also…,' which represents a progressive sequence; and 不但…反而…*bu2dan4…fan3er2…* 'not only…on the contrary…' and 不但不…反而…*bu2dan4bu4…fan3er2…* 'not only not…on the contrary…,' which represent an adversative relation.

Connective adjuncts that typically appear alone include 同时 *tong2shi2* 'at the same time,' 此外 *ci3wai4* 'in addition,' and 另外 *ling4wai4* 'in addition' for equal status; 接着 *jie2zhe* 'following that,' 甚至 *shen4zhi4* 'even,' and 然后 *ran2hou4* 'afterwards' for a progressive sequence; and 反之 *fan3zhi1* 'on the contrary,' 反而 *fan3er2* 'on the contrary,' 反倒 *fan3dao4* 'on the contrary,' 然而 *ran2er2* 'however,' 然则 *ran2ze2* 'however,' and 则 *ze2* 'on the other hand' for adversity.

In disjunctive compound sentences, the logical relation between the clauses can be a pure choice that is marked by pairs like the 是…还是…*shi4…hai2shi4* 'either…or…' in [25a] or 要么…要么…*yao4me0…yao4me0…* 'either… or…' Sometimes the choice is a random one, such as…也好…也好… *ye3hao3…ye3hao3* '…as well…as well' occurring after the compared items. The choice can also be a preference introduced by pairs, such as 宁愿…也不… *ning4yuan4…ye3bu4…* 'would rather…but not…' or pairs like the 与其… 还不如…*yu3qi2…hai2bu4ru2…* 'rather than…would be better…' in [25b].

[25] a. 咱们是从东京走还是从首尔走?

    zan3men   shi4   cong2   dong1jing1   zou3   hai2shi4   cong2

    we   be   via   Tokyo   go   or   via

    shou3er3   zou3

    Seoul   go

    'Should we go via Tokyo or via Seoul?'

b.   与其在街上闲逛, 还不如去打篮球。

    yu3qi2   zai4   jie1shang4   xian2guang4   hai2bu4ru2

    rather_than   be_at   street_on   wander   rather

    qu4   da3   lan2qiu2

    go   play   basketball

    'It is better to play basketball than to wander aimlessly on the street.'

Other disjunctive marker pairs for choice include the copular 不是 . . . 就是 . . . *bu2shi4 . . . jiu4shi4 . . .* 'either . . . or . . . ', or the predicative . . . 也罢 . . . 也罢 . . . *ye3ba4 . . . ye3ba4* ' . . . as well . . . as well' following the choice items. Additional disjunctive modal pairs for preference include 宁肯 . . . 也要 . . . *ning4ken3 . . . ye3yao4 . . .* 'would rather . . . but would . . . ', 宁可 . . . 也不 . . . *ning4ke3 . . . ye3bu4 . . .* 'would rather . . . but would not . . . ' 与其 . . . 倒不如 . . . *yu3qi2 . . . dao4bu4ru2 . . .* 'rather than . . . but would be better . . . ,' and 与其 . . . 宁可 . . . *yu3qi2 . . . ning4ke3 . . .* 'rather than . . . but would be better . . . '

The disjunctive relation between clauses can be represented by a single marker as well. In addition to half-pair markers like 还是 *hai2shi4* 'or be,' 还不如 *hai2bu4ru2* 'or would be better,' 宁肯 *ning4ken3* 'would rather,' and 宁可 *ning4ke3* 'would rather,' disjunctive markers like 抑 *yi4* 'or,' 抑或 *yi4huo4* 'or,' and 再不 *zai4bu4* 'otherwise' can also work alone.

Certain complex sentences are marked with the conjunctive adjunct to indicate the logical relation between the main clause and the subordinate clause. The relation can be that of cause and effect signified by pairs like 因为 . . . 所以 . . . *yin1wei2 . . . suo2yi3 . . .* 'because . . . therefore . . . ' in [26a] or 由于 . . . 于是 . . . *you2yu2 . . . yu2shi4 . . .* 'for the reason that . . . as a consequence . . . .' It can also be that of an induction marked by 既然 . . . 也就 . . . *ji4ran2 . . . ye3jiu4 . . .* 'given that . . . therefore . . . ' in [26b].

[26]   a.   因为旅客人数众多, 所以铁路局加开了两趟列车。

          yin1wei4   lü3ke4   ren2shu4   zhong4duo1

          because   passenger   number_of_people   many

          suo3yi3   tie3lu4ju2   jia1kai1   le0   liang3   tang4

          so   Railroad_bureau   add   LE   two   CL

          lie4che1

          train

          'Because there were too many passengers, the Railroad Bureau added two trains.'

      b.   既然嘉宾们都来了, 宴会也就提前开始。

          ji4ran2   jia1bin1men0   dou1   lai2   le0   yan4hui4

          since   honored_guests   all   come   LE   banquet

ye3jiu4   ti2qian2   kai1shi3
therefore   in_advance   start
'Since all the guests had come, the banquet started earlier.'

Other connective adjunct pairs marking a cause–effect relation are more formal in style and include 所以...在于...*suo2yi3...zai4yu2...* '(the reason) why...is caused by....' and 之所以...是因为...*zhi1suo2yi3...shi4yin1wei4...* '(the reason) why...it is because....' Other adjunct pairs marking an induction include 既然...于是/则/那就/那么...*ji4ran2...yu2shi4/ze2/na4jiu4/na4me...* 'given that...therefore....' The cause–effect relation can be marked by half of a pair, either the half indicating the cause, such as 由于 *you2yu2* 'because' and 因为 *yin1wei4* 'because,' or the half marking the effect, such as 于是 *yu2shi4* 'therefore,' 那么 *na4me0* 'therefore,' and 那就 *na4jiu4* 'therefore.' There are also some cause–effect adjuncts that work alone, such as 以致 *yi3zhi4* 'leading to,' 以至于 *yi3zhi4yu2* 'leading to,' and 从而 *cong2er2* 'therefore.'

Connective adjuncts are also used in conditional sentences. Such a sentence could include a simple consequence marked by 如果...就...*ru2guo3...jiu4...* 'if...then...' or 要不是...那么...*yao4bu4shi4...na4me0...* 'if not...then (not)...,' such as those in [27a] and [27b]. The condition set out in the subordinate clause can also be a counterfactual one, as in the case of [27c].

[27]   a.   如果发生八级以上地震, 大桥就会倒塌。
        ru2guo3   fa1sheng1   ba1ji2   yi3shang4
        if   happen   eight_magnitude   above

        di4zhen4   da4qiao1   jiu4hui4   dao3ta1
        earthquake   big_bridge   then   collapse
        'If there is an earthquake measured at magnitude 8 or above, the bridge will collapse.'

     b.   要不是急着用钱, 那么谁也不会现在卖。
        yao4bu2shi4   ji2   zhe0   yong4qian2   na4me0   shui2
        if_not   urgent   ZHE   use_money   then   who

        ye3bu4hui4   xian4zai4   mai4
        would_not   now   sell
        'If not in urgent need of cash, no one would sell (it) now.'

     c.   要是我早点知道真相, 就不会把钱投进去了。
        yao4shi4   wo3   zao3dian3   zhi1dao4   zhen1xiang4   jiu4
        if   I   earlier   know   truth   then

bu4	hui4	ba3	qian2	tou2	jin4qu4	le0
NEG	will	BA	money	invest	into	LE

'Had I learned the truth earlier, I would not have invested any money in it.'

Other connective adjunct pairs indicating a condition and its consequence include 假如/假使/假若/如/若/倘若...那么/就/则/便...*jia3ru2/jia2shi3/jia3ruo4/ru2/ruo4/tang3ruo4...na4me/jiu4/ze2/bian4...* 'if...then...,' 要不是...就/也...*yao4bu2shi4...jiu4/ye3...* 'if not...then...,' and 若不是...那...*ruo4bu4shi4...na4...* 'if not...then....' Some adjuncts indicating the condition can work alone, such as 假如/假使/假若/如/若/倘若 *jia3ru2/jia2shi3/jia3ruo4/ru2/ruo4/tang3ruo4* 'if' and 要不是/若不是 *yao4bu2shi4/ruo4bu2shi4* 'if not.'

If a conditional sentence is marked with the pair 只有...才...*zhi2you3...cai2...* 'only if...then...,' as in [28a], the subordinate clause will represent a necessary condition. If the conditional sentence is marked with the pair 只要...就...*zhi3yao4...jiu4...* 'as long as...then...,' as in [28b], the subordinate clause will represent a sufficient condition. The subordinate clause can also represent an exhaustive condition, and a common marker pair for such a sentence is 无论...都...*wu2lun4...dou1...* 'no matter...all...,' as in [28c].

[28]   a.   只有赶快跳车, 她才不会被烧死。

zhi3you3	gan3kuai4	tiao4che1		ta1	cai2
only_if	hastily	jump_from_the_car		she	then

bu4	hui4	bei4	shao1si3
NEG	will	BEI	burn_to_death

'She will not be burned to death unless she jumps out of the car.'

b.   只要有姓名地址, 我们就可以找到她的电话号码。

zhi3yao4	you3	xing4ming2	di4zhi3	wo3men0	jiu4
as_long_as	have	name	address	we	then

ke3yi3	zhao3dao4	ta3	de0	dian4hua4	hao4ma3
can	find	she	DE	telephone	number

'As long as her address and name are known, we will be able to find her phone number.'

c.   无论是否下雨, 你们都必须准时到达集合地点。

wu2lun4	shi4fou3	xia4yu3	ni3men0	dou1
no_matter	whether_or_not	rain	you	all

bi4xu1	zhun3shi2	dao4da2	ji2he2	dian4dian3
must	on_time	arrive	gather	place

'You should arrive at the gathering point on time no matter whether it rains or not.'

Other connective adjunct pairs that mark a necessary conditional sentence include 惟有...才...*wei2you3...cai2...*'if only...then...,' 除非...才...*chu2fei1...cai2...*'unless...then...,' and 除非...不然/否则...*chu2fei1...bu4ran2/fou3ze2...*'unless...would not....' Those marking a sufficient conditional sentence include 只要...都/便...*zhi3yao4...dou1/bian4...*'as long as...all/then...,' 一旦/一经...就/便...*yi1dan4/yi1jing1...jiu4/bian4...*'once...then...,' and 一...就/便...*yi1...jiu4/bian4...*'once...then....' Other marker pairs marking exhaustive conditional sentences include 不论/不管...都/总/也...*bu2lun4/bu4guan3...dou1/zong3/ye3...*'no matter...all....' The adjunct marker of the main clause can work alone in a necessary conditional sentence or a sufficient conditional sentence.

The subordinate clause can state the purpose of the action stated in the main clause. Such a complex sentence is commonly marked with 为了...就...*wei4le0...jiu4...*'in order to...then...,' as in [29a]. In some cases, only the purpose clause is marked with an adjunct, such as 为的是...*wei4de0shi4...*'it is for the purpose of...,' 以求...*yi3qiu2...*'in order to...,' 藉以...*jie4yi3...*'so as to...,' and the 以便 *yi3bian4* 'in order to' in [29b]. The marker 以免 *yi3mian3* 'in order to avoid' in [29c] marks a purpose clause describing a situation to be avoided. Markers with a similar function include 免得 *mian3de0* 'in order to avoid' and 省得 *sheng3de0* 'saving the trouble of.'

[29] a. 为了省钱, 小两口就决定自己安装厨柜。

        wei4le0   sheng3qian2   xiao3liang3kou3   jiu4
        in_order_to save_money   the_young_couple   then

        jue2ding4   zi4ji3   an1zhuang1   chu2gui4
        decide   self   install   cupboard
        'The young couple decided to install the cupboard themselves in order in order to save money.'

    b. 她在墙上贴满了英语单词, 以便随时复习。

        ta1   zai4   qiang2shang4   tie1man3   le0   ying1yu3
        she   at   wall_on   cover_with   LE   English

        dan1ci2   yibian4   sui2shi2   fu4xi2
        word   in_order_to   at_any_time   review
        'She covered the wall with English words, in order to review them at any time.'

    c. 请勿大声交谈, 以免妨碍其他读者。

        qing3   wu4   da4sheng1   jiao1tan2   yi3mian3   fang2ai4
        please do_not loud   speak   lest   disturb

qi2ta1   du2zhe3
other   reader
'Please don't speak loudly, in order to avoid disturbing other readers.'

The subordinate clause in a complex sentence can express a concession, as in the case of [30]. The connective adjunct pairs used in concession sentences include 即使…也…*ji4shi3…ye3…*'even if…would still…,' 尽管…也…*jin4guan3…ye3…*'even though…would still…,' and 即 / 即令 / 即或 / 即便 / 纵 / 纵然…也 / 仍然…*ji2 / ji2ling4 / ji2huo4 / ji2bian4 / zong4 / zong4ran2…ye3 / reng3ran2…*'even though…still…,' which appear mainly in written genres, as well as 就算 / 哪怕…也…*jiu4suan4 / na3pa4…ye3…*'even if…still…,' which typically appears in spoken genres.

[30]   即使公司去年亏损了，上市计划也仍然不变。

ji2shi3   gong1si1   qu4nian2   kui1sun3   le0
even_though   company   last_year   in_deficit   LE

shang4shi4   ji4hua4   ye2   reng2ran2   bu2bian4
be_on_the_market   plan   still   still   unchanged
'Even if the company was in the red last year, the plan to go public remains unchanged.'

Several compound and complex sentences may sometimes be combined to form a complicated logical relation, and connective adjuncts are essential in these cases. In the complicated long sentence in [31], clause [a] represents a concession and the others form the main clause. Within the main clause, [b] states a sufficient condition, while [c] and [d] form the main clause. In this smaller main clause, [c] is a concession clause and [d] is the main clause.

[31]   (a)   尽管他现在无法拿到营业执照，

jin4guan3   ta1   xian4zai4   wu2fa3   na2dao4
even_though   he   now   cannot   obtain

ying2ye4   zhi2zhao4
business   license

(b)   但只要允许他开业，

dan4   zhi3yao4   yun3xu3   ta1   kai1ye4
but   as_long_as   allow   he   start_the_business

(c)   即使一开始赚不到钱，

ji2shi3   yi1kai1shi3   zhuan4bu4dao4   qian2
even_though   at_the_beginning   earn_not   money

(d) 他也甘愿去碰碰运气。

　　ta1　ye3　gan1yuan4　qu4　peng4peng4yun4qi4

　　he　still　be_willing　go　try_one's_luck

　　'Although he cannot get the business license now, as long as he is
　　allowed to do it, he would like to try his luck, even if he cannot
　　make any money at the beginning.'

2.1.3.8. Interjections

Interjections predominantly occur alone and do not combine with other words
to form syntactic constructions. They have expressive rather than propositional
meanings in that they are used as exclamations or as supplements to express
certain emotions but they do not convey concrete ideas.

   The actual form and use of interjections is usually affected by the speaker's
dialect background and the number of interjections varies from speaker to
speaker. The interjections commonly used by most people and those often appear-
ing in literature works include 哈哈 *haha*, 嘿嘿 *heihei*, and 呵呵 *hehe*, which are
onomatopoeia derived from laughter resulting from happiness or excitement; 唉
ai, 咳 *hai*, and 嗨 *hai*, which imitate sounds of sighing and represent sadness or
regret; 咦 *yi*, 哎呀 *aiya*, 哎哟 *aiyo*, 呀 *ya*, and 啊 *a*, which are common sounds for
surprise; 哼 *heng*, which is a nasal sound indicating an unsatisfactory or unhappy
sentiment; 呸 *pei*, which is a spitting sound to show disdain; 哦 *e*, 嗯 *en*, and 唔
wu, which are sounds for consent; 欸 *ei*, which is the sound of a reply; and 喂 *wei*,
which is commonly used for getting other people's attention.

2.1.3.9. Sentence-final particles

Sentence-final particles predominantly appear at the end of a main clause,
although a few of them can appear at the end of certain subordinate clauses.
Particles of the latter type typically have rather vague meanings but very clear
propositional functions. If such a particle is attached to a clause, either main or
subordinate, the proposition of the clause will be combined with the particle to
create a new proposition. When a particle 了 *le0* 'LE,' which is commonly known
as 了$_2$, is added to [32a] to create [32b], the original proposition is preserved but
the combination represents a different one. [32a] is a simple statement that Anson
Chan is not the Chief Secretary and the proposition is true if she does not hold that
position. [32b] states that the fact becomes reality at the time of reference and the
proposition is true if Anson Chan had been the Chief Secretary at a certain point
before the time of reference but lost her job after that. Similarly, [33] is true if the
speaker used to be poor but received some money before the time of reference 现
在 *xian4zai4* 'now.'

[32]   a.   陈方安生不是政务司司长。
    chen2fang1an1sheng1 bu4 shi4 zheng4wu4si1
    Anson_Chan   NEG be Administration

    si1zhang3
    Chief_Secretary
    'Anson Chan is not the Chief Secretary for Administration.'

  b. 陈方安生不是政务司司长了。
    chen2fang1an1sheng1 bu4 shi4 zheng4wu4si1
    Anson_Chan   NEG be Administration

    si1zhang3   le0
    Chief_Secretary LE
    'Anson Chan is no longer the Chief Secretary for Administration.'

[33]   我现在有钱了。
    wo3 xian4zai4 you3 qian2 le0
    I now   have money LE
    'I am now in the status of being rich.'

The syntactic function of 了$_2$ resembles that of 了$_1$, since the latter is attached to a verb to indicate the completion of an action at the time of reference, while the former is attached to a clause to indicate the realization of the state of a proposition. Another particle with similar functions is 来着 *laizhe*, which is found in some northern dialects. When 来着 *laizhe* is attached to a clause, as in [34], it indicates that the event described in the clause is in a continuous state at some time right before the time of speech.

[34]   我们在操场打篮球来着。
    wo3men0 zai4 cao1chang3 da3 lan2qiu2 lai2zhe0
    we   PREP playground play basketball LAIZHE
    'We were playing basketball at the court just now.'

Most particles belong to the other type, which attaches to the main clause only and represents the speaker's attitude or his intentions to express some non-propositional meaning. The clause in [35a] can stand alone as a sentence to represent a simple statement, but it becomes a question when the sentence-final particle 吧 *ba* is attached to it. The most likely interpretation of question [35b] is a biased yes–no question in that the speaker is seeking verification for his guess that the man in question is the new president. Such a reading comes from both the proposition of the clause and the meaning of 吧 *ba*, which represents the speaker's hesitation or uncertainty about the fact and his intention to get confirmation of

his conjecture. The tentative nature of 吧 *ba* also enables it to alter the interpretation of an imperative. The directive in [36a] is a strong command, but the one in [36b] is a soft request or even a plea. The change in meaning is brought about by the particle 吧 *ba*, which is sometimes written as 罢 *ba* in non-interrogative usage.

[35] a. 他是我们的新校长。
   ta1 shi4 wo3men0 de0 xin1 xiao4zhang3
   he be we DE new president
   'He is our new President.'

   b. 他是我们的新校长吧?
   ta1 shi4 wo3men0 de0 xin1 xiao4zhang3 ba0
   he be we DE new president BA
   'Is he our new President?'

[36] a. 回来!
   hui2lai2
   come_back
   Come back!

   b. 回来吧!
   hui2lai2 ba0
   come_back BA
   Come back, please!

吗 *ma* is another particle that is attached to a main clause to create a yes–no question. Sentences [37a] and [37b] have the same propositional content but differ in their illocutionary force, namely, they convey the speaker's different attitudes and they impact the world in different ways. The proposition is asserted in [37a] but it is questioned in [37b].

[37] a. 他已经考上了清华大学。
   ta1 yi3jing1 kao3shang4 le0 qing1hua2da4xue2
   he already be_admitted LE Tsinghua_University
   'He has been admitted by Tsinghua University.'

   b. 他已经考上了清华大学吗?
   ta1 yi3jing1 kao3shang4 le0 qing1hua2da4xue2
   he already be_admitted LE Tsinghua_University
   ma0
   MA
   'Has he been admitted by Tsinghua University?'

The particle 呢 *ne* adds a different kind of illocutionary force to a main clause. Both [38a] and [38b] are variable questions about what tea the listener would like to drink. The main difference between the two is that [38a] is a straightforward question asking for an answer and [38b] is a polite query. The particle 呢 represents the speaker's curiosity about the fact and his gentle request for an explanation. Such a gentle nature enables 呢 to soften the tone of alternative questions as well. [38c] is a request for a direct answer, while [38d], with a 呢 at the end, is either a sheepish appeal for information or an expository question that directs the listeners to the answer the speaker is going to provide.

[38]   a.   您老要喝点什么茶?
          nin2   lao3   yao4   he1   dian3   shen2me0   cha 2
          you   old   want   drink   some   what   tea
          'What tea do you want your honor?'

      b.   您老要喝点什么茶呢?
          nin2   lao3   yao4   he1   dian3   shen2me0   cha 2   ne0
          you   old   want   drink   some   what   tea   NE
          'What tea do you want your honor?'

      c.   咱们明天去不去长城?
          zan2men0   ming2tian1   qu4   bu4   qu4   chang2cheng2
          we   tomorrow   go   NEG   go   Great_Wall
          'Are we going to the Great Wall tomorrow?'

      d.   咱们明天去不去长城呢?
          zan2men0   ming2tian1   qu4   bu4   qu4   chang2cheng2
          we   tomorrow   go   NEG   go   Great_Wall
          ne0
          NE
          'Are we going to the Great Wall tomorrow?'

The gentle request for an explanation enables 呢 to play another role. When a 呢 is attached to a single nominal phrase like the 你爸爸 *ni3 ba4ba0* 'your father' in [39a], the combination will become a question, either a variable one or an alternative one. Depending on the context, [39a] can be interpreted as an inquiry about any variable, such as where, how, when, or why, as long as it is related to the father. The combination can also be interpreted as an alternative question, asking whether 你爸爸 *ni3 ba4ba0* 'your father' will do certain things mentioned in the discourse. Similarly, a combination like [39b] asks whether people will do

the same thing in the afternoon and so on, or what people will do in the afternoon and so on, depending on the context.

[39]   a. 你爸爸呢?
          ni3   ba4ba0   ne0
          you   father   NE
          'Where is your father?/How about . . . /What happened to . . . '

       b. 下午呢?
          xia4wu3   ne0
          afternoon   NE
          'How about this afternoon?/What will happen . . . '

The gentle request for an explanation gives 呢 an extended role. The two sentences in [40] have the same propositional content but different illocutionary force, since [40b] has a 呢 attached. [40a] is a statement about the fact, while [40b] is a gentle plea or protest, with which the speaker is asking for an explanation for being required to do something without having dinner first.

[40]   a. 我还没吃晚饭。
          wo3   hai2   mei2   chi1   wan3fan4
          I   still   NEG   eat   dinner
          'I have not had dinner.'

       b. 我还没吃晚饭呢!
          wo3   hai2   mei2   chi1   wan3fan4   ne0
          I   still   NEG   eat   dinner   NE
          'I have not had my dinner yet!'

Another particle in this group is 啊 *a*, or its variations 呀 *ya* and 哇 *wa*. 啊 *a* alters the illocutionary force of sentences in a subtle way by representing the speaker's surprise or astonishment. [41a] and [41b] have the same propositional content but the former is a simple statement, while the latter expresses the speaker's surprise. [41b] is uttered when the speaker does not recognize a person at first and then realizes the person is an old friend, or when the speaker has tried hard to figure out who the culprit is and finally realizes that it is the listener. Similarly, [41d] has the same propositional content as [41c] does, but the final particle 啊 has a different illocutionary force. One of the possible scenarios in [41d] is that the listener wants to throw away some old jewelry without knowing the real value and the speaker is shocked by such ignorance. [41d] is a mild reprimand in this case.

[41]   a.   是你。
             shi4   ni3
             be   you
             'It is you.'

       b.   是你啊!
             shi4   ni3   a0
             be   you   A
             'It turns out to be you!'

       c.   这是我们的传家宝。
             zhe4   shi4   wo3men0   de0   chuan2jia1bao3
             this   be   we   DE   family_heirloom
             'This is our family heirloom.'

       d.   这是咱们的传家宝啊!
             zhe4   shi4   zan2men0   de0   chuan2jia1bao3   a0
             this   be   we   DE   family_heirloom A
             '(How come you don't know) this is our family heirloom!'

啊 could also be added to an interrogative sentence. [42a] is an echo question uttered when the speaker is not sure whether he heard something right and [42b] is asking about the same thing. However, with a 啊 at the end, [42b] actually functions as a soft protest against the listener, because he did not keep his word or did not live up to certain expectations. 啊 plays a similar role in turning a straightforward variable question in [42c] into a soft request for information in [42d]. One of the possible scenarios for uttering [42d] is that someone had been talking about all the details of a march but had ignored the most important issue of the leader of the march, and the speaker found it surprisingly strange and tried to get an answer.

[42]   a.   你明天不去?
             ni3   ming2tian1   bu4   qu4
             you   tomorrow   NEG   go
             'Won't you go tomorrow?'

       b.   你明天不去啊?
             ni3   ming2tian1   bu4   qu4   a0
             you   tomorrow   NEG   go   A
             'Is it true that you won't go tomorrow?'

    c.   谁领头?

        shui2   ling3tou2

        who   lead

        'Who will lead the march?'

    d.   谁领头啊?

        shui2   ling3tou2   a0

        who   lead   A

        'Come on, who will lead the march?'

Particles 吧 *ba*, 吗 *ma*, 呢 *ne*, and 啊 *a* are found at the end of various questions, even though only 吗 *ma* actually carries interrogative force, while 吧 *ba* partially carries that force. Particles 呗 *bei*, 哟 *yo* and 嘛 *ma* on the other hand, are not found at the end of interrogative sentences. 呗 typically appears at the end of a main clause in a conditional sentence, to represent the speaker's not-a-big-deal attitude toward the consequence indicated by the main clause. The most likely scenario for [43a] is that the listener is worried about the consequence of 他 *ta1* 'he' going to some place and the speaker uses 呗 *bei* to indicate that it is not a big deal. Similarly, the speaker in [43b] uses 呗 *bei* to suggest that even running out of money is not the end of the world and that begging is an acceptable solution.

[43]   a.   他要去就去呗!

        ta1   yao4   qu4   jiu4   qu4   bei0

        he   want   go   thus   go   BEI

        'Let him go if he wants to go!'

    b.   没钱了, 咱们就要饭呗。

        mei2   qian2   le0   zan2men0   jiu4   yao4fan4   bei0

        NEG   money   LE   we   thus   beg   BEI

        'Let's go begging if we run out of money.'

哟 *yo* is sometimes written as 唷. When a speaker uses 哟 at the end of a sentence, he is calling the listener's attention to the proposition conveyed by the main clause. What is being implied by 哟 is that if the listener does not pay enough attention to the issue in question, he will regret it afterward. The implied meaning of [44a] is that the listener should not think lightly about such a big sum of money and [44b] implies that this is an opportunity not to be missed.

[44]   a.   这可是一百万哟!

        zhe4   ke3   shi4   yi1bai3wan4   yo0

        this   eventually   be   one_million   YO

        'This is one million dollars!'

    b.   多好的机会哟!

        duo1   hao4   de0   ji1hui4   yo0

        so   good   DE   opportunity   YO

        'What a golden opportunity!'

嘛 *ma* is another particle without propositional meaning and it has a variation of *me* which is sometimes written as 么 or 噷. 嘛 represents the speaker's gentle protest against the listener's ignorance, because it is so obvious that the listener should have known it. [45a] is a mild imperative in which the speaker uses an obvious logic, which the speaker thinks the listener should have known, to encourage the listener. [45b] is a mild reprimand in which the speaker tells the listener that she should have listened to his advice that there was not enough time.

[45]   a.   不会不要紧, 边干边学嘛。

        bu4   hui4   bu4   yao4jin3   bian1gan4bian1xue2   ma0

        NEG   know   NEG   matter   learn_by_doing   MA

        'It doesn't matter if you don't know how to do it. Don't you know the motto learning by doing?'

    b.   我说来不及嘛。

        wo3   shuo1   lai2bu4ji2   ma0

        I   say   not_in_time   MA

        'I have said there is not enough time.'

It is common for a particle with propositional content to co-occur with one without propositional content, with the former coming before the latter. The basic proposition of sentence [46] is that all the students have come back. The particle 了 *le* indicates that the proposition has become true before the time of reference, while the other particle 吗 *ma* renders the sentence a yes−no question.

[46]   同学们都回到学校了吗?

        tong2xue2men0   dou1   hui2dao4   xue2xiao4   le0   ma0

        classmates   all   return_to   school   LE   MA

        'Is it true that all the classmates have come back to school?'

When two sentence-final particles appear next to each other, they can retain their identity but they can also be merged phonologically to form a single particle. The sentence-final particle 哪 *na* in [47] is a contracted form of 呢 *ne* and 啊 *a*, which retains the functions of both particles. 哪 therefore indicates the speaker's gentle request for an explanation and shows his astonishment. A likely scenario for asking this question is that a son has disobeyed his father so many times that the desperate old man is showing his frustration.

[47]   你还认不认我这个爹哪?

    ni3   hai2 ren4   bu4   ren4   wo3 zhe4 ge4 die1

    you yet admit NEG admit I   this   CL   father

    na0

    NA

    'Do you still consider me your father or not?'

Sentence-final particles are used mainly in spoken genres and are seldom found in serious written genres such as government documents, laws, or diplomatic correspondences. The sentence-final particles discussed here are common in most dialects and are found in Putonghua. Most dialects have their own unique particles that are usually not shared by other dialects, such as 吵 *sa* in the Xiang dialect and 啵 *bo* in Cantonese.

2.1.3.10. Onomatopoeia

An onomatopoeia is a morpheme that represents sound. Such a morpheme can stand alone as a word. It can also form a compound by reduplication or in combination with other morphemes. Words formed with onomatopoeia typically function as members of a clause and sometimes stand alone as a sentence. The written form of an onomatopoeia typically consists of characters chosen for their pronunciation but not for their meaning.

The 喀嚓 *kacha* in [48a] is an independent clause, presenting a proposition that some cracking noise came out of nowhere and the following clause spells out the reason for the noise. The 扑哧 *puchi* in [48b] is the sound of laughter and is an appositive of the nominal phrase 一声 *yi1sheng1* '(one) noise.' The 嘀嘀咕咕 *didigugu* in [48c] is an AaBb duplicated form of 嘀咕 *digu* and functions as the main verb.

[48]   a.   喀嚓, 屋梁经受不住积雪的重量断裂了。

        ka1cha1   wu1liang2 jing1shou4bu4zhu4 ji1xue3 de0

        KACHA   beam   cannot_stand   snow   DE

        zhong4liang4 duan4lie4 le0

        weight   snap   LE

        'Kacha, the beam snapped under the weight of the snow.'

    b.   他女朋友扑哧一声笑了。

        ta1 nü3peng2you3 pu1chi1 yi1 sheng1 xiao4 le0

        he   girlfriend   PUCHI   one sound   laugh LE

        'His girlfriend burst into laughter with a puchi sound.'

c. 你们几个在嘀嘀咕咕什么呢?

ni3men0　　ji3　　　ge4　zai4　di1di1gu1gu1　shen2me0

you　　　　several　CL　ZAI　DIDIGUGU　　　what

ne0

NE

What are you didigugu-ing about? [talking in a low and inaudible sound]

2.2. Phrases, clauses, and sentences

2.2.1. Phrases

Phrases are constructed according to syntactic principles, namely, words inside a phrase are arranged according to a set of rules governing their combination. Phrases are commonly classified according to their head.

A verb phrase is headed by a verb, which may stand alone without any other dependent element, as in [49a], or take a nominal phrase as the object, as in [49b]. Some verbs can take a direct object and an indirect object at the same time, as in [49c], and the indirect object can appear in a preposition phrase after the direct object, as in [49d]. More details on verbs and verb phrases are discussed in Chapter 4.

[49]　　a.　走!

zou3

go

'Go!'

　　b.　吃药。

chi1　　yao4

eat　　medication

'Take (my/your/his . . .) medication.'

　　c.　送你一支玫瑰花。

song4　ni3　yi1　zhi1　mei2gui1hua1

give　　you　one　CL　　rose

'Give you a rose.'

　　d.　送一束玫瑰花给我女朋友。

song4　yi1　shu4　mei2gui1hua1　gei3　wo3

give　　one　CL　　rose　　　　　PREP　I

nü3peng2you3

girlfriend

'Give a rose to my girlfriend.'

An adjective phrase is headed by an adjective, which can appear in bare form without any dependent elements. The bare form can be a simple adjective like the 聪明 *cong1ming0* 'smart' in [50a], a coordinated one like the 活泼可爱 *huo2po1ke3ai4* 'lively and lovely' in [50b], a reduplicated one like the 漂漂亮亮 *piao4-piao4liang1liang1* 'beautiful' in [50c], and a suffixed one like the 酸溜溜 *suan1liu1liu1* 'sour, sarcastic' in [50d]. It can also be an A-A compound where the second adjective represents the extent of the first one, like the 烫极 *tang4 ji2* 'hot in the extreme' in [50e]. Adjectives with duplicated suffixes and reduplicated adjectives can function as predicates only when they take the phrasal suffix -的 *de*, as in [50c] and [50d]. More details on adjectives and adjective phrases are discussed in Chapter 10.

[50]   a.   聪明!
            cong1ming0
            smart
            '(He is) smart!'

   b.   活泼可爱!
            huo2po1   ke3ai4
            lively   lovely
            '(She is) lively and lovely!'

   c.   (小女孩打扮得)漂漂亮亮的。
            xiao3   nü3hai2   da3ban4   de0   piao4piao4liang1liang1
            little   girl   dressed   DE   beautiful
            de0
            DE
            (The little girl dressed in such a way that she looked) beautiful.

   d.   (你这话怎么)酸溜溜的?
            ni3   zhe4   hua4   zen3me0   suan1liu1liu1   de0
            you   this   words   how   sarcastic   DE
            '(How come you sound) sarcastic?'

   e.   烫极了。
            tang4   ji2   le0
            hot   extreme   LE
            '(It is) hot in the extreme.'

A nominal phrase has a noun as the head. In actual use, a nominal phrase can appear in the shape of a bare noun phrase, as in [51a], a numeral–classifier phrase, as in [51b], or a determiner phrase, as in [51c]. These phrases can be modified by a

phrase marked with 的 *de*, as in [52a], [52b], and [52c]. Details on nouns and noun phrases are provided in Chapter 8.

[51]   a.   (我买)报纸杂志。
            wo3   mai3   bao4zhi3   za2zhi4
            I   buy   newspaper magazine
            '(I buy) newspaper(s) and magazines.'

        b.   (我买)一份报纸。
            wo3   mai3   yi1   fen4   bao4zhi3
            I   buy   one   CL   newspaper
            '(I buy) a newspaper.'

        c.   (我买)那一份报纸。
            wo3   mai3   na4   yi1   fen4   bao4zhi3
            I   buy   that   one   CL   newspaper
            '(I buy) that newspaper.'

[52]   a.   (我买)刚来的报纸。
            wo3   mai3   gang1   lai2   de0   bao4zhi3
            I   buy   just   come DE   newspaper
            '(I buy) newspaper(s) that has just arrived.'

        b.   (我买) 那刚来的一份报纸。
            wo3   mai3   gang1   lai2   de0   yi1   fen4   bao4zhi3
            I   buy   just   come DE   one   CL   newspaper
            '(I buy) the newspaper that has just arrived.'

        c.   (我买) 刚来的那一份报纸。
            wo3   mai3   gang1   lai2   de0   na4   yi1   fen4
            I   buy   just   come DE   that one   CL
            bao4zhi3
            newspaper
            '(I buy) the newspaper that has just arrived.'

    A preposition phrase is headed by a preposition, which takes a nominal phrase as its object. The predominant function of a preposition phrase is to be an adverbial modifying a verb phrase, as in [53a] or an adjective phrase, as in [53b]. Preposition phrases can be stacked to modify the same verb phrase, as in [53c]. Chapter 13 discusses prepositions and preposition phrases in detail.

[53] a. (飞机)朝上海(飞去)。
          fei1ji1 chao2 shang4hai3 fei1 qu4
          plane PREP Shanghai   fly   go
          '(The plane flew) toward Shanghai.'

      b. (她)在娘家时就这么泼辣。
          ta1   zai4   niang2 jia1   shi2   jiu4
          she PREP mother home when thus

          zhe4mo0   po1la4
          so   shrewish
          '(She) was such a shrew when she was a girl.'

      c. 列车经郑州向西安方向开去。
          lie4che1 jing1 zheng4zhou1 xiang4 xi1an1
          train   PREP ZHENGZHOU   PREP   XIAN

          fang1xiang4 kai1 qu4
          direction   drive go
          'The train moved toward Xi'an via Zhengzhou.'

An adverb phrase predominantly consists of just an adverb like the 刚 *gang1* 'a short while ago' in [54a]. Adverb phrases can be stacked to modify the same verb phrase like the 的确 *di2que4* 'indeed,' 曾经 *ceng2jing1* 'once,' and 非常 *fei1chang2* 'very much' in [54b]. See Chapter 12 for more details on adverb phrases.

[54] a. (爸爸)刚回来。
          ba4ba4   gang1 hui2lai2
          dad   just   come_back
          '(Dad) has just come in.'

      b. (她)的确曾经非常会说话。
          ta1   di2que4 ceng2jing1 fei1chang2 hui4 shuo1hua4
          she indeed   once   very   able talk
          '(She) indeed once upon a time really knew how to say things.'

2.2.2. Clauses and sentences

The main components of a clause are a subject and a predicate. Although the subject is typically a nominal phrase, as in [55a], it can at times be a verb phrase or an adjective phrase, as in [55b] and [55c]. When there is a clear context to recover its identity, the subject can be left empty, as in the second clause of [55a]. Although

the predicate is typically a verb phrase, it can be an adjective phrase as well, as in [55c].

[55] a. 校长做了次别出心裁的演讲, 引来了媒体的关注。
      xiao4zhang3   zuo4   le0   ci4   bie2chu1xin1cai2   de0
      president   make   LE   CL   extraordinary   DE

      yan3jiang3   yin3   lai2   le0   mei2ti3   de0   guan1zhu4
      speech   attract come   LE   media   DE   attention
      'The president delivered an unusual speech. It attracted the attention of the media.'

   b. 贪污受贿又不是死罪。
      tan1wu1shou4hui4   you4   bu4   shi4   si3zui4
      embezzle_take_bribery again NEG   be   capital_offense
      'It is not a capital offense to offer or to take bribes.'

   c. 简单朴素好。
      jian3dan1   pu3su4   hao3
      simple   plain   good
      'It is better to be simple and plain.'

There can be peripheral components in a clause, such as the clausal adverbial 这些天 *zhe4xie1tian1* 'these days' in [56a] and the connective adjunctive adverbials 幸亏 *xing4kui1* 'fortunately' and 不然 *bu4ran2* 'otherwise' in [56b].

[56] a. 这些天给你添了许多麻烦, 谢谢啦。
      zhe4xie1   tian1   gei3   ni3   tian1   le0   xu3duo1   ma2fan0
      these   day   give   you   add   LE   many   trouble

      xie4xie4   la0
      thank   LA
      'These days (we) troubled you a lot. Thank you very much.'

   b. 幸亏提前做了准备, 不然真的就会一败涂地了。
      xing4kui1   ti2qian2   zuo4   le0   zhun3bei4   bu4ran2
      fortunately in_advance   make   LE   preparation otherwise

      zhen1de0   jiu4   hui4   yi1bai4tu2di4   le0
      really   thus   will   lose_totally   LE
      'Fortunately you made the arrangement ahead of time.
      Otherwise you would have had a total loss.'

The predominant constituent order in a clause is for the predicate to follow the subject, while the default linear order for the object is to appear after the verb, in

the sense that there are fewer constraints for it to occur in that position. There are, however, a number of ways for these constituents to have a different order. The 银行卡 *yin2hang2 ka3* 'ATM card' in [57a] represents the patient affected by the action 丢 *diu1* 'losing' and its default position is after the verb. It is now in a preverbal position marked by 把 *ba*, which signifies the relation between the verb and the nominal phrase. The nominal phrase 这事 *zhe4shi4* 'this issue' in [57b] represents the entity being 计议 *ji4yi4* 'discussed,' and it is in the topic position while the object position is left empty.

[57]   a.   福林又把银行卡丢了, 烦不烦啊?

fu2lin2	you4	ba3	yin2hang2	ka3	diu1	le0	fan2
Fulin	again	BA	bank	card	lose	LE	trouble

bu4	fan2	a0
NEG	trouble	A

'Fulin lost the ATM card again. Isn't it troublesome?'

b.   这事咱们还得从长计议。

zhe4	shi4	zan2men0	hai2	dei3
this	thing	we	yet	need

cong2chang2ji4yi4
make_a_long_term_plan

'About this issue, we have to consider a long-term plan.'

Other elements in a clause may occasionally appear in some atypical positions, especially in casual speech. The 您 *nin2* 'you' in [58a] is the agent of the action 吃 *chi1* 'eat' and typically occupies the subject position. In this common greeting cliché, it occurs after the predicate in the form of an afterthought. The 昨天 *zuo2tian1* 'yesterday' in [58b] represents the time of 惹你生气 *re3 ni3 sheng1qi4* 'annoying you,' but it occurs after the predicate as a supplemental afterthought.

[58]   a.   吃了没? 您呐?

chi1	le0	mei2	nin2	na0
eat	LE	NEG	you	NA

'Have you eaten (breakfast/lunch/dinner)?'

b.   爸, 我惹你生气了?昨天?

ba4	wo3	re3	ni3	sheng1qi4	le0	zuo2tian1
dad	I	annoy	you	angry	LE	yesterday

'Daddy, did I annoy you yesterday?'

A clause represents a proposition and it can contain another proposition, like the object clause in [59a] and the subject clause in [59b]. A clause that is part of another one is a subordinate clause, while a clause that is not contained in any other clause is the main clause. In addition to a subject and an object, a clause can function as the modifier of a nominal phrase, as in [59c], act as a modifier of a predicate, as in [59d], or can be conjoined with another clause, as in [59e].

[59] a. 谁说我考砸了?
          shui2   shuo1   wo3   kao3   za2   le0
          who   say   I   examine   smash   LE
          'Who said I failed the test?'

      b. 他考不上很正常。
          ta1   kao3   bu4   shang4   hen3   zheng4chang2
          he   examine   NEG   up   very   normal
          'It is expected that he was not admitted.'

      c. 昨天找过你的那个学生又来了。
          zuo2tian1   zhao3   guo4   ni3   de0   na4   ge4
          yesterday   look_for   GUO   you   DE   that CL

          xue2sheng1   you4   lai2   le0
          student   again   come   LE
          'The student who looked for you yesterday is here again.'

      d. 要不是病了, 我才不会缺席呢。
          yao4bu4shi4   bing4   le0   wo3   cai2   bu4   hui4   que1xi2
          but_for   sick   LE   I   just   not   will   absent

          ne0
          NE
          'I would not have been absent if I were not sick.'

      e. 天黑了, 停下来吧。
          tian1   hei1   le0   ting2xia4lai2   ba0
          sky   dark   LE   stop_down   BA
          'It is dark now. Let's stop.'

Although a clause represents a proposition and a piece of discourse is a collection of related propositions, a main clause depicting an action or event may not have independent status in the discourse in many cases. The largest syntactic unit with independent functions in the discourse is a sentence, which consists of a main clause and some peripheral elements, mainly sentence-final particles. The

clause in [60] describes a completed event and it represents a coherent proposition. However, native speakers in many cases would wait for more information and would consider it incomplete or unacceptable if the clause appeared alone.

[60]   我已经吃了药。
         wo3   yi3jing1   chi1   le0   yao4
         I   already   eat   LE   medication
         'I have taken the medication.'

One way to supply the needed information is to add a conjoined clause, as in the case of [61a], which is an acceptable sentence. However, this technique does not always work. The two coordinated clauses in [61b] still sound incomplete and the main factor is the lack of the sentence-final particle 了 in the second clause. Such a sentence-final particle could also make [60] an acceptable sentence, as shown in [61c].

[61]   a. 我已经吃了药, 现在好多了。
           wo3   yi3jing1   chi1   le0   yao4   xian4zai4   hao3
           I   already   eat   LE   medication   now   good

           duo1   le0
           more   LE
           'I have taken the medication, (and as a consequence) I am feeling better now.'

       b. 我已经吃了药, 睡了一觉。
           wo3   yi3jing1   chi1   le0   yao4   shui4   le0   yi1
           I   already   eat   LE   medication   sleep   LE   one

           jiao4
           sleep
           'I have taken the medication, and I have slept a while.'

       c. 我已经吃了药了。
           wo3   yi3jing1   chi1   le0   yao4   le0
           I   already   eat   LE   medication   LE
           'I have fulfilled the requirement of taking medication.'

The sentence-final particle 了 not only makes [60] an acceptable sentence in [61c] but also brings about a different proposition. The proposition of [61c] is not about the action but is about the status of affairs at the time of reference. It states that the speaker's taking the medication has become a reality and no more action is needed; that is, there has been a change of state.

The 了 in [62] plays the same role. The single clause in [62a] represents a coherent proposition and is an acceptable sentence in some specific contexts (see [63]). However, it would be considered incomplete if it described a specific action, such as he smoked (yesterday). If a sentence-final particle 了 is attached to it, the result is an acceptable sentence, as in [62b], which means 他 *ta1* 'he' had not been a smoker but was in the state of being a smoker at the time of reference. The difference in meaning between [62a] and [62b] is due to the presence of 了.

[62]   a.   他抽烟。
             ta1   chou1yan1
             he   smoke
             'He smokes cigarettes.'

        b.   他抽烟了。
             ta1   chou1yan1   le0
             he   smoke   LE
             'He starts smoking.'

A main clause can assume the state of a sentence in many ways. One way is to function as a question. [63a] and [63b] are yes–no questions formed by adding a sentence-final particle to [62a], and different particles indicate different interrogative intentions. In [63a], the speaker is interested in whether 他 *ta1* 'he' smokes and would be happy with either a "yes" answer or a "no" answer. In [63b], the speaker has a suspicion that 他 *ta1* 'he' smokes and seeks confirmation from the listener. A "yes" answer would make the speaker happy. Both [63c] and [63d] are alternative questions which in essence ask the listener to pick one of two choices about 他 *ta1* 'he': smoking or not smoking. Although [63e] does not carry any sentence-final particle, it can function as a question if the final word bears a rising intonation, which will make [63e] an echo question signifying the speaker's doubt about the statement that 他 *ta1* 'he' smokes.

[63]   a.   他抽烟吗?
             ta1   chou1yan1   ma0
             he   smoke   MA
             'Does he smoke?'

        b.   他抽烟吧?
             ta1   chou1yan1   ba0
             he   smoke   BA
             'He smokes, right?'

c. 他抽不抽烟?

ta1   chou1   bu4   chou1yan1

he   smoke   NEG   smoke

'Does he smoke?'

d. 他抽烟不?

ta1   chou1yan1   bu4

he   smoke   NEG

'He smokes, doesn't he?'

e. 他抽烟?

ta1   chou1yan1

he   smoke

'He smokes?'

To any one of the questions in [63], [62a] is an appropriate answer and, as such, is an acceptable sentence. In essence, a main clause will have the status of a sentence without the help of final particles if it is being used as the answer to a question. Another way for a clause to acquire such a status is for it to function as an imperative, as in [64a] and [64b].

[64] a. 你们先别进来。

ni3men0   xian1   bie2   jin4lai2

you   first   do_not   come_in

'(You) don't come in yet.'

b. 咱们走!

zan2men0   zou3

we   go

'Let's go!'

For clauses that describe a state or a property that is true throughout the existence of an individual or individuals, it is common for them to assume the status of a sentence in their own right. [65a] portrays a child's intelligence, which remains true throughout his life, while [65b] describes the pandas' appearance, which is true all the time. Both clauses are sentences and are acceptable as such. For the same reason, [62a] is an acceptable sentence if it is interpreted as 他 *ta1* 'he' has the habit of smoking.

[65] a. 这孩子很聪明。

zhe4   hai2zi0   hen3   cong1ming0

this   child   very   smart

'The kid is very smart.'

b. 熊猫眼睛周围长了一圈黑毛。

xiong2mao1	yan3jing1	zhou1wei2	zhang3	le0	yi1
panda	eye	around	grow	LE	one

quan1	hei1	mao2
circle	black	hair

'Pandas have black rings around their eyes.'

Clauses that describe events or action taking place regularly have similar properties. The action of 抽烟袋 *chou1 yan1dai4* 'smoke the pipe' in [66] is a regular activity and the clause can be considered true for 爷爷 *ye2ye0* 'grandpa' all the time. [66] is thus an acceptable sentence on its own.

[66]   爷爷经常一个人坐在堂屋里抽烟袋。

ye2ye0	jing1chang2	yi1	ge4	ren2	zuo4
Grandfather	often	one	CL	person	sit

zai4	tang2wu1	li3	chou1	yan1dai4
PREP	main_hall	inside	smoke	pipe

'Grandfather often sits alone in the lobby smoking the pipe.'

2.3. Negation

Negation, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, is a linguistic expression that changes the polarity of a statement to indicate a contrary meaning or a negative attitude. The predominant way to negate a proposition is to insert a negative morpheme into the clause bearing the proposition. The most commonly used negative morphemes are 不 *bu4* 'not,' which negates predicates with an imperfect aspect, as in [67a], and 没有 *mei2you3* 'not' or its shortened form 没 *mei2* 'not,' which negates predicates with a perfect aspect, as in [67b].

[67]   a. 校园安全不属于本公司的职责范围。

xiao4yuan2	an1quan2	bu4	shu3yu2	ben3	gong1si1
campus	safety	NEG	belong_to	this	company

de0	zhi2ze2	fan4wei2
DE	duty	scope

'Campus security is not our company's job.'

b. 这种事故他们以前没有处理过。

zhe4	zhong3	shi4gu4	ta1men0	yi3qian2	mei2you3
this	CL	accident	they	before	NEG

chu3li3	guo4
handle	GUO

'They have not handled this type of accident before.'

There are also several negative morphemes with limited distribution. Some of them are inherited from Classic Chinese and are mainly used in formal written genres, such as 未 *wei4* 'not (yet)' in [68a], 无 *wu2* 'not (have, exist)' in [68b], and 勿 *wu4* '(should) not' in [68c]. Some other morphemes are found in imperatives only, such as 别 *bie2* '(should) not' in [69a] and 甭 *beng2* '(should) not' in [69b], which is from the northern dialect near Beijing.

[68] a. 该员工未经批准, 擅离职守。
       gai1   yuan2gong1   wei4jing1   pi1zhun3
       the   employee   without   permission
       shan4li2zhi2shou3
       leave_position_without_permission
       'The said employee left his post without prior permission.'

      b. 争取做到无污渍, 无异味。
       zheng1qu3   zuo4dao4   wu2   wu1zi4   wu2   yi4wei4
       try   achieve   no   stain   no   odor
       '(We) will try our best to have no stain and no odor.'

      c. 请勿吸烟!
       qing3   wu4   xi1yan1
       please   do_not   smoke
       No smoking, please!

[69] a. 别把钱包丢了。
       bie2   ba3   qian2bao1   diu1   le0
       do_not   BA   wallet   lose   LE
       'Don't lose your wallet.'

      b. 甭客气, 想吃什么自己拿。
       beng2   ke4qi4   xiang3   chi1   shen2me0   zi4ji3   na2
       do_not   mannerly   want   eat   what   self   take
       'Don't behave like a guest. Just take whatever you like to eat.'

A negative morpheme negates things on its right but not things on its left. The two sentences in [70] thus have different meanings, determined by the position of 不 *bu4* 'not.'

[70] a. 我不可能去你家。
       wo3   bu4ke3neng2   qu4   ni3   jia1
       I   impossible   go   you   home
       'It is impossible for me to go to your place.'

b. 我可能不去你家。
    wo3   ke3neng2   bu4   qu4   ni3   jia1
    I   possible   NEG   go   you   home
    'It is possible that I will not go to your place.'

2.4. Aspectual system

There is no visible inflectional marking on the main verb to indicate the relation between the time of action and the time of speech, although there may be adverbials to indicate the temporal status of the action. This means that there is no visible morphological marking to indicate tense in the usual sense. On the other hand, there is marking on the predicate, usually on its head, to indicate the status of the event or action, as well as the relation between the time of action and the time of reference, namely, to indicate aspect in the usual sense.

A commonly used aspect marker is 了 *le*, which indicates that, when evaluated in its totality, the action or event represented by the predicate has been completed before the time of reference and the result remains unchanged at the stage after the time of reference. In [71a] the 了 *le* attached to the verb 去 *qu4* 'go' means that the action of going to Hong Kong has been completed and the result of the action still holds after the time of reference, which means the Director is still in Hong Kong. The 了 *le* in [71b] also indicates the completion of an action, namely, completing walking and becoming tired, as well as the continuance of the result, namely, being tired after the time of reference.

[71]   a.   局长去了香港, 不在这儿。
            ju2zhang3   qu4   le0   xiang1gang3   bu4   zai4   zhe4er0
            director   go   LE   Hong_Kong   NEG   be_at   here
            'The Director has gone to Hong Kong and is not here.'
       b.   行人走累了, 可以在这儿歇一会儿。
            xing2ren2   zou3   lei4   le0   ke3yi3   zai4   zhe4er0   xie1
            pedestrian   walk   tired   LE   can   PREP   here   rest
            yi1hui4er0
            a_while
            'Pedestrians can rest here if they are tired from walking.'

Another commonly used aspect marker is 过 *guo*, which is attached to the head of a predicate to indicate the completion of an action or the ending of a state before the time of reference. When a speaker uses 过 *guo*, he is making it clear that the final stage of the situation no longer exists and this implies some prior experience. The differences between 了 *le* and 过 *guo* are responsible for

the contrast between [71a] and [72a]. The proposition of both sentences is about someone's trip to another city, but [71a] states that the Director is still in Hong Kong, while [72a] implies that Uncle is no longer in Paris. Similarly, [71b] states that the pedestrians are tired after the time of reference, while [72b] states that the town in question is neither glorious nor depressed at the stage after the time of reference.

[72]   a.   舅舅去过巴黎, 他可能知道。
                jiu4jiu4   qu4   guo4   ba1li2   ta1   ke3neng2   zhi1dao4
                uncle   go   GUO   Paris   he   may   know
                'Uncle was in Paris once, and he might know it.'
       b.   小镇有过辉煌, 也经历过衰败。
                xiao3zhen4   you3   guo4   hui1huang2   ye3   jing1li4
                small_town   have   GUO   glory   also   undergo
                guo4   shuai1bai4
                GUO   decay
                'The small town has had good times but also bad times.'

Both 了 *le* and 过 *guo* indicate the speaker's evaluation of the situation as a whole and are therefore commonly categorized as markers for perfective aspects. The marker 着 *zhe*, on the other hand, indicates the speaker's evaluation of a sub-interval of time within a situation and is categorized as a marker for an imperfective aspect. The verb 架 *jia4* 'set up' in [73a] can either mean the action of setting up a structure or the resultant state of such an action. The 着 *zhe* in [73a] thus either tells us that the action of erecting the towers is ongoing at the time of reference or indicates that the state of the towers remains the same at the time of reference, as shown by [i] and [ii] respectively. The 着 *zhe* in [73b] indicates that the action of wearing a particular hat was in a continuous state at the time of reference. The state represented by the verbs lasts for some time but the marker 着 *zhe* depicts that it is for just a very short period, namely, the moment known as the time of reference.

[73]   a.   对面山上架着发射塔。
                dui4mian4   shan1shang4   jia4   zhe0
                opposite_side mountain_top install   ZHE
                fa1she4ta3
                transmission_tower
         i.   '(People) are setting up transmission towers on top of the mountains.'
         ii.   'There are transmission towers on top of the mountains.'

b. 他还是戴着那顶旧帽子。

ta1	hai2shi4	dai4	zhe0	na4	ding3	jiu4	mao4zi0
he	still	wear	ZHE	that	CL	old	hat

'He was still wearing the worn hat.'

Another marker with similar properties is 在 *zai*, which appears before the verb to show that the action represented by the predicate was in progress at the time of reference. The 在 *zai* before 下 *xia4* 'fall' in [74a] tells us that the rain is falling at the moment someone is trying to leave, while the 在 *zai* in [74b] indicates that driving is in progress at the time of reference, which happens to be the time of speech in this sentence.

[74]   a.   外面在下大雨, 走不成了。

wai4mian4	zai4	xia4	da4	yu3	zou3	bu4	cheng2
outside	ZAI	fall	big	rain	go	NEG	succeed

le0
LE

'It is raining heavily, and we will not be able to leave.'

b.   他在专心开车呢, 别打岔。

ta1	zai4	zhuan1xin1	kai1che1	ne0	bie2	da3cha 4
he	ZAI	attentively	drive	NE	do_not	interrupt

'He is driving attentively. Don't distract him.'

Note that the 在 in [74b] appears before the manner adverbial 专心 *zhuan1xin1* 'concentrated, attentively' and is not prefixed to the verb 开车 *kai1che1* 'drive car.' 在 thus has a morphosyntactic status different from that of 着 *zhe*, which is a suffix. Another difference between the two markers is the situation each of them represents. The two sentences in [75] are almost identical except for the aspect maker they carry, and that leads to the different interpretations. [75a] represents a state in which the person was wearing a leather coat, while [75b] represents an event in which the person was putting the coat on.

[75]   a.   出门的时候, 他穿着皮大衣。

chu1men2	de0	shi2hou0	ta1	chuan1	zhe0	pi2
go_out	DE	when	he	wear	ZHE	leather

da4yi1
coat

'He was wearing a leather coat when he went out.'

b. 出门的时候, 他在穿皮大衣。

    chu1men2   de0   shi2hou0   ta1   zai4   chuan1   pi2

    go_out   DE   when   he   ZAI   put_on   leather

    da4yi1

    coat

    'He was putting on a leather coat when he went out.'

2.5. Comparisons and comparative constructions

Comparisons of various types are expressed by several constructions. For superiority comparative constructions that are concerned with relative positions on some scale, a commonly used form is a construction marked with the comparative marker 比 *bi3* 'than.' In such constructions, the comparison is between the term being compared and the standard of comparison marked by 比 *bi3* 'than' in terms of the differential measurement phrase, such as the number of seats in [76a]. Another superiority comparative construction is marked with 过 *guo4* 'over,' as in [76b]. Such a construction can have the comparison term compared with itself, as in [76b], but it can also have the term compared with a standard of comparison, as in [76c].

[76]   a.   空客 380 的载客量比波音 747-400 多了近 400 人。

           kong4ke4   380   de0   zai3ke4liang4   bi3   bo1yin1

           Airbus   380   DE   load   than   Boeing

           747-400   duo1   le0   jin4   400   ren2

           747-400   more   LE   near   400   people

           'The seating capacity of Airbus 380 is 400 more than that of Boeing 747-400.'

    b.   高跟鞋高过 7 厘米就成了"刑具"。

           gao1gen1xie2   gao1   guo4   7   li2mi3   jiu4   cheng2

           high-heel   high   over   7   centimeter   thus   become

           le0   xing2ju4

           LE   torture_device

           'A high heel with heel higher than seven centimeters is practically a torture device.'

    c.   医生的健康状况甚至差过病人。

           yi1sheng1   de0   jian4kang1   zhuang4kuang4   shen4zhi4

           doctor   DE   health   condition   even

           cha 4   guo4   bing4ren2

           bad   over   patient

           'The health of the doctor is even worse than that of the patient.'

Equality comparisons, which are concerned with identity or likeness, are typically marked with 像…一样 *xiang4…yi1yang4* 'the same as.' In sentences like [77a], the speaker states that the term being compared is equal to the standard of comparison in a certain aspect, "talking" in this case. A similar construction is marked with the comparison marker 如 *ru2* 'like' and it typically appears in a negative form, as in [77b].

[77] a. 你说话怎么像我妈一样?

ni3   shuo1hua4   zen3me0   xiang4   wo3   ma1
you   talk   how   like   I   mother

yi1yang4
same

'How come you sound the same like my mom?'

b. 有些女孩儿觉得干得好不如嫁得好。

you3xie1   nü3hai2er0   jue2de0   gan4   de0   hao3
some   girl   feel   do   DE   good

bu4ru2   jia4   de0   hao3
not_as_good_as   marry   DE   good

'Some girls believe that doing a good job is not as good as marrying a good man.'

A correlative comparative marked with 越…越…*yue4…yue4…* 'the more… the more…' indicates a proportional or parallel decrease or increase along the two scales expressed by the two comparative terms. Sentence [78] states that the term being compared is not equal to the standard of comparison yet, but it is almost equal.

[78]   小女儿越长越像她了。

xiao3   nü3er2   yue4   zhang3   yue4   xiang4   ta1
youngest   daughter   more   grow   more   like   she

le0
LE

'Her youngest daughter became more and more like a copy of her.'

2.6. Information-packaging constructions

The canonical constituent order of a clause is subject−predicate, while the least-constrained order within the predicative verb phrase is verb−object. There are, however, quite a number of information-packaging constructions in which the constituents appear in a different linear order to serve certain syntactic, semantic, or pragmatic purposes.

The construction marked with 被 *bei* in [79] is the equivalent of a passive construction in other languages. The phrase for the patient of the action occurs in the subject position, while the agent phrase does not appear. The example was taken from a news report about a homicide of which the culprit is unknown. The 被 *bei* construction provides the needed packaging means.

[79]　　　昨晚10点，一名19岁男子在闹市被刺身亡。

　　　　　zuo2wan3　10　dian3　　yi1　　ming2　19　sui4　nan2zi3
　　　　　last_night　10　o'clock　one　　CL　　　19　year　man

　　　　　zai4　　nao4shi4　　　bei4　ci4　　shen1wang2
　　　　　PREP　down_town　BEI　stab　die

　　　　　'A 19-year-old man was stabbed to death in downtown at 10 o'clock.'

The construction marked by the universal coverage adverb 都 *dou1* 'all' in [80a] serves a different pragmatic purpose. The function of 都 *dou1* 'all' is to assign a totality reading to the phrase on its left so that the predicate applies to all members of the set represented by the phrase. The pronoun 谁 *shui2* 'who' under the scope of 都 *dou1* 'all' obtains the interpretation of a universal quantifier, similar to 任何人 *ren4he2ren2* 'anybody,' and the sentence shows the speaker's pride and arrogance that her team is not afraid of anyone. The 连 . . . 都 *lian2 . . . dou1* 'including all . . . even' construction in [80b] not only relies on 都 *dou1* 'all' to bring 小学生 *xiao3 xue2sheng1* 'elementary school pupil' to the preverbal position but also depends on 连 *lian2* 'even' to make it standard, which is the lowest possible case here. [80b] thus means that the problem is so easy that even the least capable person can solve it.

[80]　a.　我们恒大谁都不怕!

　　　　　wo3men0　heng2da4　　shui2　dou1　bu4　　pa4
　　　　　we　　　　Evergrande　who　　all　　NEG　fear

　　　　　'We Team Evergrande are not afraid of anybody.'

　　　b.　这种题连小学生都会做。

　　　　　zhe4　zhong3　ti2　　　　lian2　xiao3xue2sheng1　dou1
　　　　　this　CL　　　problem　even　pupil　　　　　　　all

　　　　　hui4　zuo4
　　　　　can　　do

　　　　　'Even an elementary school pupil knows how to solve this problem.'

Topic–comment constructions like [81a] are commonly used to package the flow of information. When it is first introduced into the discourse, 李家 *li3jia1* 'the Li Family' is a piece of new information and appears in its default postverbal position; but when it appears as the topic in the following sentence, it represents

the issue the speaker wants to discuss again as a piece of old information and the link to the previous discourse. The information-packaging construction in [81b] is similar to that in [81a] in that the patient phrase 这件事 *zhe4 jian4 shi4* 'this issue' appears in a preverbal position to represent a piece of old information. The two constructions differ in the function of the preposed nominal phrase. 这件事 *zhe4 jian4 shi4* 'this issue' is the focus of discussion in [81b] and its relation to the previous discourse is not the main reason for it to be preposed.

[81]   a.   山谷里住着李家、王家、赵家, 李家人最多。

shang1gu3	li3	zhu4	zhe0	li3	jia1	wang2
valley	inside	live	ZHE	LI	family	WANG

jia1	zhao4	jia1	li3	jia1	ren2	zui4duo1
family	ZHAO	family	LI	family	people	most

'There are the Lis, the Wangs, and the Zhaos in the valley. The Li family is the largest.'

       b.   你们几个这件事就不要管了。

ni3men0	ji3	ge4	zhe4	jian4	shi4	jiu4	bu4yao4
you	several	CL	this	CL	thing	thus	do_not

guan3	le0
meddle	LE

'As for this issue, it is better for you guys not to touch it.'

The marker pair 是...的 *...shi4...de0...* '(it) is...that...' is commonly used to emphasize the constituent between 是 and 的. What falls between these two markers in [82a] is the predicate and the emphasis can be on the verb, the object, or, most likely, on the action of buying insurance. The marker 的 *de* usually occurs at the end of a clause, as in [82a], but it can sometimes be attached to the verb, as in [82b]. The emphasis in this case is on 晚上 *wan3shang4* 'evening,' namely, part of the temporal adverbial.

[82]   a.   乘客确实是买了保险的。

cheng2ke4	que4shi2	shi4	mai3	le0	bao3xian3	de0
passenger	indeed	be	buy	LE	insurance	DE

'The passengers really did buy the insurance.'

       b.   我是晚上看的《茶馆》。

wo3	shi4	wan3shang4	kan4	de0	cha 2guan3
I	be	evening	watch	DE	tea_house

'It was in the evening that I watched The Tea House.'

2.7. Illocutionary force and sentence types

Sentences can be classified according to the way a speaker is using a sentence in a particular context for a particular purpose. This specific aspect of pragmatic meaning is called illocutionary force. When a sentence carries the appropriate illocutionary force, it can perform the illocutionary act of a statement, a question, an exclamatory statement, or a directive.

A statement can have a sentence-final particle, as in [83a], but it can also have no sentence-final particle, as in [83b]. When a statement appears independent of relevant context, it typically has an overt subject, as in [83a] and [83b].

[83]   a.   我早就想明白是怎么回事了。

wo3   zao3   jiu4   xiang3   ming2bai2   shi4   zen3me0
I   early   thus   think   understand   be   how

hui2   shi4   le0
CL   thing   LE

'I figured it out a long time ago.'

   b.   新型手机明日开始出售。

xin1xing1   shou3ji1   ming2ri4   kai1shi3   chu1shou4
new_style   cell_phone   tomorrow   start   sale

'The new mobile phone will be released tomorrow.'

Some questions present a closed set of answers and the listeners are requested to choose one from the set. Such a closed question can be a yes–no question like the one in [84a], an alternative question, as in [84b], or a V-not-V alternative question, as in [84c]. A yes–no question predominantly carries a sentence-final particle, such as the 吗 *ma* in [84a]; an alternative question usually has no final particle, as in [84b]; and a V-not-V alternative question typically carries no final particle, but a 呢 *ne* is sometimes used, as in [84c].

[84]   a.   明天还会下雨吗?

ming2tian1   hai2   hui4   xia4yu3   ma0
tomorrow   yet   will   rain   MA

'Will it rain again tomorrow?'

   b.   咱们上午走还是下午走?

zan2men0   shang4wu3   zou3   hai2shi4   xia4wu3   zou3
we   morning   go   or   afternoon   go

'Are we leaving in the morning or in the afternoon?'

c. 你喝不喝咖啡呢?
    ni3   he1   bu4   he1   ka1fei1   ne0
    you   drink   NEG   drink   coffee   NE
    'Do you drink coffee?'

Some questions can have any number of answers and are commonly known as open questions. Variable questions are typically open questions and they usually carry no sentence-final particle. However, a particle 呢 *ne* might be used at times to soften the tone, as in [85], which was extracted from a novel in which a wife always asks her husband what they should eat before she prepares the food.

[85]   晚饭吃什么呢?
        wan3fan4   chi1   shen2me0   ne0
        dinner   eat   what   NE
        'What should we have for dinner?'

Exclamatory statements are characteristically marked with a special degree adverb, such as the 好 *hao3* 'very much' in [86a]; a sentence-final particle, such as the 啊 *a* in [86b]; or both, such as the 真 *zhen1* 'really' and 哪 *na* in [86c].

[86]   a. 好漂亮的裙子!
            hao3   piao4liang0   de0   qun2zi0
            so   beautiful   DE   skirt
            'How beautiful the skirt is!'

        b. 这个小调皮啊!
            zhe4   ge4   xiao3tiao2pi2   a0
            this   CL   little_naughty   A
            'What a naughty kid!'

        c. 真惨哪!
            zhen1   can3   na0
            really   miserable   NA
            'How miserable it is!'

The fundamental illocutionary act performed by directives is getting compliance from listeners, with varying degrees of strength. A command or an order like that in [87a] is the strongest directive to which compliance is required. A request or plea like that in [87b] is softer in that the speaker is not invoking the authority to require compliance. Advice or a recommendation like that in [87c] is even softer in that it is presented for the benefit of the listener and it is up to the listener to comply or not.

[87]   a.   滚出去!
       gun3   chu1qu4
       roll   out
       'Get out!'

   b.   请保持安静。
       qing3   bao3chi2   an1jing4
       please   keep   quiet
       'Be quite, please.'

   c.   现在别买房子。
       xian4zai4   bie2   mai3   fang2zi0
       now   do_not   buy   house
       'Don't buy any house now.'

An instruction is presented as necessary for achieving the goal of using some appliance or cooking some dish, as in [88a]. An invitation like that in [88b] is intended to be for the listener's best benefit and it is the speaker's sincere hope that the listener will comply.

[88]   a.   豆腐切丁, 倒1000克开水, 浸泡, 沥水。
       dou4fu0   qie1   ding1   dao4   1000   ke4
       tofu   cut   small_cube   pour   1000   gram
       kai1shui3   jin4pao4   li4shui3
       boiling_water   soak   drain_the_water
       'Cut the tofu into small cubes, pour in 1,000 grams of boiling water, soak them, and then drain the water.'

   b.   请慢用。
       qing3   man4   yong4
       please   slowly   use
       'Enjoy (please eat slowly).'

Permission like that in [89a] is about an action the listener wants to do and the speaker has the authority to permit or prohibit it. Giving permission promotes compliance in a rather weak sense. Acceptance is the weakest form of a directive in that compliance is not something the speaker wants but is something he has no power to prevent. The speaker thus expresses acceptance, perhaps with indifference, as indicated by the sentence-final particle 吧 *ba* in [89b].

[89]   a.   你可以出院了。
       ni3   ke3yi3   chu1yuan4   le0
       you   can   discharge_from_hospital   LE
       'You can leave hospital now.'

b. 三千就三千吧。

san1qian1		jiu4	san1qian1		ba0
three_thousand		thus	three_thousand		BA

'Three thousand dollars it is.'

2.8. Deixis and anaphora

When they appear as part of certain utterances, some phrases will get their reference from the time, the place, and the participants of the utterance. This is known as deixis and the expressions are deictic. In sentence [90a], the reference of the locative phrase 这里 *zhe4li3* 'here' is identified with the place of the utterance, the reference of the temporal phrase 昨天 *zuo2tian1* 'yesterday' is determined in relation to the time of the utterance, and the phrase 我 *wo3* 'I' is identified with the speaker of the utterance. These phrases are thus deictic. Sentence [90b] is taken from a narration by an eyewitness who described the size of a hole through which a thief escaped. The phrase 这么 *zhe4me0* 'this much' is accompanied by an indexing act, namely, the speaker's gesture, which provides the intended referent for the phrase.

[90] a. 对不起, 我爸爸昨天就离开这里了。

dui4bu4qi3	wo3	ba4ba0	zuo2tian1	jiu4	li2kai1
sorry	I	father	yesterday	thus	leave

zhe4li3	le0
here	LE

'I am sorry. My father left here yesterday.'

b. 那个洞才这么大。

na4	ge4	dong4	cai2	zhe4me0	da4
that	CL	hole	just	so	big

'That hole is just this big.'

Some other phrases get their reference anaphorically, namely, via the relation between the phrase and an antecedent. The pronoun 他们 *ta1men0* 'they' in [91a] is an anaphor that gets its reference from its antecedent 被困旅客 *bei4 kun4 lü3ke4* 'trapped passengers,' while the 这事 *zhe4 shi4* 'this matter' in [91b] takes the previous clause 他们在非洲的工程受阻 *ta1men0 zai4 fei1zhou1 de0 gong1cheng2 shou4zu3* 'Their African Project is in trouble' as its antecedent.

[91] a. 被困旅客终于获救, 由救护车将他们送往医院。

bei4	kun4	lü3ke4	zhong1yu2	huo4jiu4	you2
BEI	trap	passenger	eventually	get_rescue	PREP

jiu4hu4che1   jiang1   ta1men0   song4wang3   yi1yuan4
ambulance   BA   they   send_to   hospital
'The trapped passengers were finally rescued, and they were taken to the hospital by ambulances.'

b. 他们在非洲的工程受阻, 这事传得很快。

ta1men0   zai4   fei1zhou1   de0   gong1cheng2
they   PREP   Africa   DE   project

shou4zu3   zhe4   shi4   chuan2   de0   hen3   kuai4
get_in_trouble   this   thing   spread   DE   very   fast
'Their African Project is in trouble and the news is spreading fast.'

An anaphor can sometimes appear without any phonetic content and such a zero pro form still relies on its antecedent for reference. There is no overt subject in the second clause of [92], but the person who got his MBA from Harvard is apparently the man who took over the company. In other words, the subject of the second clause is an anaphor that takes 家里的长孙 *jia1li3 de0 zhang3sun1* 'the eldest grandson of the family' as the antecedent, although it is a zero pro form. The subject of the third clause has the same status.

[92]   接手的是家里的长孙, 五年前拿到商业管理硕士, 去年才回到国内。

jie1shou3   de0   shi4   jia1li3   de0   zhang3sun1
take_over   DE   be   family   DE   eldest_grandson

wu3   nian2   qian2   na2dao4   shang1ye4   guan3li3
five   year   before   obtain   business   management

shuo4shi4   qu4nian2   cai2   hui2dao4   guo2nei4
master   last_year   just   return   country_in
'(The one who) took over is the eldest grandson of the family. (He) got (his) MBA five years ago. (He) just returned to the country last year.'

Reflexive pronouns also depend on antecedents for reference but the anaphoric relation between a reflexive pronoun and its antecedent is subject to some restrictions. The most prominent one is that the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun is predominantly the subject. The 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' in [93a] thus only refers back to the subject 张洋 *zhang1yang2*, while the 自己 in [93b] refers to 我 *wo3* 'I.'

[93]   a. 张洋只好安慰自己: 破财消灾。

zhang1yang2   zhi3hao3   an1wei4   zi4ji4
ZHANG_YANG   only_could   comfort   self

       po4cai2xiao1zai1
       lose_money_disolve_misfortune
       'Zhang Yang could only comfort himself: spend money to ward off disasters.'

b. 我只负责自己的学生。

wo3	zhi3	fu4ze2	zi4ji3	de0	xue2sheng1
I	only	be_responsible_for	self	DE	student

'I am only responsible for my own students.'

3

Lexical word formation

Jerome Packard

3.1. Introduction

Lexical *word formation* is the formation of words using rules of morphology rather than other types of linguistic rules such as rules of syntax. Following this definition, lexical word formation does not apply to words formed by inflectional affixation, i.e., words containing grammatical suffixes such as *-le0* 了, *-guo4* 过, *-zhe0* 着, and 得/不 *de0/bu4*. The reason inflectional affixation is not considered a lexical word formation process is that a new lexeme is not created by the addition of these affixes. Lexical word formation either causes a new lexeme to be created (see further discussion in section 3.3.1.) or derives a word using derivational affixation, with the derived word often having a different part of speech (e.g., the verb *gong1ye4hua4* 工业化 work-profession-AFF 'industrialize' is derived from the noun *gong1ye4* 工业 work-profession 'industry' by affixation of the derivational suffix 化 *-hua4* '-ize/-ify').

3.2. Defining "word" in Chinese

In order to discuss lexical word formation, we must first define what a word is in Chinese.

"Word" in the Chinese language can be defined using the construct *minimal free form* – the smallest linguistic entity that can independently occupy a part-of-speech slot. Take, for example, the morpheme/character 椅 *yi3* 'chair.' 椅 *yi3* is a bound morpheme as it cannot be used alone as a word. 椅 *yi3* either must be affixed with the nominal suffix -子 *zi0* to derive the free noun 椅子 *yi3zi0* 'chair,' or it must be used in combination with another morpheme, such as 轮 *lun2* 'wheel,' to yield the two-morpheme word 轮椅 *lun2yi3* 'wheelchair.' To take another example, the morpheme 机 *ji1* 'machine' cannot be used as a word by itself, but must occur with another morpheme (e.g., 机器 *ji1qi4* machine-utensil 'machine') to stand alone as a word.

It is important to note that the crucial property of a free form is its ability to stand alone in some context. A free form's ability to stand alone does not preclude its ability to combine with other elements to form a new word. Hence, words can combine, via composition and compounding (see discussion in sections 3.4.1.

and 3.4.2 respectively), to form longer words. In addition, though there is no theoretical upper limit on the length of a word, in practical terms words do have a *de facto* length limit. Other than proper names in professional domains, Chinese words do not typically exceed four syllables in length.

There does remain, however, a common belief that either words do not exist in Chinese, or that the construct 字 *zi4* 'character' is the more appropriate language-specific concept equivalent to "word" in Chinese. The reasons behind these beliefs are largely orthography-driven. First, because Chinese does not conventionally delineate words in texts by use of spacing or other conventions (as in English and most other Western languages), there is no equivalent direct and explicit evidence of speakers' use of the construct "word." Second, the unbroken three-thousand-year-old convention of using 字 *zi4* 'character' as the basic unit in writing and teaching has been conventionalized and reinforce the shared belief that the character is the most appropriate construct for the representation of spoken Chinese. Since a character virtually always represents a morpheme and very often also represents a monosyllabic word, 字 *zi4* remains the popular non-technical translation of 'word.'

We adopt the linguistic definition of "word" rather than the traditional definition because this shared definition at the basic unit level is crucial in a reference grammar, which must provide a standard for comparison with other languages. In addition, studies have shown that native Chinese speakers do share implicit knowledge of the concept "word" as a minimal free form and show a consistently high level of agreement in identifying such a unit. For example, in any typical "one-word" situation of language use, such as answering a question or doing a keyword search, native speakers will use a word, such as 椅子 *yi3zi0*, rather than a non-word character/morpheme, such as 椅 *yi3*.

3.3. Description of word components

The lexical word formation process critically relies on the nature of the components that are used to form words. Chinese word components may be defined by their bound/free and contentful/functional status, and may be further defined by their part-of-speech identity.

3.3.1. A typology of word components

Words are formed in Chinese by combining three types of word component morphemes. The three types are free morphemes, bound contentful morphemes (*bound roots*), and *derivational affixes*. Free morphemes are the morphemes identified by their ability to stand alone as words, while we refer to bound contentful morphemes as bound roots to avoid potential confusion with other bound morphemes. These three morpheme types constitute a subset of the four types of morpheme identified by their free/bound and contentful/functional status, namely: if a

morpheme is free and contentful (vs. functional), it is a *free morpheme*; if it is free and functional, it is a *functional morpheme*; if it is bound and contentful, it is a *bound root*; and if it is bound and functional, it is an *affix*. Chinese thus has four types of morphemes: free morphemes, bound roots, functional morphemes, and affixes. Of these four types, only free morphemes, bound roots, and affixes participate in word formation processes. The category of affix is further subdivided into *derivational affixes* and *inflectional affixes*, and of these two, only derivational affixes participate in lexical word formation.

3.3.1.1. Free morphemes

Word components that are free morphemes in Chinese are contentful morphemes which can stand alone as words. Some examples of single-syllable nominal free morphemes, verbal free morphemes, and adjectival free morphemes are given in [1a]–[1c] respectively below.

[1] a. 冰 *bing1* 'ice,' 水 *shui3* 'water,' 车 *che1* 'car'

 b. 走 *zou3* 'to walk,' 打 *da3* 'to hit,' 吃 *chi1* 'to eat'

 c. 红 *hong2* 'red,' 凉 *liang2* 'cold,' 累 *lei4* 'tired'

3.3.1.2. Bound roots

Word components that are bound and contentful in Chinese are bound roots: they are contentful morphemes that cannot stand alone as nouns, verbs, or adjectives, but rather must co-occur with another morpheme before they can be used as a noun, verb or adjective part of speech. Some examples of bound roots in Chinese are given below.

[2] a. Nominal bound roots
   椅 *yi3* 'chair' (cf. 椅子 *yi3zi0* 'chair'), 石 *shi2* 'stone' (cf. 石头 *shi2tou0* 'stone'), 裤 *ku4* 'pants' (cf. 裤子 *ku4zi0* 'pants'), 眼 *yan3* 'eye' (cf. 眼睛 *yan3jing1* 'eye'), 驼 *tuo2* 'camel' (cf. 骆驼 *luo4tuo2* 'camel')

 b. Verbal bound roots
   观 *guan1* 'to observe' (cf. 观摩 *guan1mo2* 'to observe'), 决 *jue2* 'to decide' (cf. 决定 *jue2ding4* 'to decide'), 习 *xi2* 'to study' (cf. 学习 *xue2xi2* 'to study')

 c. Adjectival bound roots
   贫 *pin2* 'poor' (cf. 贫穷 *pin2qiong2* 'poor'), 谦 *qian1* 'modest' (cf. 谦虚 *qian1ü1* 'modest'), 简 *jian3* 'simple' (cf. 简单 *jian3dan1* 'simple')

As seen in the examples, these bound roots cannot be used as free words in Chinese – they must be augmented with an additional morphemic component

before they can be used as nouns, verbs, or adjectives. Bound roots are by far the most common type of morpheme in Chinese.

3.3.1.3. Derivational affixes

Derivational affixes in Chinese are morphemes that are bound and functional, that is, they are grammatical functors that contain functional rather than contentful information, and they cannot independently occupy a syntactic slot as free words. Examples of derivational affixes in Chinese include suffixes like - 子 *zi0* (e.g. 椅子 *yi3zi0* 'chair,' 帽子 *mao4zi0* 'hat'), - 化 *hua4* (e.g. 机械化 *ji1xie4hua4* 'to mechanize,' 自动化 *zi4dong4hua4* 'to automatize'), and - 头 *tou* (e.g. 木头 *mu4tou0* 'wood,' 趾头 *zhi3tou0* 'toe'), and prefixes like 阿 - *a1* (e.g. 阿姨 *a1yi2* 'aunt,' 阿公 *a1gong1* 'grandpa') and 老 - *lao3* (e.g. 老虎 *lao3hu3* 'tiger,' 老鹰 *lao3ying1* 'eagle').

The term 'functional' (grammatical) morphemes refer to morphemes that tend to mediate the relationship of surrounding morphemes rather than adding their own specific content to the relationship. Functional morphemes are best understood in contrast with contentful morphemes, which add substantial nominal, verbal or adjectival content to the words in which they appear. The difference between "content" and "function" represents a continuum rather than a discrete distinction. The content/function distinction has a well-documented tradition in Chinese linguistics, as morphemes in Chinese are traditionally divided into contentful (实 *shi2* 'real') and functional (虚 *xu1* 'empty') forms.

3.3.2. Word component part of speech

In addition to classifying Chinese word component morphemes into three types according to their bound/free and contentful/functional status, they can be further described by their grammatical part of speech. When we use part of speech to describe Chinese word components, it provides information about how words and their components are actually understood and used.

The assignment of part-of-speech category to morphemes in Chinese is often not obvious due to the polysemous nature of character forms and the predominance of zero-derivation in Chinese. Take, for example, the morpheme 安 *an1* which is commonly recognized as a nominal unit meaning 'peace, safe,' as in the word 平安 *ping2an1* 'peace.' But 安 *an1* also has a verb identity, i.e., meaning 'to install,' as in the phrase 安电灯 *an1 dian4deng1* 'to install an electric light.' Since 安 *an1* can be either a nominal or a verbal morpheme, it cannot be given a unique part of speech.

This is no different from the situation in most of the world's languages. For example, the English morpheme *bank* is not treated as having an indeterminate part of speech, even though it has at least two part-of-speech identities including more than three senses: 'edge of a river' or 'place where money is deposited' as a noun, and 'to tilt an airplane' as a verb. The word *bank* is listed in the mental

lexicon of English as an entry with multiple meanings and multiple part-of-speech identities, and the native speaker is free to choose any of those meanings and identities in the construction of words and sentences.

The same applies to many Chinese morphemic forms, such as 安 *an1*. When we use part-of-speech class identity as a means of describing Chinese word components, it reveals how words and their components are understood and used and helps to differentiate morphemes sharing the same form.

3.3.2.1. Nominal word components

The following word components are listed in the mental lexicon with an underlying nominal identity. Some are free and some are bound, but all have nominal meaning and usage.

[3]   地 *di4* 'earth,' 表 *biao3* 'watch,' 板 *ban3* 'board,' 材 *cai2* 'material,' 车 *che1* 'car' 磁 *ci2* 'magnet,' 带 *dai4* 'strip,' 弹 *dan4* 'bullet,' 敌 *di2* 'enemy,' 电 *dian4* 'electricity,' 号 *hao4* 'number,' 祸 *huo4* 'accident,' 家 *jia1* 'home,' 具 *ju4* 'tool,' 码 *ma3* 'code,' 迷 *mi2* 'fan,' 母 *mu3* 'mother,' 木 *mu4* 'wood,' 脑 *nao3* 'brain,' 皮 *pi2* 'skin,' 球 *qiu2* 'ball,' 权 *quan2* 'power,' 人 *ren2* 'person,' 橡 *xiang4* 'rubber,' 校 *xiao4* 'school'

3.3.2.2. Verbal word components

The following word components are listed in the mental lexicon with an underlying verbal identity. Some are free and some are bound, but all have verbal meaning and usage.

[4]   盗 *dao4* 'to steal,' 知 *zhi1* 'to know,' 阅 *yue4* 'to read,' 讨 *tao3* 'to discuss,' 灌 *guan4* 'to irrigate,' 夺 *duo2* 'to deprive,' 丢 *diu1* 'to lose,' 交 *jiao1* 'to transfer,' 读 *du2* 'to read,' 论 *lun4* 'to discuss,' 跑 *pao3* 'to run,' 到 *dao4* 'to arrive,' 打 *da3* 'to hit,' 堵 *du3* 'to plug,' 防 *fang2* 'to prevent,' 安 *an1* 'to install,' 看 *kan4* 'to see,' 买 *mai3* 'to buy,' 求 *qiu2* 'to seek,' 劝 *quan4* 'to convince,' 给 *gei3* 'to give,' 坐 *zuo4* 'to sit,' 洗 *xi3* 'to wash'

3.3.2.3. Adjectival word components

The following word components are listed in the mental lexicon with an underlying adjectival identity. Some are free and some are bound, but all have adjectival meaning and usage.

[5]   好 *hao3* 'good,' 旧 *jiu4* 'old,' 慢 *man4* 'slow,' 累 *lei4* 'tired,' 红 *hong2* 'red,' 谦 *qian1* 'modest,' 温 *wen1* 'mild,' 原 *yuan2* 'original,' 孤 *gu1* 'alone,' 轻 *qing1* 'light,' 净 *jing4* 'clean,' 圆 *yuan2* 'round,' 怪 *guai4* 'odd,' 真 *zhen1* 'true,' 竖 *shu4* 'vertical,' 傲 *ao4* 'arrogant'

3.4. Lexical word formation processes

This section describes the three lexical word formation processes in Mandarin – composition, compounding, and derivation — including examples of each.

3.4.1. Composition – words with a bound root

Composition is the formation of words by combining a bound root with a free word or by combining two bound roots. Words formed in this way are termed *bound root words*. Most words in Chinese are bound root words, that is, words containing a bound root. Below are examples of words formed via composition, as in [6]–[8].

[6]   Words that are [bound-free]:

评测 *ping2ce4* evaluate measure 'evaluate,' 描写 *miao2xie3* depict write 'describe,' 购买 *gou4mai3* buy buy 'buy,' 享受 *xiang3shou4* enjoy receive 'enjoy,' 演讲 *yan3jiang3* perform talk 'to lecture,' 维修 *wei2xiu1* maintain fix 'maintain,' 横扫 *heng2sao3* sideways sweep 'sweep,' 合作 *he2zuo4* together do 'cooperate,' 呼叫 *hu1jiao4* exhale call 'to call,' 呼吸 *hu1xi1* exhale inhale 'to breathe,' 获得 *huo4de2* obtain get 'obtain,' 狡辩 *jiao3bian4* cunning argue 'to quibble,' 虹吸 *hong2xi1* rainbow suck 'to siphon,' 侧躺 *ce4tang3* side lay 'lay on one's side,' 酬谢 *chou2xie4* reward thank 'thank with a reward,' 处理 *chu3li3* handle order 'take care of,' 触电 *chu4dian4* touch electric 'get an electric shock,' 道谢 *dao4xie4* say thank 'thank,' 顶替 *ding3ti4* top replace 'replace,' 反对 *fan3dui4* against face 'oppose,' 否认 *fou3ren4* not admit 'deny,' 抚养 *fu3yang3* help raise 'adopt,' 规劝 *gui1quan4* advise persuade 'advise.'

[7]   Words that are [free-bound]:

新闻 *xin1wen2* new-hear 'news,' 提供 *ti2gong4* lift-supply 'supply,' 保养 *bao3yang3* preserve-raise 'maintain,' 报价 *bao4jia4* announce-price 'quote (price),' 城市 *cheng2shi4* city-city 'city,' 糖果 *tang2guo3* sugar-fruit 'candy,' 消除 *xiao1chu2* eliminate-remove 'get rid of,' 开始 *kai1shi3* open-start 'begin,' 飞机 *fei1ji1* fly-machine 'airplane,' 查询 *cha2xun2* investigate-inquire 'inquiry,' 飞行 *fei1xing2* fly-travel 'fly,' 推荐 *tui1jian4* push-recommend 'recommend,' 电影 *dian4ying3* electric-shadow 'movie,' 灭亡 *mie4wang2* destroy-perish 'extinguish,' 花瓶 *hua1ping2* flower-bottle 'vase,' 爱好 *ai4hao4* love-fond 'avocation,' 讲解 *jiang3jie3* speak-loosen 'explain,' 拆卸 *chai1xie4* open-unload 'disassemble,' 抄身 *chao1shen1* copy-body 'frisk,' 吵架 *chao3jia4* argue-framework 'argue,' 抄袭 *chao1xi2* copy-raid 'plagiarize,' 吃惊 *chi1jing1* eat-surprise 'surprised.'

[8]   Words that are [bound-bound]:
导购 *dao3gou4* guide-buy 'shopping guide,' 服务 *fu2wu4* submit-affair
'serve,' 位置 *wei4zhi4* place-install 'location,' 机器 *ji1qi4* machine-utensil
'machine,' 控制 *kong4zhi4* control-restrict 'control,' 注意 *zhu4yi4*
note-meaning 'to notice,' 教授 *jiao4shou4* instruction-teach 'professor,' 注
册 *zhu4ce4* record-volume 'register,' 希望 *xi1wang4* rare-gaze 'hope,' 空间
kong1jian1 space-interval 'space,' 苹果 *ping2guo3* apple-fruit 'apple,' 教育
jiao4yu4 instruction-educate 'education,' 命名 *ming4ming2* call-name 'to
name,' 欢迎 *huan1ying2* happy-greet 'welcome,' 继续 *ji4xu4*
continue-continue 'continue,' 驾驶 *jia4shi3* pilot-drive 'to drive,' 监控
jian1kong4 supervise-control 'to monitor,' 禁止 *jin4zhi3* prohibit-stop
'forbid,' 避免 *bi4mian3* evade-avoid 'avoid,' 表达 *biao3da2* express-arrive
'convey,' 表示 *biao3shi4* express-appear 'to express,' 参观 *can1guan1*
participate-observe 'visit,' 抵抗 *di3kang4* resist-defy 'oppose.'

3.4.2. Compounding – words made from words

Compounding is the formation of words by combining two free words. Words
formed in this way we call *compounds*. Words formed via compounding do not
differ substantially in their usage from words formed by composition, as in [9].

[9]   Words that are [free free]:
光线 *guang1xian4* light line 'ray of light,' 马熊 *ma3xiong2* horse bear
'brown bear,' 冰山 *bing1shan1* ice mountain 'iceberg,' 火山 *huo3shan1* fire
mountain 'volcano,' 熊猫 *xiong2mao1* bear cat 'panda,' 水土 *shui3tu3* water
earth 'climate,' 粉笔 *fen3bi3* powder pen 'chalk.'

3.4.3. Derivation – words containing a derivational affix

The two types of affix in Chinese – inflectional and derivational – both repre-
sent function rather than content morphemes. Derivational affixes, however, are
involved in lexical word formation while inflectional affixes are not. Inflectional
affixes are discussed in the chapter on Verbs (Chapter Four).

   Derivation is the formation of a word by the affixation of a derivational affix
to a bound root or free word. Below are some examples of derivational affixes
followed by examples of words formed by addition of derivational affixes.

   Some examples of derivational affixes are given in [10].

[10]   第 *di4*- 'ordinalizer,' 度 –*du4* 'degree/extent,' 非 *fei1*- 'non-,' 化 –*hua4*
'-ize/-ify,' 复 *fu4*- 'again/re-,' 儿 –*er0* 'nominalizer,' 可 *ke3*- '-able,' 然 –*ran2*
'-like,' 无 *wu2*- 'without,' 头 –*tou0* 'nominalizer,' 未 *wei4*- 'not yet/un-,' 性
–*xing4* 'nature, -ness,' 再 *zai4*- 'again/re-,' 者-*zhe3* 'that which,' 子 –*zi0*
'nominalizer', 重 *chong2*- 'again/re-.'

Some examples of the derivational process are in [11].

[11]   扣 *kou4* 'to button' → 扣子 *kou4zi0* '(a) button,' 笑 *xiao4* 'to laugh' → 可笑
ke3xiao4 'funny, laughable,' 开 *kai1* 'to open' → 重开 *chong2kai1* 'to
reopen,' 电 *dian4* 'electric, electricity' → 电化 *dian4hua4* 'electrify'

More examples of words formed by derivational affixation are in [12].

[12]   鼻子 *bi2zi0* 'nose,' 调子 *diao4zi0* 'tune,' 非法 *fei1fa3* 'illegal,' 复查 *fu4cha2*
'reinvestigate,' 复出 *fu4chu1* 'reappear,' 复发 *fu4fa1* 'to relapse,' 复活
fu4huo2 'to come back to life,' 复审 *fu4shen3* 'reinvestigate,' 复习 *fu4xi2*
'review,' 复现 *fu4xian4* 'to reappear,' 复醒 *fu4xing3* 'revive,' 惯性 *guan4xing4*
'inertia,' 红化 *hong2hua4* 'to redden,' 可怜 *ke3lian2* 'pitiful,' 可体 *ke3ti3* 'fit,'
木然 *mu4ran2* 'woodenly,' 骗子 *pian4zi0* 'swindler,' 皮子 *pi2zi0* 'skin,' 人性
ren2xing4 'humanity,' 探子 *tan4zi0* 'a probe,' 天然 *tian1ran2* 'natural,' 挑子
tiao1zi0 'load,' 无规 *wu2gui1* 'without rule,' 无轨 *wu2gui3* 'trackless,' 无机
wu2ji1 'inorganic,' 无名 *wu2míng2* 'nameless,' 无人 *wu2ren2* 'unmanned,'
无声 *wu2sheng1* 'noiseless,' 无视 *wu2shi4* 'disregard,' 无数 *wu2shu4*
'countless,' 无性 *wu2xing4* 'asexual,' 未发 *wei4fa1* 'unissued,' 未婚 *wei4hun1*
'unmarried,' 未决 *wei4jue2* 'undecided,' 想头 *xiang3tou0* 'idea,' 油然
you2ran2 'spontaneously,' 再教育 *zai4jiao4yu4* 'reeducate,' 皂化 *zao4hua4*
'saponify,' 指头 *zhi3tou0* 'finger,' 重写 *chong2xie3* 'to rewrite,' 多工化
duo1gong1hua4 'to multiplex,' 格式化 *ge2shi4hua4* 'to format.'

It should be noted that complex words are also formed in Chinese by adding
an inflectional affix (e.g., *-le0*, 了 *-guo4* 过, *-zhe0* 着, *-de0-/-bu0-* 得/不, *-men0* 们) to
a word that already exists. Words formed this way are not considered lexically
formed words, because inflection minimally affects the form of the word, and
in particular words formed in this way do not result in the creation of new
lexemes.

3.5. Issues in Chinese word formation
There are several challenging but tractable problems involving the notion *word*
in Chinese. First, there is the problem of clearly defining "free" vs. "bound."
Next is the case of 离合词 *li2he2ci2* "separable words" – i.e., the indeterminacy
between word and phrase, and the phenomenon of 'ionization.' There is also the
issue of the relative productivity of bound roots, and the question of distinguish-
ing bound roots from derivational affixes. Finally we have the creation of words
through abbreviation and phonetic borrowing. Each of these is addressed directly
below.

3.5.1. The "free" vs. "bound" status of Chinese morphemes

While morphemes are described here as either free or bound, it must be acknowledged that the terms "free" and "bound" are not absolute, and that there are morphemes in Chinese that seem to be both free and bound depending on the register or style of language that is being employed. The application of the free–bound dichotomy to Chinese is also challenged by the existence of 离合词 *li2he2ci2* or "separable words" – words whose component morphemes seem bound, but also behave in certain respects like free words in syntax.

3.5.1.1. Style and register

The application of the free–bound dichotomy to Chinese may seem problematic because some morphemes appear to be free in some constructions or styles but not in others. Forced use of bound roots as words usually requires either a specific and highly conventionalized context, or use of a more formal style.

For example, the morpheme *-guo2* 国 'country' is normally considered to be bound – one can say *shi4jie4shang4 zui4 xiao3 de0 guo2jia1*, 世界上最小的国家 world on most small DE country 'smallest country in the world,' in which *-guo2* cannot be substituted for *guo2jia1*. On the other hand, *-guo2* appears to be free in an example such as *ying1 fa3 deng3 guo2* 英法等国 England France etc. country 'countries like England and France.' In the latter example, *-guo2* may seem free, but it is actually best understood as a case of conventionalized contextual ellipsis.

To give another example, the verbal morpheme *dao4-* 道 meaning 'say' (among the many meanings represented by this character) is normally a bound morpheme, useable as a verb only within a word such as *dao4qian4* 道歉 say-deficient 'apologize.' But *dao4-* can appear to be a free verb in a more formal, conventionalized usage such as in [13].

[13] 他对老李道 : "算了吧, 我们还是这样办"

      ta1   dui4   lao3   li3   dao4   suan4le0   ba0   wo3men0

      he   to   old   Li   say   figure   BA   we

      hai2shi4   zhe4yang4   ban4

      still   this_way   do

      'He said to Mr. Li: ok, let's just do it this way.'

Once again, this type of usage only occurs in a more formal, written style, and usually does not occur in spoken language. This sort of bound–free variation in the use of morphemes is related to how language changes over the passage of time. Individual or stylistic variation in the use of morphemes as free or bound are simply examples of how users construe the lexical identities of morphemes, and provides us with living examples of how language changes over time.

3.5.1.2. Distinguishing words and phrases – 'ionization' and 离合词 *li2he2ci2*

Y.R. Chao's concept of "ionization" refers to the ability of a morpheme that is normally considered bound to occur freely in a syntactic slot when another "licensing" morpheme occurs in the nearby context. The term "ionized" is used to describe the relationship between the two separated morphemes, on analogy with the two ions of a singular chemical element that are separated but remain in close proximity within the same chemical solution (i.e., within the same 'context').

The example given by Chao is the noun morpheme 市 *shi4* 'city, market' that is normally bound, but appears to occur as a free noun in a verb–object (V–O) construction 上市 *shang4shi4* ascend-city 'come to market.' The morpheme *shi4* 市 looks like a free noun in this context because it may be separated from its 'licensing' verb *shang4* when that verb is inflected with a suffix – such as the aspect suffix *le0* 了, as in 上了市 *shang4 le0 shi4* 'came to market.' Another example of ionization is the verb *dan1xin1* 担心 carry-heart 'to worry.' In this example, the verb 担 *dan1* 'carry' is normally bound but is licensed to occur as an inflected free verb (e.g., 担了三年的心 *dan1 le0 san1nian2 de0 xin1* carry-ASP three-year DE heart 'worried for three years') by the presence of *xin1* 心 'heart' in the nearby context.

THE DUAL STATUS OF 离合词 *LI2HE2CI2* 'IONIZED FORMS' AS WORDS *AND* PHRASES   The words that Chao considered "ionized" are called *li2he2ci2* 离合词 in contemporary Chinese linguistics – a term meaning "separable words." These *li2he2ci2* represent a textbook case of apparent indeterminacy between morphology and syntax: they are considered to be words because their constituents are normally bound and they have an idiomatic (lexicalized) meaning, and yet they behave like syntactic, phrasal entities in certain contexts.

Li2he2ci2 are best viewed as a kind of word (词 *ci2* – i.e., a morphologically complex verb) with one or two bound constituents, but a word whose constituents are subject to syntactic reanalysis as free elements in certain limited contexts. Thus, the default identity of *li2he2ci2* is as words, but they are capable of having dual identities both as words and phrases, and whether a *li2he2ci2* is used with a word or a phrase identity in any given context depends upon how it is construed by the speaker.

We treat *li2he2ci2* as words first and foremost because one of the constituent members is bound, and is not available to the grammar as a free word except in this very limited, reanalyzed syntactic context. A verb–object *li2he2ci2* becomes an actual bona fide syntactic V–O phrase when both its constituents are useable as truly free words.

When a V–O *li2he2ci2* is used as a word, it is considered a lexical item listed in the lexicon. It acquires its identity as a phrase in syntax if the verb and object

remain free morphemes. This is true, for example, in the case of a *li2he2ci2* such as 看书 *kan4shu1* 'read books' → 'to study' that is composed of syntactically free elements.

3.5.2. Productivity of bound roots

The use of bound roots to form words – which here is termed *composition* – is a common and highly productive process in Mandarin. Bound roots are less common and less productive in English, in which their appearance is by and large limited to Greek and Latin formatives such as *pseudo-*, *circum-*, *bio-*, *-logy*, *-itis*, *-ese*, *-log* and *therm-*. Unlike bound roots in English and the Romance languages, Mandarin bound roots generally are less positionally restricted, i.e., they may in general occur as either the first or second constituent of a word. For example, the Mandarin bound root *guo2* 国 'country' can appear as either the left-hand (国家 *guo2jia1* country-home 'country') or right-hand (美国 *mei3guo2* beautiful-country 'the USA') member of a word. In English and the Romance languages on the other hand, a bound root is usually restricted to appearing as either the left- or right-hand word constituent, but in general may not be both.

In Mandarin, it is clear that some bound roots are more productive than others. Certain bound roots, such as the 蚁 *yi3* of 蚂蚁 *ma3yi3* ant-ant 'ant,' are quite productive. Even though 蚁 *yi3* is bound, it is often used to represent the meaning 'ant' in the formation of new words, while 蚂 *ma3* is rarely if ever used in that way. Y.R. Chao called those bound roots that may occur in a large number of words "versatile," and used the term "restricted" to refer to less productive bound roots. This versatile–restricted dichotomy does not refer to whether a morpheme is free or bound per se, but rather refers to its productivity – i.e., whether it can be used to form many different words.

3.5.3. Bound roots vs. derivational affixes

The dividing line between bound roots (bound and content) and derivational affixes (bound and function) is something of a gray area, because it depends on the continuous (versus dichotomous) nature of the relationship that exists between content and function forms. That is to say, the content/function property exists in the form of a *cline* – a scale of continuous gradation – with "functional" characterizing forms at one end of the cline and 'contentful' characterizing forms at the other end. Since both bound roots and derivational affixes are categorized as "bound," the distinction between them in essence boils down to whether a morpheme is positioned closer to the "content" or the "function" (i.e., grammatical) portion of the cline.

To aid in distinguishing the property's "content" and "function," it is helpful to consider the criteria that are used to distinguish function forms from content

forms. The first criterion is the generality and abstractness of the morphemes involved, with function forms tending to be more general and abstract than content forms. Second, function forms are generally more productive than content forms. Third, function forms involve meaning that is simple, generally involving bivalent properties such as negation, alternation or iteration. Fourth, function forms are more semantically "bleached" than content forms, which permit their use as grammatical morphemes. Finally, function forms usually have a more stable, predictable semantic content than do content forms.

3.5.4. Bound root words vs. words formed by abbreviation

Words in Chinese are commonly formed by *abbreviation* (缩写 *suo3xie3*). In Chinese *suo3xie3* 'abbreviation,' a word is formed by taking some of the morphemes of a longer word or phrase. In addition, abbreviations are different from words formed through combination or compounding, because in the latter two the individual morphemes tend to retain their base meanings, while in abbreviations the morphemes derive their meaning from the original, unabbreviated forms.

For example, in the case of 北大 *bei3da4* north-big 'Peking University' (short for ***Bei**jing **Da**xue* **北**京**大**学), 北大 *bei3da4* is an abbreviation rather than a bound root word, because although the morpheme 大 *da4* occurs in many abbreviations with the meaning of 'University,' it does not productively participate in any other 'non-abbreviation' word formation processes with the 'University' meaning. Contrast this with the morpheme 面 *mian4* in the word面包车 *mian4bao1che1* dough-package-car 'van' and the derived面的 *mian4di1* 'van taxi' (derived from **面**包车**的**士 ***mian4**bao1che1-**di1**shi4* van-taxi − *mian4bao1che1* = van; *di1shi4* = taxi). 面的 *mian4di1* is a word formed by composition and not abbreviation because the morpheme 面 *mian4* is used productively with the meaning of 'van' or 'taxi' in words such as 微面 *wei1mian4* little-van 'minivan.' The 大 *da4* of 北大 *bei3da4*, on the other hand, is not used to create any (non-abbreviated) complex words that have the meaning of 'University.'

3.5.5. Loanwords

Many multisyllabic words in Chinese are loans that have entered the language over the past several decades. These words are usually either phonetic loans or semantic loans, or words composed using a combination of phonetic and semantic elements. An interesting point to note about phonetic loans is that since they are imported based on their sound alone, their components often have opaque internal structure and semantics. So for example the Chinese word for the English word *sofa/couch* is the phonetic loan 沙发 *sha1fa1* sand-emit, but since the word 沙发 *sha1fa1* has nothing to do with 'sand' or 'emitting,' the individual components make no semantic or structural contribution to the complete word.

There appears to be a systematic exception to this generalization, which is that two-syllable verbs borrowed into Chinese as phonetic loans are often treated as having the internal properties of complex verbs. That is, they often allow the inflection of the first syllable with inflectional aspect suffixes such as *-le0* 了 or *-guo4* 过, even though the first syllable cannot semantically be considered to have a verb identity. This is seen in examples such as 拷贝 *kao3bei4* hit-shell 'copy' → 拷了贝 *kao3 le0 bei4* 'copied' → 拷过贝 *kao3 guo4 bei4* 'to have copied'; 克隆 *ke4long2* overcome-prosperous 'clone' → 克了隆 *ke4 le0 long2* 'cloned' → 克过隆 *ke4 guo4 long2* 'have cloned'; and 博客 *bo2ke4* abundant-guest 'blog' → 博了客 *bo2 le0 ke4* 'blogged' → 博过客 *bo2guo4ke4* 'to have blogged.'

The following are examples of phonetic loanwords, semantic loanwords (calques) and combination phonetic–semantic loanwords.

[14]–[16] are examples of phonetic loanwords:

[14]   One-syllable phonetic loanwords
        打 *da3* 'dozen,' 酷 *ku4* 'cool,' 卡 *ka3* 'card,' 派 *pai4* 'pie.'

[15]   Two syllable phonetic loanwords
        坦克 *tan3ke4* 'tank,' 吉他 *ji2ta1* 'guitar,' 克隆 *ke4long2* 'clone,' 博客 *bo2ke4* 'blog,' 拷贝 *kao3bei4* 'copy,' 沙发 *sha1fa1* 'sofa,' 的士 *di1shi4* 'taxi,' 雪茄 *xue3jia1* 'cigar,' 朋克 *peng2ke4* 'punk,' 爵士 *jue2shi4* 'jazz,' 幽默 *you1mo4* 'humor, make fun of,' 逻辑 *luo2ji2* 'logic,' 浪漫 *lang4man4* 'romantic,' 尼龙 *ni2long2* 'nylon,' 汉堡 *han4bao3* 'hamburger,' 土司 *tu3si1* 'toast,' 咖啡 *ka1fei1* 'coffee,' 基因 *ji1yin1* 'gene,' 雷达 *lei2da2* 'radar,' 休克 *xiu1ke4* 'shock,' 引擎 *yin3qing2* 'engine,' 布丁 *bu4ding1* 'pudding,' 卡通 *ka3tong1* 'cartoon,' 马达 *ma3da2* 'motor,' 柠檬 *ning2meng2* 'lemon,' 苏打 *su1da3* 'soda,' 保龄 *bao3ling2* 'bowling'

[16]   Three-syllable phonetic loanwords
        巧克力 *qiao3ke4li4* 'chocolate,' 高尔夫 *gao1er3fu1* 'golf,' 麦克风 *mai4ke4feng1* 'microphone,' 维他命 *wei2ta1ming4* 'vitamin,' 白兰地 *bai2lan2di4* 'brandy,' 荷尔蒙 *he2er3meng2* 'hormone,' 三明治 *san1ming2zhi4* 'sandwich.'

   [17]–[18] are examples of semantic loanwords (calques):

[17]   Two-syllable semantic loanwords (calques):
        电脑 *dian4nao3* electric-brain 'computer,' 电话 *dian4hua4* electric-talk 'telephone,' 电视 *dian4shi4* electric-view 'television,' 篮球 *lan2qiu2* basket-ball 'basketball,' 黑板 *hei1ban3* black-board 'blackboard,' 硬碟 *ying4die2* hard-saucer 'hard drive,' 键盘 *jian4pan2* key-plate 'keyboard,'

热狗 *re4gou3* hot-dog 'hotdog,' 软体 *ruan3ti3* soft-body 'software,' 硬体 *ying4ti3* hard-body '(computer) hardware,' 蜜月 *mi4yue4* honey-moon 'honeymoon.'

[18]   Three-syllable semantic loanwords (calques):
摩天楼 *mo2tian1lou2* brush-sky-building 'skyscraper,' 牛仔裤 *niu2zai3ku4* cow-boy-pants 'jeans.'

Examples of combination phonetic–semantic loanwords are given in [19]:

[19]   黑客 *hei1ke4* black-guest 'hacker,' 啤酒 *pi2jiu3* beer-liquor 'beer,' 酒吧 *jiu3ba1* liquor-bar 'bar,' 绷带 *beng1dai4* bind-strip 'bandage,' 芭蕾舞 *ba1lei3wu3* ballet-dance 'ballet,' 摩托车 *mo2tuo1che1* rub-pull-car 'motorcycle,' 拖拉机 *tuo1la1ji1* tow-pull-machine 'tractor,' 脱口秀 *tuo1kou3xiu4* escape-mouth-display 'talk show,' 冰淇淋 *bing1qi2lin2* ice cream 'ice cream,' 俱乐部 *ju4le4bu4* utensil-happy-place 'club,' 信用卡 *xin4yong4ka3* trust-use-card 'credit card.'

3.5.6. Alphabetic words

Chinese is increasingly using English letters as words or components in the formation of words. Here are two examples of letters used as 'alphabetic verbs' in Chinese: 从他那 A 了一包糖 *cong2 ta1 na4 A-le0 yi1bao1 tang2* from him there A-asp one-pack candy 'cheated him out of a bag of candy,' or K 书 *K shu1* K book 'study hard.'

Additional examples of letters used as word components in Chinese are given in [20]:

[20]   A4 纸 *A4zhi3* A4-paper 'A4 paper,' K 金 *K-jin1* K-gold 'karat (gold),' T 恤 *T-xu4* T-shirt 'T-shirt,' X 光 *X-guang1* X-light 'X-ray,' A 型血 *A-xing2 xie3* A-type-blood 'blood type A,' BP 机 *BP-ji1* BP-machine 'beeper,' IP 地址 *IP-di4zhi3* IP-address 'IP address,' CD 机 *CD-ji1* CD-machine 'CD player.'

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Verbs and verb phrases
Y.-H. Audrey Li

4.1. Introduction

Clauses consist of subjects and predicates. Common instances of predicates are verb phrases, which are headed by verbs. Chinese verbs do not inflect for tense, person, gender, or number, but they can be immediately followed by aspect markers. The general lack of morphological clues has obscured the boundaries between verbs and other related lexical categories, such as adjectives, prepositions, and modal auxiliaries, in Chinese.

A verb phrase may be a simple structure with just a head verb or a complicated structure with the head verb and various dependent elements, such as arguments and modifiers. There are constraints on the number of elements appearing in the post-verbal position. Such constraints can be met by putting relevant elements into some other positions via topicalization, passivization, and verb reduplication, as well as by using the *ba* construction. In contrast, constraints on the types of elements that may appear in the post-verbal object position are less restrictive. Instrumental, temporal, and locative phrases, which typically appear as part of adverbial preposition phrases, may appear in the post-verbal object position under certain circumstances.

4.1.1. Summary of defining properties of verbs

1. Verbs can be suffixed with aspect markers — the perfective aspect marker 了 *le0*, the imperfective progressive/durative marker 着 *zhe0*, and the experiential marker 过 *guo4* (see Chapter 5).
2. Some monosyllabic verbs can be reduplicated. The reduplicated forms can be Aa, A-*yi*-a with infix yi1 'one' 一 or A-*le*-a.
3. A disyllabic verb AB can also be reduplicated. The reduplicated form is ABab.
4. Verbs can appear in the form of V-not-V to form alternative questions.
5. Verbs can serve as simple answers to both yes—no questions and some variable questions.
6. Verbs can be followed by objects.
7. Verbs can combine with other words to form compounds according to various types of morphological and syntactic principles.

8   Verbs can be classified into different subtypes according to the number and type of arguments they have.

9   Some emotion verbs and epistemic verbs are gradable in that they have relative degrees. They can enter comparison and can be modified by degree adverbials.

4.1.2. Summary of the properties of verb phrases

1   The canonical position of objects is immediately after the verb. Other complements such as duration or frequency phrases, resultative, directional, or descriptive complements, and purposive phrases can also occur post-verbally.

2   Some verbs can combine with their objects to form a new complex verb and thus take additional arguments.

3   Verb phrases are mainly used as the predicate of clauses. They also appear to be used as the subject or object of a clause or modifier.

The copula 是 *shi4* 'be' and modal auxiliaries are included in the category of verb phrases. The copula 是 *shi4* 'be' is treated as a subcategory of verbs in the sense that it has properties similar to certain verbs. Modal auxiliaries are also considered a subcategory of verbs, even though they characteristically take a verb phrase as a complement and do not take aspect markers.

4.2. Properties of verbs

There are no uniform morphological clues to determine whether a lexical item is a verb or not. However, there is a number of morphological and syntactic features that are characteristically associated with verbs or certain subtypes of verbs.

4.2.1. Morphological marking on verbs

The main function of a verb is to head a verb phrase, referred to as a predicate, and the aspect of the predicate is typically indicated by a marker attached to the verb. The possibility of taking an aspect marker is thus an important defining property of Chinese verbs.

There is a close correlation between the predicate type and aspect. Copular verbs like 是 *shi4* 'be' and stative verbs such as 像 *xiang4* 'resemble' and 姓 *xing4* 'have the last name of' typically head a predicate depicting a stable long-lasting state and do not take the perfective aspect, which prototypically goes with a predicate depicting an activity, achievement, or accomplishment. However, in rare cases where a state has a starting point and a sentence describes the stable state after that point, it is acceptable for the head of the predicate to take a perfective aspect marker, like the 了 *le* attached to the stative verb 姓 *xing4* 'have the last name of' in [1a] and the 过 *guo* suffixed to the copular 是 *shi4* 'be' in [1b].

[1]   a.   爸爸把我过继给姑姑, 我就姓了姑父的姓。

ba4ba0	ba3	wo3	guo4ji4		gei3
father	BA	I	adopt (continue family line)		to

gu1gu1	wo3	jiu4	xing4	le0	gu1fu4
aunt	I	then	surname	LE	uncle-in-law

xing4
surname

'Father gave me to his sister for adoption, and I took her husband's last name.'

b.   他是过美国人又怎么样?

ta1	shi4	guo4	mei3guo2ren2	you4	zen3me0yang4
he	be	GUO	American	again	how

'Does it really matter if he used to be an American citizen?'

The head of a predicate can appear in a reduplicated form to denote an activity lasting for a short while or an action being repeated. Copular verbs and stative verbs do not typically appear in reduplicated forms.

Monosyllabic verbs A are reduplicated as Aa, like the 听听 *ting1ting1* 'listen to' and 喝喝 *he1he1* 'drink' in [2a]. Sometimes 一 *yi1* 'one' or 了 *le0* can occur between the reduplicated Aa to create an A-*yi*-a form or A-*le*-A form. The former is generally interpreted as 'doing the activity a little bit,' while the latter is interpreted as 'having done the activity a little bit.' The 走一走 *zou3yi1zou3* 'walk-a-walk' in [2b] means to walk casually for a short period, while the 摇了摇 *yao2le0yao2* 'shook and shook' in [2c] means having done the shaking more than once in a casual way. Sometimes the two infixes can appear together to produce a form like the 看了一看 *kan4le0yi1kan4* 'have had a look' in [2c]. Disyllabic verbs AB are reduplicated as ABAB, like the 呼吸呼吸 *hu1xi1hu1xi1* 'breathe' in [2b].

[2]   a.   他整天听听戏, 喝喝茶, 不务正业。

ta1	zheng3tian1	ting1ting1	xi4	he1he1	cha 2
he	whole_day	listen_to	opera	drink	tea

bu4wu4zheng4ye4
ignore_one's_proper_occupation

'He spent the whole day listening to opera, enjoying tea, and doing no serious business.'

b.   到公园去走一走, 呼吸呼吸新鲜空气。

dao4	gong1yuan2	qu4	zou3yi1zou3	hu1xi1hu1xi1
go_to	park	go	walk_a_walk	breathe

xin1xian1   kong1qi4
fresh   air
'Have a walk in the park and breathe some fresh air.'

c. 老头拿起佛像看了一看, 摇了摇头说, "假的"。
lao3tou2   na2qi3   fo2xiang4   kan4   le0   yi1
old_man   pick_up   Buddha_statue   look   LE   one

kan4   yao2   le0   yao2   tou2   shuo1   jia3de0
look   shake   LE   shake   head   say   fake
'Picking up the Buddha statue, the old man had a look, shook his
head, and said, "It's a fake."'

Some apparent examples of verbs reduplicated as AaBb are a concatenation of
two simple reduplications. Reduplicated verbs such as 寻寻觅觅 *xun2xun2mi4mi4*
'search and search,' 拉拉扯扯 *la1la1che3che3* 'pull and pull,' and 蹦蹦跳跳
beng4beng4tiao4tiao4 'bounce and jump' are actually the coordination of two redu-
plicated verbs, verb A reduplicated as Aa + verb B reduplicated as Bb. They behave
just like 走走停停 *zou3zou3ting2ting2* 'walk and stop' and 出出进进 *chu1chu1jin4jin4*
'go out and come in,' which do not have the corresponding AB.

4.2.2. Syntactic behavior of verbs

As a lexical category, the most prominent property of verbs is the ability to take
objects. The 吃 *chi1* 'eat' in [3a] is a two-argument verb that takes a subject (the one
that eats) and an object (the thing(s) to be eaten). In [3b], 吃 *chi1* 'eat' has a derived
meaning of 'relying on somebody for a living' and takes 父母 *fu4mu3* 'parents'
as the object. Non-canonical collocations like that in [3b] are available only to a
limited number of verb types and nominal phrase types.

[3]   a. 我这几个月天天吃素。
       wo3   zhe4 ji3   ge4   yue4   tian1tian1   chi1
       I   this several   CL   month   everyday   eat
       su4
       vegetarian_food
       'I eat vegetarian food every day for a few months.'

   b. 你都二十好几的人了, 怎么还在吃父母?
       ni3   dou1   er4shi2   hao3ji3   de0   ren2   le0   zen3me0
       you   all   twenty   several   DE   person   LE   how
       hai2   zai4   chi1   fu4mu3
       still   ZAI   eat   parents
       'You are over twenty now. How can you still live off your parents?'

When a verb functions as the head of a main predicate, it can appear in a V-not-V form to produce an A-not-A alternative question (see Chapter 14, section 4.1). The "not" part of V-not-V is 不 *bu4* 'not' if the predicate is in the imperfective aspect; and as in [4a] it is 没 *mei2* 'not' if the predicate is in the perfective aspect, as in [4b]. When the verb has two or more syllables, the process of V-not-V formation can involve the whole verb as in [5a] or simply the first syllable of the verb, as in [5b], even if the first syllable is a bound morpheme.

[4] a. 小学生还写不写毛笔字?

   xiao3xue2sheng1 hai2 xie3 bu4 xie3 mao2bi3zi4

   pupil   yet write NEG write calligraphy

   'Do primary school pupils practice calligraphy or not?'

  b. 你去没去过颐和园?

   ni3 qu4 mei2 qu4 guo4 yi2he2yuan2

   you go not go GUO Summer_Palace

   'Have you been to the Summer Palace or not?'

[5] a. 你知道不知道谁来了?

   ni3 zhi1dao4 bu4 zhi1dao4 shui2 lai2 le0

   you know NEG know who come LE

   'Do you know who came?'

  b. 你们需不需要大功率的水泵?

   ni3men0 xu1 bu4 xu1yao4 da4 gong1lü4 de0

   you   need NEG need big capacity DE

   shui3beng4

   pump

   'Do you need large capacity pumps or not?'

There are some variations in the A-not-A alternative question formation. In casual speech, it is possible to take a preposition or adverb as the main component of a predicate and make it an A-not-A form, such as those in [6a] and [6b].

[6] a. 郑渝高铁到底从不从襄樊走?

   zheng4   yu2   gao1tie3   dao4di3

   Zhengzhou Chongqing high_speed_railway on_earth

   cong2 bu4 cong2 xiang1fan2 zou3

   PERF NEG PREP Xiangfan   go_through

   'Does Zheng-Yu high-speed rail go via Xiangfan after all?'

b. 温州经不经常下雨?
    wen1zhou1 jing1 bu4 jing1chang2 xia4yu3
    Wenzhou   often NEG often   rain
    'Does it rain in Wenzhou frequently?'

The head of a verbal predicate can serve as the simple answer to a yes–no question, as can be seen in the relation between [7a] and [7b], as well as between [8a] and [8b]. The head of an adjectival predicate often occurs with a degree adverbial like the bleached intensifier 很 *hen3* 'very' as in [8] (see Chapter 10).

[7] a. 你吃过很多苦吗?
        ni3   chi1 guo4 hen3duo1 ku3   ma0
        you   eat   GUO   many   hardship MA
        'Have you gone through a lot of hardship?'

    b. 吃过。
        chi1 guo4
        eat   GUO
        '(I have) gone through (a lot).'

[8] a. 他的女婿很帅吧?
        ta1 de0 nü3xu4   hen3 shuai4   ba0
        he   DE   son_in_law very handsome   BA
        'Is his son-in-law handsome?'

    b. 很帅。
        hen3 shuai4
        very handsome
        '(Yes, he is) very handsome.'

Many epistemic and emotional verbs have relative degrees and can be modified by 很 or other degree adverbials. However, these verbs can head a predicate without the intensifier 很. For example, [9a] and [9b] are both acceptable (see Chapter 10).

[9] a. 你本来很讨厌这部电影。
        ni3   ben3lai2   hen3 tao3yan4 zhe4 bu4 dian4ying3
        you   originally very hate   this CL   movie
        'You hated the movie very much at first.'

    b. 我讨厌这部电影。
        wo3 tao3yan4 zhe4 bu4 dian4ying3
        I   hate   this CL   movie
        'I hate this movie.'

Verb phrases also appear in the subject, object, and modifier position. The verb phrase 春节放鞭炮 *chun1jie2 fang4 bian1pao4* 'lighting firecrackers during the Chinese New Year' in [10a] is in the subject position. The verb phrase 兴建一座五星级酒店 *xing1jian4 yi1 zuo4 wu3xing1ji2 jiu3dian4* 'building a five-star hotel' in [10b] is in the object position of 考虑 *kao3lü4* 'consider.' The verb phrase 刚出炉 *gang1 chu1lu2* 'just come out of the oven' is part of a 的 *de* phrase, which is the modifier of the nominal phrase 烧饼 *shao1bing3* 'sesame cake.'

[10] a. 春节放鞭炮已经是几千年的习俗了。

chun1jie2   fang4   bian1pao4   yi3jing1   shi4   ji3
Spring_Festival set_off firecrackers already   be   several

qian1   nian2   de0   xi2su2   le0
thousand   year   DE   tradition   LE
'Lighting firecrackers during the Chinese New Year has been a tradition for thousands of years.'

   b. 我们公司考虑兴建一座五星级酒店。

wo3men2   gong1si1   kao3lü4   xing1jian4   yi1   zuo4
we   company   consider   build   one   CL

wu3xing1ji2   jiu3dian4.
five-star   hotel
'Our company is considering building a five-star hotel.'

   c. 刚出炉的烧饼香极了。

gang1   chu1lu2   de0   shao1bing3   xiang1
just   come_out_of_oven   DE   baked_cake   fragrant

ji2   le0
extreme   LE
'Baked cakes hot and fresh from the oven smell wonderful.'

Verbs can also be part of compound or complex verbs (see Chapter 3). Within the compound verbs in [11], the two verbs in [11a] are conjoined together, and the noun and verb in [11b] are in a subject–predicate relation. The first element in the complex words in [11c] is a verb and the second one is its object, even though the object can be a verb itself, like the 贿 *hui4* 'bribe' in 行贿 *xing2hui4* 'conduct-bribe.' The first element in the compounds in [11d] is an adverbial modifying the verb after it, even though the 哭 *ku1* 'cry' in 哭诉 *ku1su4* 'complain while crying' is also a verb. The first verb in the complex words in [11d–e] represents an action and the second verb stands for the result.

[11]   a.   追逐 *zhui1zhu2* 'chase-follow, chase,' 纠缠 *jiu1chan2* 'knit-tangle, tangle'

   b.   山崩 *shan1beng1* 'mountain-collapse, mudslide,' 兵变 *bing1bian4* 'soldier-rebel, mutiny'

   c.   打的 *da3di1* 'take-taxi, take a taxi,' 行贿 *xing2hui4* 'conduct-bribe, bribe'

   d.   秒杀 *miao3sha1* 'second-kill, defeat quickly,' 哭诉 *ku1su4* 'cry-plea, complain while crying'

   e.   推翻 *tui1fan1* 'push-turned, overthrow,' 澄清 *cheng2qing1* 'settle-clear, clarify'

4.2.3. Properties of non-verbal predicates

Some predicates have a non-verbal head, such as an adjective or a preposition. A typical adjectival predicate describes a state that remains stable for a long time and is not compatible with the perfective aspect. However, some adjectival predicates can describe states that have starting points or ending points and take the perfective aspect. The 红 *hong2* 'red' in the first clause of [12a] describes a state that ends before the reference. The aspect 过 *guo* attached to 红 *hong2* 'red' reflects such a situation. The 热 *re4* 'hot' in [12b] represents a state that started before the time of reference and continued after that time, and a 了 *le* is attached to 热 to mark such a situation.

[12]   a.   樱桃刚刚红过了，石榴又登上了舞台。
         ying1tao2   gang1gang1   hong2   guo4   le0   shi2liu0
         cherry   just   red   GUO   LE   pomegranate

         you4   deng1shang4   le0   wu3tai2.
         again   be_on   LE   stage
         'Cherries have just finished their show of redness, and pomegranates are now at that stage.'

   b.   今年已经热了两个多月了。
         jin1nian2   yi3jing1   re4   le0   liang3   ge4   duo1   yue4
         this_year   already   hot   LE   two   CL   more   month

         le0
         LE
         'It has already been hot for more than two months this year.'

   The head of adjectival predicates can appear in reduplicated forms, such as the ABab 快乐快乐 *kuai4le4 kuai4le4* 'happy' and 高兴高兴 *gao1xing4 gao1xing4* 'joyful' in [13a], and the AaBb 清清白白 *qing1qing1bai2bai2* 'clean' in [13b]. Unlike non-reduplicated adjectives, reduplicated ones do not have comparative meanings and can head a predicate without a modifier. These forms cannot be directly

negated, nor can they have V-not-V forms (see Chapter 10). AaBb adjectives can also function as part of an adverbial phrase, as in [13c]. But ABab forms typically do not have this function.

[13] a. 你就快乐快乐吧! 高兴高兴吧!
      ni3   jiu4   kuai4le4 kuai4le4 ba0 gao1xing4 gao1xing4
      you thus happy   happy   BA happy   happy
      ba0
      BA
      'Be happy! Cheer up!'

    b. 她的身世清清白白, 你们还要查什么?
      ta1 de0 shen1shi4 qing1qing1bai2bai2 ni3men0 hai2yao4
      she DE life   clean   you   still
      cha 2   shen2me0
      look_into what
      'Her family has a clean record. What else are you looking for?'

    c. 孩子高高兴兴地跑了出去。
      hai2zi3 gao1gao1xing4xing4de0 pao3 le0 chu1qu4
      child   happily   run   LE out
      'The child ran out happily.'

[14] 前面那天桥白不白?
      qian2mian4 na4 tian1qiao2 bai2   bu4 bai2
      front   that overpass white not white
      'Is the overpass in the front white or not?'

Adjectival predicates usually describe states, but occasionally they can present events or activities and have objects. The predicate in [15a] describes a woman crying and the reading that "tears blurred her eyes" is made possible by the causative use of an adjective. 模糊 *mo2hu0* 'blurry' actually functions as a two-argument verb, taking a causer subject and an affected object, as well as the perfective marker 了 *le0*. [15b] is about how a place was brightened by a red light. The adjective 亮 *liang4* 'bright' is used as a one-argument existential verb, taking 一片红光 *yi1 pian4 hong2 guang1* 'a red light' as its object.

[15] a. 泪水再次模糊了她的眼睛。
      lei4shui3 zai4ci4 mo2hu0 le0 ta1 de0 yan3jing1
      tear   again blur   LE she DE eye
      'Tears blurred her eyes again.'

b. 村头上亮着一片红光。

cun1tou2	shang4	liang4	zhe0	yi1	pian4	hong2
village	on	bright	ZHE	one	CL	red

guang1
light

'There shone a red light at the entrance of the village.'

In some cases, a predicate may look like it is being headed by a noun, such as 美国人 *mei3guo2ren2* 'American person, American' in [16a], or by an A adjective derived from a noun like the 中国 *zhong1guo2* 'Chinese' in [16b]. The phrase headed by a real noun cannot be negated directly so a verb is needed for this, such as the copula 是 *shi4* 'be' in [17a]. A phrase that is headed by a derived adjective can be modified by degree adverbials, as in [16b], or can be negated directly, as in [17b].

[16] a. 他姐夫美国人。

ta1	jie3fu1	mei3guo2ren2
he	brother-in-law	American

'His brother-in-law is an American.'

b. 桥头市场非常国际, 但又十分中国。

qiao2tou2	shi4chang3	fei1chang2	guo2ji4	dan4
Qiaotou	market	very	international	but

you4	shi2fen1	zhong1guo2
also	very	China

'The Qiaotou Market is very international but is also very Chinese.'

[17] a. 他姐夫不是美国人。

ta1	jie3fu1	bu2	shi4	mei3guo2ren2
he	brother-in-law	NEG	be	American

'His brother-in-law is not an American.'

b. 桥头市场一点都不国际, 也非常不中国。

qiao2tou2	shi4chang3	yi1dian3	dou1	bu4	guo2ji4
Qiaotou	market	a_bit	all	NEG	international

ye3	fei1chang2	bu4	zhong1guo2
also	very	NEG	China

'The Qiaotou Market is not international nor is it Chinese at all.'

Predicates are sometimes headed by 在 *zai4* 'at/in/on,' which is often used as a preposition. 在 is the only preposition-like word that can head a predicate. As the

head of a predicate, 在 can take an object, as in [18a], or have the V-not-V form in a yes–no question, as in [18b].

[18]   a.   林校长在八楼。

    lin2   xiao4zhang3   zai4   ba1   lou2
    Lin   president   be_at eight floor
    'President Lin is on the eighth floor.'

   b.   县长在不在家?

    xian4zhang3   zai4   bu4   zai4   jia1
    mayor   be_at NEG   be_at home
    'Is the Mayor at home or not?'

4.3. Verb types

One way to classify verbs is to consider the events or situations described by various types of verbs. Four event types are generally distinguished: stative, activity, accomplishment, and achievement (see Chapter 5).

[19]   a.   stative verbs: 有 *you3* 'have,' 姓 *xing4* 'have the surname of,' 像 *xiang4* 'resemble,' 喜欢 *xi3huan1* 'like'

   b.   activity verbs: 做 *zuo4* 'make,' 劝 *quan4* '(try to) persuade/advise,' 吃 *chi1* 'eat,' 打 *da3* 'beat,' 念 *nian4* 'read,' 看 *kan4* 'look, read'

   c.   achievement verbs: 到 *dao4* 'arrive,' 忘 *wang4* 'forget,' 丢 *diu1* 'lose,' 死 *si3* 'die'

   d.   accomplishment verbs: 毙 *bi4* 'shoot and kill,' 灭 *mie4* 'extinguish,' 娶 *qu3* 'marry (a woman),' 绝杀 *jue2sha1* 'absolutely kill,' 劝服 *quan4fu2* 'persuade,' 杀死 *sha1si3* 'kill,' 打破 *da3po4* 'break,' 压倒 *ya1dao3* 'crash'

In their typical use, stative verbs like those in [19a] describe events that do not involve change. Activity verbs like those in [19b] represent dynamic events that continue for a period of time without a clear endpoint. Both types of verbs represent situations with no built-in inherent temporal endpoint.

Achievement verbs like 丢 *diu1* 'lose' and 死 *si3* 'die' in [19c] depict events of change that are completed instantly. Accomplishment verbs like those in [19d] represent events with an inherent endpoint at which the result state is realized. Many of the simple accomplishment verbs owe their existence to Classical Chinese or dialects. 毙 *bi4* 'killed' comes from Classical Chinese but has obtained a new meaning of 'killing with a gun' in Northern Dialect. When someone brags 我毙了三个 *wo3 bi4 le0 san1 ge4* 'I shot and killed three,' he makes it clear that three men were dead because of his shooting. Simple accomplishment verbs, however, are rare in Chinese. Typical accomplishment verbs are in the form of verb–resultative

(V–R) compounds like 跑丢 *pao3diu1* 'run and got lost (typically for children and pets),' 杀死 *sha1si3* 'kill (attack-dead),' 打破 *da3po4* 'break (hit-break),' and 压倒 *ya1dao3* 'crash.' The V part of the compound is typically an activity verb, while the R part is typically a stative verb or an adjective indicating the result state, and less frequently an achievement verb. Achievement verbs and accomplishment verbs both have a built-in (temporal) endpoint.

The temporal endpoint of achievement and accomplishment verbs can be explicitly marked either by a nominal phrase referring to a point in time or duration, indicating that the event or activity is completed at a particular point in time or within a certain amount of time, as illustrated in [20a] and [20b]. A simple duration phrase, however, can also occur with stative or activity verbs to imply a temporal endpoint. Note that in such cases, the endpoint can be at the beginning [20c] or at the end [20d] of the event, or both.

[20] a. 列车将于两点半抵达上海。

   lie4che1   zai4   liang3   ge4   xiao3shi2   nei4   di3da2
   train   PREP   two   CL   hour   within   arrive

   shang4hai3
   Shanghai
   'The train will arrive at Shanghai at two thirty.'

   b. 防疫人员八小时内扑杀了所有的活禽。

   fang2yi4   ren2yuan2   ba1   xiao3shi2   nei4
   disease_control   people   eight   hour   within

   bu3sha1   le0   suo3you3   de0   huo2qin2
   catch_and_kill   LE   all   DE   live_bird
   'The disease control people killed all live birds in eight hours.'

   c. 他喜欢你很久了。

   ta1   xi3huan1   ni3   hen2jiu3   le0
   he   like   you   a_long_time   LE
   'He has been admiring (liking) you for a long time.'

   d. 国宴吃了三个小时。

   guo2yan4   chi1   le0   san1   ge4   xiao3shi2.
   state_banquet   eat   LE   three   CL   hour
   'The state banquet lasted for three hours.'

When an activity verb takes a quantity phrase as an object, the predicate may be "measured out" and have an endpoint. 看 *kan4* 'look, read' itself does not indicate any end point of the activity, as in [21a], but when it takes 三本书 *san1 ben3 shu1* 'three books' as the object in [21b], the activity will end when the third book has been read. The predicate, namely the verb phrase, in [21b] thus has a temporal

endpoint and describes an accomplishment event, even though the verb is an activity verb.

[21]   a.   你去看书。

         ni3   qu4   kan4   shu1

         you go   read   book

         'You go ahead and read books.'

      b.   你去看三本书。

         ni3   qu4   kan4   san1   ben3   shu1

         you go   look   three CL   book

         'You go ahead and read three books.'

Certain temporal expressions can appear after the verb in the form of a frequency phrase, as in [22a], or a duration phrase, as in [22b]. When the predicate is headed by an atelic verb, a frequency or duration phrase typically delimits a timeframe within which the action or event takes place and thus gives the event an endpoint. The duration or frequency phrase is the object of the verb and, when there is another object, the two usually form one nominal phrase, as in [22c].

[22]   a.   他跟着一个师父了学几次, 学会了。

         ta1   gen1   zhe0 yi1   ge4   shi1fu4   xue2   ji3ci4

         he   follow ZHE one CL   master   learn   several _times

         xue2hui4   le0

         acquire   LE

         'He practiced several times with a master and has learned it.'

      b.   他在上海住了十几年, 还不会说上海话。

         ta1   zai4   shang4hai3   zhu4   le0   shi2 ji3   nian2

         he   PREP Shanghai   live   LE   ten   some   year

         hai3   bu2   hui4   shang4hai3hua4.

         till   NEG   can   Shanghainese

         'He has lived in Shanghai for more than a decade, but has not yet learned Shanghai Dialect.'

      c.   他跟着一个师父学了几次刀法, 可以动手做了。

         ta1   gen1   zhe0 yi1   ge4   shi1fu4   xue2   le0

         he   follow ZHE one CL   master   learn LE

         ji3ci4   dao1fa3   ke3yi3 dong4shou3 zuo4 le0

         several_ times knife_skill can   start_work   do   LE

         'He practiced the carving method several times with a master, and should be able to do it.'

When the object is definite, the duration or frequency phrase could also occur after the object, as in [23a]. Other options are available, such as for the direct object to appear elsewhere via topicalization, passivization, the use of the *ba* construction, and verb reduplication constructions, as in [23b]. When the head of a predicate is telic, the duration or frequency phrase after the verb usually indicates the timeframe in which the resultant state lasts. The 七、八年 *qi1 ba1 nian2* 'seven or eight years' in [23c] represents the period between the death of the grandfather and the time of reference. Such a phrase can also function as a predicate, as in [23d], where it takes a clause as the subject and is modified by the adverbial 已经 *yi3jing1* 'already.'

[23] a. 妈妈打了孩子一巴掌。
    ma1ma0 da3 le0 hai2zi0 yi1 ba1zhang3
    mother slap LE child one palm
    'The mother slapped the child once.'

  b. 孩子玩电子游戏玩了一整天。
    hai2zi0 wan2 dian4zi3you2xi4 wan2 le0 yi1
    child play video_game play LE one
    zheng3tian1
    whole_day
    'The child played video games for the whole day.'

  c. 泽涛的爷爷已经死了七、八年了。
    ze2tao1 de0 ye2ye0 yi3jing1 si3 le0 qi1
    Zetao DE grandfather already die LE seven
    ba1 nian2 le0
    eight year LE
    'Zetao's grandfather has been dead for seven or eight years.'

  d. 泽涛的爷爷死了已经七、八年了。
    ze2tao1 de0 ye2ye0 si3 le0 yi3jing1 qi1
    Zetao DE grandfather die LE already seven
    ba1 nian2 le0
    eight year LE
    'It has been seven or eight years since Zetao's grandfather died.'

4.4. Arguments

Verbs may also differ from each other in the number and type of arguments they can take. An argument is a linguistically represented participant of an event, which is typically expressed by a noun phrase. In a drinking event like that in [24],

two participants are generally involved: the drinker and the drink. The former is usually said to have the thematic role of agent while the latter the role of theme. These two participants are expressed by two arguments, the agent as the subject and the theme in an object position.

[24]   几个人喝了三瓶茅台。

    ji3   ge4   ren2   he1   le0   san1   ping2   mao2tai2

    some   CL   people   drink   LE   three   bottle   Maotai_wine

    'A few of them drank three bottles of Maotai.'

Verbs can be classified according to the number and type of arguments they take:

- Single-argument verbs, either unaccusative ones whose single argument can occur in either the object position or the subject position, such as 开 *kai1* 'open' and 沉 *chen2* 'sink,' or unergative ones whose single argument typically occurs in the subject position, such as 哭 *ku1* 'cry' and 笑 *xiao4* 'laugh.'
- Double-argument verbs, which have a subject and an object, such as 打 *da3* 'hit' and 吃 *chi1* 'eat.'
- Triple-argument verbs, which have a subject and two objects, such as 送 *song4* 'give' and 借 *jie4* 'borrow, lend.'
- Quadruple-argument verbs, which have a subject and three objects, such as 换 *huan4* 'trade' and 赌 *du3* 'bet.'

Since verbs have at least one argument, the subject, they can also be categorized according to the number of non-subject arguments they can take: none, one, two, or three. Those without an object are traditionally called intransitive verbs; those with an object are transitive verbs; those taking two objects are ditransitive verbs; and those that have three additional arguments are tritransitive verbs.

4.4.1. Single-argument verbs

Single-argument verbs are often categorized into two types: unergative and unaccusative. Unergative verbs have an argument that characteristically bears the thematic role of agent and occupies the subject position, as in [25]. Unaccusative verbs have an argument that can occupy either the object or the subject position, as in [26] and [27].

[25]   a.   卖酒的人笑了，刘家的人也笑了。

       mai4   jiu3   de0   ren2   xiao4   le0   liu2   jia1   de0

       sell   wine   DE   person   smile   LE   Liu   family   DE

ren2   ye3   xiao4   le0
person   also   smile   LE
'The wine vendor smiled, and the Lius also smiled.'

b. 他哭了, 眼泪流个不停。
ta1   ku1   le0   yan3lei4   liu2   ge4   bu4   ting2
he   cry   LE   tears   flow   CL   NEG   stop
'He cried and the tears came down continuously.'

[26] a. 来了一位朋友。
lai2   le0   yi1   wei4   peng2you3
come   LE   one   CL   friend
'Here came a friend.'

b. 四天内**走**了近百位旅客。
si4   tian1   nei4   zou3   le0   jin4   bai3   wei4
four   day   within   leave   LE   near   hundred   CL

lü3ke4
tourist
'(What happened was that) nearly a hundred tourists left within
four days.'

c. 死了两名伙伴, 五匹马。
si3   le0   liang3   ming2   huo3ban4   wu3   pi1   ma3
die   LE   two   CL   buddy   five   CL   horse
'(What happened was that) two buddies and five horses died.'

[27] a. 朋友们来了。
peng2you3men2   lai2   le0
friends   come   LE
'The friends came.'

b. 旅客走了。
lü3ke4   zou3   le0
passenger   leave   LE
'The passengers have left.'

The position of the argument in an unaccusative verb depends on the informa-
tion structure of the sentence and the definiteness of the argument. As the trans-
lation suggests, when new information is introduced, such as in [26b] and [26c], or
when the referent (the friend) is not definite, as in [26a], the argument occurs in
the post-verbal position. In contrast, the argument occurs in the pre-verbal subject
position when the reference of the argument is known and definite, as in [27].

When the argument of an unaccusative verb occupies the post-verbal object position, the subject position can be left open, as in [26], or it can be filled, as in [28]. The extra element can be an experiencer/benefactor, as in [28a], a temporal phrase, as in [28b], or a locative phrase, as in [28c].

[28]   a.   航运公司连续沉了三条船。

hang2yun4   gong1si1   lian2xu4   chen2   le0   san1
shipping   company   consecutively   sink   LE   three

tiao2   chuan2
CL   ship
'(What happened to the Shipping Corporation was that) three of their boats sank consecutively.'

   b.   去年走了八位学生。

qu4nian2   zou3   le0   ba1   wei4   xue2sheng1
last_year   leave LE   eight   CL   student
'(What happened to the school was that) eight students quit last year.'

   c.   床上躺着一个满脸皱纹的老人。

chuang2shang4   tang3   zhe0   yi1   ge4   man3   lian3
on_the_bed   lie   ZHE   one   CL   full   face

zhou4wen2   de0   lao3ren2
wrinkle   DE   old_man
'Lying on the bed was an old man with a face full of wrinkles.'

Another difference between unergative and unaccusative verbs is that agent-oriented adverbials can co-occur only with unergative verbs, as in [29], since the argument of an unergative verb is typically agent-like.

[29]   a.   月霞姨认真地笑了笑。

yue4xia2   yi2   ren4zhen1   de0   xiao4   le0   xiao4
YUEXIA   aunt   seriously   DE   smile   LE   smile
'Auntie Yuexia laughed seriously.'

   b.   陈平故意大叫了起来。

chen2ping2   gu4yi4   da4jiao4   le0   qi3lai2
CHEN_PING   intentionally   yell   LE   QILAI
'Ping CHEN yelled intentionally.'

4.4.2. Double-argument verbs
Double-argument verbs involve two participants in the events or situations, typically taking the subject and object positions.

[30] a. 他打了这位女服装师。

    ta1 da3 le0 zhe4 wei4 nü3   fu2zhuang1shi1
    he   hit LE   this CL   female   fashion_designer
    'He hit the female fashion designer.'

  b. 我喜欢金庸小说。

    wo3   xi3huan1   jin1yong1   xiao3shuo1
    I   like   JinYong   novel
    'I like novels by Jin Yong.'

Although the sentences in [30] and [28] all have a subject and an object, they have different properties. In [30a] and [30b], both arguments are required participants, whereas in sentences involving unaccusatives like in [28], only the object is the required argument of the verb.

It is common in Chinese for an argument of a verb to be left unexpressed and to be interpreted as if it is filled with an element that is interpreted according to the context.

[31] a. 中国观众喜欢我们的表演, 裁判也喜欢。

    zhong1guo2   guan1zhong4   xi3huan1   wo3men0de0
    China   audiences   like   our

    biao3yan3   cai2pan4   ye3   xi3huan1
    performance   judge   also   like
    'The Chinese audience liked our performance, and the judges also liked [our performance].'

  b. 孔子死了两名弟子, 颜回也死了。

    kong3zi3   si3   le0   liang3   ming2   di4zi3   yan2hui2
    Confucius   die   LE   two   CL   disciple   Yan Hui

    ye3   si3   le0
    also   die   LE
    '(What happened to Confucius was that) two of his disciples died, and Yan Hui also died.'

In the second clause of [31a], the object is to be understood as 我们的表演 *wo3men0 de0 biao3yan3* 'our performance,' although it is actually unexpressed. In contrast, the second clause in [31b] can only yield the interpretation that 颜回 also died, even though the second clause has a structure parallel to that of the first one. 死 *si3* 'die' is an unaccusative verb that requires only one argument. The second participant in such a clause is not an argument and cannot be interpreted unless it is explicitly expressed. The second clause with only one filled argument

simply cannot have the reading of 颜回 'experiencing/suffering the death of the disciples.'

It is important to note that not all two-argument verbs involve a subject and an object. Many of them involve arguments in non-canonical positions and this issue will be discussed in section 4.5.

4.4.3. Triple-argument verbs

Verbs involving an argument that changes its state (including positions) are typically expressed by verbs with three arguments. In other words, the event represented by such verbs mostly concerns the transfer of objects, actual or virtual, from one person to another, and generally involves three participants: an agent who initiates the transfer, a theme that is transferred, and a beneficiary or maleficiary who receives or loses the theme. These ditransitive verbs thus have one subject and two objects, as shown in [32].

[32]   a.   我已经给了每个孩子一个大红包了。

        wo3   yi3jing1 gei3 le0 mei3 ge4 hai2zi0 yi1 ge4

        I   already   give LE every CL child   one CL

        da4 hong2bao1   le0

        big red_envelope LE

        'I have already given each child a fat red envelope.'

    b.   他寄给我几十张照片。

        ta1 ji4   gei3 wo3 ji3   shi2 zhang1 zhao4pian4

        he mail give I   some ten   CL   picture

        'He sent me scores of pictures.'

    c.   他教小学生国文。

        ta1 jiao1 xiao3xue2sheng1 guo2wen2

        he teach pupil   Chinese

        'He teaches elementary school pupils Chinese.'

    d.   他就去公主的房间, 问她这个问题。

        ta1 jiu4 qu4   gong1zhu3 de0 fang2jian1 wen4 ta1

        he thus go_to princess   DE room   ask   she

        zhe4 ge4 wen4ti2

        this CL   question

        'He then went to the Princess's room and asked her this question.'

    e.   我们欠他八百万元。

        wo3men0 qian4 ta1 ba1bai3wan4 yuan2

        we   owe   he eight_million yuan

        'We owe him eight million dollars.'

In these sentences, the goal or source of the transfer occurs directly after the verb and is followed by the argument that changes the state of being transferred. When giving events are involved, the verbs are often compounds with 给 *gei3* 'give' as the second root, such as 寄给 *ji4gei3* 'mail-give' in [32b].

Some transitive verbs typically taking one object may allow an additional nominal phrase in the post-verbal position to create a double-object construction. 吃 *chi1* 'eat' atypically takes two objects in [33], 父母 *fu4mu3* 'parents' and 十年粮 *shi2 nian2 liang2* 'ten years' worth of food.' The sentence has an extended meaning of eating: the boy lived off his parents for ten more years.

[33]　　他又吃了父母十年粮。
　　　　ta1　you4　chi1　le0　fu4mu3　shi2　nian2　liang2
　　　　he　　again　eat　LE　parents　ten　year　food
　　　　'He lived off his parents for ten more years.'

Similar to the difference between one- and two-argument verbs, the difference between three-argument verbs and two-argument verbs with additional arguments lies in whether the third argument can be understood without being expressed. In ditransitive sentences like those in [34], one of the two objects can usually be left unexpressed when there is a clear context to indicate what the missing object is. Both sentences in [34] thus have a two-object reading, even though only one of them is overtly expressed.

[34]　a.　他要带回家送给妻子。
　　　　　ta1　yao4　dai4　hui2　jia1　　song4gei3　qi1zi0
　　　　　he　want　take　back　home　give_to　　wife
　　　　　'He wanted to bring [it] home to give [it] to his wife.'

　　　　b.　朱熹的学生曾问他。
　　　　　zhu1xi1　de0　xue2sheng1　ceng2　wen4　ta1
　　　　　ZHU_XI　DE　student　　　once　ask　he
　　　　　'Xi ZHU's students once asked him [a question].'

4.4.4. Quadruple-argument verbs

Only a handful of verbs can take four arguments, including three objects. These objects typically are marked with different prepositions or occur in different positions. The four arguments in [35] are "I," "one dollar in my hand," "you," and "one dollar," with the last three being different objects. Like other types of verbs, any of the four arguments can be unrealized but will always be understood.

[35] a. 我把手中的一块钱和你换一块钱。

      wo3   ba3   shou3zhong4   de0   yi1   kuai4   qian2   he2
      I   BA   in_hand   DE   one   yuan   money   PREP

      ni3   huan4   yi1   kuai4   qian2
      you   trade   one   yuan   money
      'I trade one dollar in my hand with you for one dollar.'

   b. 一块钱, (和你) 换一块钱。

      yi1   kuai4   qian2   he2   ni3   huan4   yi1   kuai4
      one   yuan   money   PREP   you   trade   one   yuan

      qian2
      money
      '(I) will trade one dollar (with you) for one dollar.'

   c. 我和你换一块钱/我换你一块钱。

      wo3   he2   ni3   huan4   yi1   kuai4   qian2   wo3
      I   PREP   you   trade   one   yuan   money   I

      huan4   ni3   yi1   kuai4   qian2
      trade   you   one   yuan   money
      'I will trade (something) with you for one dollar.'

Another quadruple argument verb is 赌 *du3* 'bet' as exemplified in [36].

[36]   一顿饭和你赌巴西不会夺冠。

      yi1   dun4   fan4   he2   ni3   du3   ba1xi1   bu4hui4
      one   CL   meal   PREP   you   bet   Brazil   NEG_will

      duo2guan4
      win_championship
      '(I) bet one meal with you that Brazil will not win the championship.'

4.4.5. Verbs with "bleached" objects

There is another type of double-object sentence characteristically with a numeral phrase with a third-person singular pronoun *ta*, which is orthographically represented as either non-human 它 *ta1* 'it' or neutral human 他 *ta1* 'he,' as shown in [37] below. The pronoun occurs right after the verb and before the object to indicate the speaker's tentative or casual attitude. This particular third-person pronoun has been bleached of its meaning and reference. No other pronoun can serve this function.

[37]   a.   只要有空, 我就一定唱它几句。

    zhi3yao4   you3 kong4   wo3 jiu4 yi1ding4 chang4

    as_long_as have free_time I   then definitely sing

    ta1 ji3   ju4

    it several sentence

    'As long as I [have] time, I will definitely sing a few lines.'

    b.   你去跑他一大圈再回来。

    ni3 qu4 pao3 ta1 yi1 da4 quan1 zai4   hui2lai2

    you go run he one big lap   again return

    'You go and run a big lap and back.'

A similar "bleached" element expressing tentativeness or casualness is the generic classifier 个 *ge4* 'CL' between a verb and its post-verbal constituent, which can be a nominal object as in [38a], an adjunct phrase, as the extent element in [38b], or a verb phrase, as the resultative in [38c]. The classifier 个 *ge4* 'CL' in these cases is depleted of much of its semantic content.

[38]   a.   你们可以在露天咖啡座上歇个脚。

    ni3men0 ke3yi3 zai4 lu4tian1 ka1fei1 zuo4 shang4

    you   can   PREP outdoor coffee seat on

    xie1 ge4 jiao3

    rest CL foot

    'You can have a rest at the outdoor café.'

    b.   咱们今晚唱个不停, 玩个够。

    zan2men0 jin1wan3 chang4 ge4 bu4ting2 wan2 ge4

    we   tonight sing CL non-stop play CL

    gou4

    enough

    'Let's sing non-stop and have lots of fun tonight.'

    c.   败兵到了这里一定会摔个人仰马翻。

    bai4bing1   dao4 le0 zhe4li3 yi1ding4 shuai1

    defeated_soldiers arrive LE here definitely fall_over

    ge4 ren2   yang3 ma3   fan1

    CL people lie horse tumble

    'The fleeing soldiers would fall like tumbling pebbles.'

These two "bleached" elements sometimes occur together and the object in this case can be any type of phrase possible after either of the bleached 它 *ta1* 'it' or 个 *ge4* 'CL,' with the order of 它 *ta1* 'ta' preceding 个 *ge4* 'CL' strongly preferred.

[39] a. 我一定要一次就吃它个一百碗。

wo3 yi1ding4 yao4 yi1 ci4 jiu4 chi1 ta1 ge4
I   definitely will one CL   thus eat   it   CL

yi1bai3   wan3
one_hundred   CL

'I will definitely eat a hundred bowls at one sitting.'

b. 黑熊冬季要睡它个几星期几个月的。

hei1xiong2 dong1ji4   yao4 shui4 ta1 ge4 ji3
black_bear winter_season will sleep it   CL   several

ge4 xing1qi1 ji3   ge4 yue4   de0
CL   week   several   CL   month DE

'Black bears sleep for a few weeks or months in winter.'

c. 他们每年都要玩**它个**轰轰烈烈。

ta1men0 mei3nian2 dou1 yao4 wan2 ta1 ge4
they   every_year all   will play it   CL

hong1hong1lie4lie4
spectacularly

'They get a spectacularly fun time every year.'

d. 咱们吃它个片甲不留。

zan2men0 chi1 ta1 ge4 pian4jia3bu2liu2
we   eat   it   CL   nothing_left

'Let's eat until nothing is left.'

4.4.6. Verbal argument verbs

Some verbs can take verb phrases as arguments. The subject and object of [40a]
are both verbal phrases, and so is the subject of [40b].

[40] a. 醉酒驾驶等于用车杀人。

zui4jiu3 jia4shi3 deng3yu2   yong4 che1 sha1 ren2
drunk   drive   amount_to   use   car   kill   people

'To drive when drunk is the same as to use a car to kill people.'

b. 笑能让人长寿。

xiao4 neng2 rang4 ren2   chang2shou4.
laugh can   make   people   live_a_long_life

'To laugh can make people live a long life.'

A few verbs can take a verb phrase as a complement to produce an interpretation
similar to the verbal complement itself. The 调查 *diao4cha 2* 'investigate' in [41a]
is a double-argument verb that takes a theme argument as its object. The same

idea is expressed in [41b] by a "complex predicate," in which 调查 is the head of the object phrase and the semantic theme of 调查 is the object in the preposition phrase, while the main verb is a semantically bleached 做 *zuo4* 'do.' Although 做 is commonly used as a double-argument verb, it is considered a "generic" or "light" verb in cases like [41b] in the sense that it does not contribute much to the overall meaning of the predicate but makes the verbal complement a legitimate part of the predicate. The overall meaning of the complex predicate mainly comes from the verbal complement as well as the theme phrase in the adverbial preposition phrase.

[41]   a.   警察彻底调查了这起事故。

        jing3cha 2   che4di3   diao4cha 2   le0   zhe4   qi3   shi4gu4

        policeman   thoroughly   investigate   LE   this   CL   accident

        'The police thoroughly investigated the accident.'

    b.   警察对这起事故做了彻底调查。

        jing3cha 2   dui4   zhe4   qi3   shi4gu4   zuo4   le0

        policeman   PREP   this   CL   accident   conduct   LE

        che4di3   diao4cha 2

        thoroughly   investigate

        'The police carried out a thorough investigation of the accident.'

    c.   法院应对证人予以保护。

        fa3yuan4   ying1   dui4   zheng4ren2   yu2yi3   bao3hu4

        court   should   PREP   witness   provide   protection

        'The court should protect the witness.'

Other verbs in this category include 进行 *jin4xing2* 'do,' 有 *you3* 'have,' 加以 *jia1yi3* 'make,' 给以 *gei3yi3* 'give,' and so on, which are typically double-argument verbs. Such complicated predicates are commonly found in formal written genres.

4.5. Other post-verbal constituents

In addition to various types of arguments, duration, frequency phrases, and bleached elements that occur in the post-verbal position, some other elements are found post-verbally, such as descriptive expressions and expressions denoting the result or extent of an activity. In many cases, 得 *de0* 'DE,' which has a de-stressed neutral tone and is phonologically attached to the verb, often appears between the verb and the descriptive or resultative expressions.

The expressions after 得 *de0* 'DE' in [42] describe the manner, extent, or result of the activities. 快 *kuai4* 'fast' in [42a] describes the manner or extent of the activity of 游 *you2* 'swim,' 仔细 *zi3xi4* 'careful' in [42b] expresses the manner of 看 *kan4*

'look,' and 最快 *zui4 kuai4* 'the fastest' and 最重 *zui4 zhong4* 'the heaviest' in [42c] indicate the manner or extent of 跌 *die1* 'fall.'

[42] a. 看谁游得快。
 kan4   shui2   you2   de0   kuai4
 look   who   swim   DE   fast
 'Let's see who swims faster.'

 b. 大家都看得很仔细。
 da4jia1   dou1   kan4   de0   hen3   zi3xi4
 everyone   all   look   DE   very   carefully
 'Everyone looked at it carefully.'

 c. 股市下挫时，劣质股跌得最快最重。
 gu3shi4   xia4cuo4   shi2   lie4zhi4   gu3   die1
 stock_market   downturn   when   low_quality   stock   fall

 de0   zui4   kuai4   zui4   zhong4
 DE   most   fast   most   heavy
 'When the stock market goes down, low-quality stocks fall the fastest and lose the most value.'

In [43], 很厉害 *hen3 li4hai4* 'very bad' describes the extent to which the rumor has been 传播 *chuan2bo1* 'spread,' and the 很严重 *hen3 yan2zhong4* 'very bad' in [43b] depicts how severely the child has become 病 *bing4* 'ill.'

[43] a. 谣言传播得很厉害。
 yao2yan2   chuan2bo1   de0   hen3   li4hai0
 rumors   spread   DE   very   severe
 'The rumor is recklessly spreading.'

 b. 孩子病得很严重。
 hai2zi0   bing4   de0   hen3   yan2zhong4
 child   ill   DE   very   serious
 'The child is gravely ill.'

The expressions after 得 *de0* 'DE' in [44] are predicates that describe the resultant state of a nominal phrase in the sentences, either the subject or the object. 很高 *hen3 gao1* 'very tall' in [44a] depicts the status of the subject 他 *ta1* 'he'; the 大 *da4* 'big' in [44b] is about the condition of the object 肚子 *du4zi0* 'belly'; and the 非常完善 *fei1chang2 wan2shan4* 'very comprehensive' in [44c] is an evaluation of 公路地图 *gong1lu4 di4tu2* 'highway map,' which is the object of a 把 *ba3* 'ba' construction.

[44]   a.   他已经长得很高了。

> ta1   yi3jing1   zhang3   de0   hen3   gao1   le0
> he   already   grow   DE   very   tall   LE
> 'He has already grown very tall.'

    b.   你老喝啤酒, 喝得肚子都大了。

> ni3   lao3   he1   pi2jiu3   he1   de0   du4zi0   dou1
> you   always   drink   beer   drink   DE   belly   even
>
> da4   le0
> big   LE
> 'You keep drinking beer and increasing the size of your belly.'

    c.   美国人把公路地图绘制得非常完善。

> mei3guo2ren2   ba3   gong1lu4   di4tu2   hui4zhi4   de0
> American   BA   highway   map   draw   DE
>
> fei1chang2   wan2shan4
> very   perfect
> 'Americans have their highway maps made to perfection.'

The descriptive, resultative, or extent expressions following 得 *de0* 'DE' are all predicates with relevant properties, and can be modified by an adverb like 很 *hen3* 'very' and 非常 *fei1chang2* 'extraordinarily.' They can also combine with the verb without 得 *de0* 'DE' to form a single unit, which behaves very much like a compound or complex word. Being part of a compound or complex word, a descriptive, resultative, or extent expression generally cannot be further modified or conjoined by conjunction words like 又 *you4* 'as well.'

[45]   a.   他已经长高了。

> ta1   yi3jing1   zhang3   gao1   le0
> he   already   grow   tall   LE
> 'He has already grown tall.'

    b.   这家伙真的是坏透了。

> zhe4   jia1huo0   zhen1de0   shi4   huai4   tou4   le0
> this   guy   really   be   bad   completely   LE
> 'This guy is really bad to the core.'

    c.   失去控制的货车撞倒了好几个途人。

> shi1qu4   kong4zhi4   de0   huo4che1   zhuang4dao3   le0
> lose   control   DE   truck   knock_down   LE
>
> hao3   ji3   ge4   tu2ren2
> quite   several   CL   pedestrian
> 'The runaway truck knocked down several pedestrians.'

As part of a compound or complex word, the verb can no longer bear the aspect marker directly and the marker 了 *le0* 'le' in [45c] has to occur outside the complex word. Another related property is that the object of the verb has to be put outside the compound or complex word, just like the 好几个途人 *hao3 ji3 ge4* 'several pedestrians' in [45c]. Because the object is not adjacent to the verb and the resultative expression can be predicative of either the subject or the object, sentences like [46] become potentially ambiguous. 累 *lei4* 'tired' in [46] demonstrates the physical condition of an animate entity and, given the content of the sentence, it can be predicative of either 老猎人 *lao3 lie4ren2* 'old hunter' or 那只狡猾的狐狸 *na4 zhi1 jiao3hua2 de0 hu2li0* 'that cunning fox.'

[46]　　　老猎人追累了那只狡猾的狐狸。

lao3	lie4ren2	zhui1	lei4	le0	na4	zhi3	jiao3hua2
old	hunter	chase	tired	LE	that	CL	cunning

de0	hu2li2
DE	fox

i. 'The old hunter chased the cunning fox and he got tired.'
ii. 'The old hunter chased the cunning fox and it got tired.'

Such a compound or complex word sometimes allows certain word-level elements to operate inside. The verb 搬 *ban1* '*move*' in [47a] takes two verbs 出 *chu1* '*exit*' and 来 *lai2* '*come*' to indicate the result of the moving, but it may take just one verb to create 搬出 *ban1chu1* 'move-exit (move out)' or 搬来 *ban1lai2* 'move-come (move in)' to indicate a slightly different result. Another element that can occur between the verb (V) and the result (R) is the potential infix 得 *de0* '-able' or its negative form 不 *bu4* '-not.' When the infix 得 appears inside a V–R complex word, it indicates that the situation represented by the R is achievable. The speaker of [47b] questions the listener's eating ability. Considering the amount of apples, the speaker asks whether the result of finishing all the apples is achievable. Sentence [47c] is a statement that indicates that the struggle of the 蜻蜓 *qing1ting2* 'dragonfly' is not able to achieve the result of breaking the spider web.

[47]　a.　老板娘又从客厅搬出来了四把椅子。

lao3ban3niang2	you4	cong2	ke4ting1	ban1	chu1lai2
matron	again	PREP	living_room	move	out

le0	si4	ba3	yi3zi0
LE	four	CL	chair

'The female shop-owner moved out four more chairs from the living room.'

b. 这么多苹果, 你吃得完吗?

zhe4me0   duo1   ping2guo3   ni3   chi1   de0   wan2
so   many   apple   you   eat   DE   complete

ma0
MA

'So many apples, are you able to eat all of them?'

c. 被困的蜻蜓还是冲不破蜘蛛网。

bei4   kun4   de0   qing1ting2   hai2shi4   chong1   bu4
BEI   trap   DE   dragonfly   still   rush   NEG

po4   zhi1zhu1wang3
break   spider_web

'The trapped dragonfly still was not able to break away from the spider web.'

If the expression after 得 *de0* 'DE' is descriptive or related to extent, no object can appear after 得 *de0* 'DE.' When it is necessary to have an object to depict a situation clearly, verb copying constructions like those in [48] are a common choice. The 吃得太多 *chi1 de0 tai4 duo1* 'eat too much' in [48a] is a general statement. When the verb is copied and an object is added, 吃肉 *chi1 rou4* 'eat meat' provides specific information on what is eaten. The 吹过头 *chui1 guo4 tou2* 'blow too much' in [48b] does not make much sense without a clear context, but when verb copying 吹牛 *chui1niu2* 'brag' brings the idiomatic meaning in, the sentence is clearer in meaning.

[48] a. 你近来吃肉吃得太多。

ni3   jin4lai2   chi1   rou4   chi1   de0   tai4   duo1
you   recently   eat   meat   eat   DE   too   much

'You have been eating too much meat recently.'

b. 他这次吹牛吹过头了。

ta1   zhe4   ci4   chui1niu2   chui1   guo4tou2   le0
he   this   CL   brag   brag   over   LE

'He bragged too much this time.'

The verb copying strategy may be used in other cases. The 踢断了腿 *ti1 duan4 le0 tui3* 'kick-break leg' in [49a] makes perfect sense when the verb copying phrase 踢个球 *ti1 ge4 qiu2* 'kick (play) ball' ("casually," as indicated by the presence of 个 *ge4* 'CL') provides the background information. Similarly, the verb 打 *da3* 'hit' in 打上瘾 *da3 shang4yin3* 'play to become addicted' is likely to have the common interpretation of 'hitting' if the verb copying phrase 打游戏 *da3 you2xi4* 'play video game' is not used to indicate a 'playing' reading. The main predicate

喊了这么多年 *han3 le0 zhe4me0 duo1 nian2* 'talk for so many years' in [49c] has a duration phrase as the object, and the theme object can no longer appear in the object position. The additional object position provided by verb copying allows both the theme object and the duration phrase to co-occur.

[49] a.   他踢个球都踢断了腿。

ta1	ti1	ge4	qiu2	dou1	ti1	duan4	le0	tui3
he	kick	CL	ball	all	kick	break	LE	leg

'He even broke his leg when playing football.'

b.   小女儿打游戏打上瘾了。

xiao3	nü3er2	da3	you2xi4	da3	shang4yin3
youngest	daughter	play	game	play	be_addicted

le0
LE

'The youngest daughter was addicted to playing video games.'

c.   政府喊「三通」喊了这么多年。

zheng4fu3	han3	san1tong1	han3	le0
government	announce	three-links	announce	LE

zhe4me0   duo1   nian2
so   many   year

'The government talked about the three-links (between the Mainland and Taiwan) for so many years.'

4.6. Other types of objects

Verbs generally have their typical arguments in the subject and object positions. However, as mentioned in section 4.3, it is possible to have additional arguments, such as unaccusative verbs with their typical theme argument in the object position and an additional argument in the subject position. In addition, unergative verbs, which typically have an agent argument in the subject position, may take an additional argument in the object position. For instance, typical unergative verbs like 哭 *ku1* 'cry' or 伤心 *shang1xin1* 'sad' generally just take an agent subject. However, they can have an additional argument in the object position, as demonstrated in [50].

[50] a.   我在这里哭什么? 我伤心什么?

wo3	zai4	zhe4li3	ku1	shen2me0	wo3
I	PREP	here	cry	what	I

shang1xin1	shen2me0
sad	what

'What am I crying for here? I am sad about what?'

b. 你笑什么?
  ni3   xiao4   shen2me0
  you   laugh   what
  'What are you laughing at?'

c. 他们在叫什么?
  ta1men0   zai4   jiao4   shen2me0
  they   ZAI   shout   what
  'What are they shouting [for/at]?'

In addition to the resultative V–R compounds, the so-called V–O (verb–object) compound is a very productive pattern in Chinese. V–O compounds present a range of interesting possibilities for object positions. The V–O compound 注资 *zhu4zi1* 'inject-capital' in [51a] behaves just like any transitive verb that takes an object. Some other V–O compounds, like 开刀 *kai1dao1* 'open-knife, operate,' also take objects like transitive verbs but require their object to occur before the verb in a prepositional phrase, as in [51b]. Another type of object-taking V–O, such as 作主 *zuo4zhu3* 'make-master, be in charge,' requires the object to be preposed, as in [51c]. Note that in both [51b] and [51c], speakers would not put the object in the post-verbal position.

[51]   a. 我方决定注资三亿美元。
  wo3fang1   jue2ding4   zhu4zi1   san1   yi4
  our_side   decide   inject_money   three   hundred_million
  mei3yuan2
  US_dollar
  'Our side has decided to inject three hundred million dollars.'

b. 医生为病人开刀时, 为什么都要戴口罩?
  yi1sheng1   wei4   bing4ren2   kai1dao1   shi2
  doctor   for   patient   operate   when
  wei4shen2me0   dou1   yao4   dai4   kou3zhao4
  why   all   will wear   mask
  'Why do doctors wear masks when they operate on patients?'

c. 婚姻的事, 我自己作主。
  hun1yin1   de0   shi4   wo3   zi4ji3   zuo4zhu3
  marriage   DE   thing   I   self   decide
  'I make my own decision on my marriage.'

It is possible for some V–O compounds to be separated between the V part and the O part in some contexts. Such compounds are often called 离合词 *li2he2ci2* 'separable compounds' and they usually vary in terms of how far the V and the

O can be separated. Internal modification is possible for most separable V–O compounds. [52a] and [52b] show with 开刀 *kai1dao1* 'open-knife, to operate' that manner modification can typically occur before the O as an adjective. [52c] shows that the theme phrase of the V–O compound 捧场 *peng3chang3* 'hold-stage, to support' occurs at the possessor position of the separated O. The same can be said about the idiom 找麻烦 *zhao3ma2fan0* 'find fault' in [52d]. Other such V–O idioms include 吃醋 *chi1cu4* 'be jealous of,' 开玩笑 *kai1wan2xiao4* 'make fun of,' and 敲竹杠 *qiao1 zhu2gang4* 'beat-bamboo-pole, to extort.' Some other V–O compounds like 怀疑 *huai2yi2* 'hold-suspicion, doubt,' 出席 *chu1xi2* 'enter-mat, attend,' and 关心 *guan1xin1* 'concern-heart, care' are established, commonly used, and have become regular transitive verbs in the sense that the V and the O are no longer separable, and any aspect marker has to appear after the O, as in [52e].

[52]   a.   病人最怕开错刀。
             bing4ren2   zui4   pa4   kai1   cuo4   dao1
             patient   most   fear   open   wrong   knife
             'What patients fear most is the doctor [might] operate on the wrong part.'

       b.   最近开了个小刀。
             zui4jin4   kai1   le0   ge4   xiao3   dao1
             recently   open   LE   CL   small   knife
             '(I) had a minor operation recently.'

       c.   我很希望捧阿妹的场。
             wo3   hen3   xi1wang4   peng3   a1mei4   de0   chang3
             I   very   hope   support   A-Mei   DE   event
             'I wish I could be there to support A-Mei's concert.'

       d.   别找自己的麻烦。
             bie2   zhao3   zi4ji3   de0   ma2fan0
             do_not   seek   self   DE   trouble
             'Don't make trouble for yourself; don't create your own problems.'

       e.   警察怀疑过他儿子。
             jing3cha 2   huai2yi2   guo4   ta1   er2zi0
             policeman   suspect   GUO   he   son
             'The police used to suspect his son.'

Verbal quantifiers of the form [number + verbal classifier] appear to be an additional object to the verb, just like frequency phrases described earlier at the beginning of section 4.2. For instance, 踹 *chuai4* 'kick' and 抽 *chou1* 'slap' can be quantified by the number of times kicking with a foot and slapping with

a hand occur, such as the 踹一脚 *chuai4 yi1 jiao3* 'kick-a-foot, kick a kick' and 抽俩耳光 *chou1 liang3 er3guang1* 'slap two slaps' in [53a]. Just like in the cases of frequency phrases and duration phrases, a definite direct object of the verb can occur between the verb and such expressions, or the direct object can occur elsewhere via topicalization, passivization, verb reduplication, etc. The same can be said about the 瞪一眼 *deng4 yi1 yan3* 'stare-one-eye, stare once' in [53b].

[53] a. 老头踹了那男人一脚, 还抽了他俩耳光。

   lao3tou2 chuai4 le0 na4 nan2ren2 yi1 jiao3 hai2
   old_man   kick   LE   that man   one foot   then

   chou1 le0 ta1 liang3 er3guang1
   do   LE   he   two   slap_on_the_face
   'The old man kicked that man once and slapped him twice.'

   b. 妈妈瞪了我一眼。

   ma1ma0 deng4 le0 wo3 yi1 yan3
   mother stare LE   I   one eye
   'My mother stared at me once.'

A somewhat related phenomenon is the so-called "retained object" or "inner object." Consider the action of peeling garlic presented in [54a]. The direct object of the verb 剥 *bo1* 'peel' is 皮 *pi2* 'skin,' but the garlic is affected by the peeling since the 皮 *pi2* 'skin' belongs to 大蒜 *da4suan4* 'garlic.' Such an action can be expressed by 剥大蒜皮 *bo1 da4suan4 pi2* 'peel garlic-skin,' but it can also be expressed as a verb taking two objects, as in [54a], the whole entity 大蒜 *da4suan4* 'garlic' and part of it 皮 *pi2* 'skin.' The latter is the direct object or inner object of the verb. Together, the verb and the inner object 剥皮 *bo1pi2* 'peel skin' affect the outer object. Literally, it means that what is done to the garlic is peeling (its) skin. The concept of a retained object is derived from the belief that the object is actually 大蒜皮 *da4suan4 pi2* and 大蒜 *da4suan4* is somehow taken out of the object position, leaving 皮 *pi2* stranded. Similarly, the topic 这几封信 *zhe4 ji3 feng1 xin4* 'the several letters' in [54b] can be considered the affected outer object of the action represented by the verb 贴 *tie1* 'stick' and the retained object 邮票 *you2piao4* 'stamp.'

[54] a. 将大蒜剥皮, 用刀拍碎, 入油锅炒香。

   jiang1 da4suan4 bo1pi2 yong4 dao1   pai1sui4
   BA   garlic   peel   use   knife smash

   ru4   you2guo1 chao3 xiang1
   put_into   oil_pot   fry   fragrant
   'Peel the garlic, smash it with a knife, and put it into heated oil to stir-fry until its fragrance is released.'

b. 这几封信我都贴了邮票, 你去寄了吧。

zhe4　ji3　　　feng1　xin4　wo3　dou1　tie1　　le0
this　several　CL　　letter　I　　all　　paste　LE

you2piao4　ni3　qu4ji4　le0　ba0
stamp　you　go　mail　LE　BA

'I have put stamps on these letters. Please mail them.'

Another type of object is considered non-canonical for collocation reasons. The verb 喝 *he1* 'drink' prototypically takes an object standing for liquid, which is considered the canonical object. In [55a], the canonical object 香槟 *xiang1bin1* 'champagne' appears after a copying verb, and the main verb takes 高脚杯 *gao1jiao3bei1* 'tall-stem glass' as its object, which is non-canonical because it stands for the instrument of drinking and typically appears in a prepositional phrase, as in [55b].

[55]　a.　他说喝香槟要喝高脚杯。

ta1　shuo1　　he1　　xiang1bin1　yao4　　he1
he　say　　　drink　champagne　should　drink

gao1jiao3bei1
tall-stem_glass

'He said tall-stem glasses are needed for drinking champagne.'

b.　他说要用高脚杯喝香槟。

ta1　shuo1　yao4　　yong4　gao1jiao3bei1　　he1
he　say　　should　use　　tall-stem_glass　drink

xiang1bin1
champagne

'He said one should drink champagne in tall-stem glasses.'

Verbs commonly found with this type of non-canonical object include activity verbs such as 吃 *chi1* 'eat' in [56], 跑 *pao3* 'run' in [57], and 写 *xie3* 'write' in [58], as well as 睡 *shui4* 'sleep,' 做 *zuo4* 'do,' and so on. The collocation of such verbs and their objects characteristically produces a special reading. The expressions in [56] mean 'to eat with a special instrument,' as in [56a], 'to eat at a specific location,' as in [56b], and 'to eat with a particular purpose,' as in [56c], and those in [56d] and [56e] mean 'to rely on something to make a living.' This diversity also applies to the collocations in [57] and [58].

[56]　a.　吃筷子{大碗, 刀叉}

chi1　kuai4zi0　　da4wan3　　dao1cha1
eat　　chopstick　big-bowl　knife_fork

'eat with chopsticks {big bowl, cutlery}'

b. 吃{小摊子, 小馆, 餐厅, 食堂}
chi1   xiao3tan1zi0   xiao3guan3   can1ting1   shi2tang2
eat   small_stall   small_restaurant   restaurant   canteen
'eat (at) {a small stall, small restaurant, restaurant, canteen}'

c. 吃气氛
chi1   qi4fen4
eat   atmosphere
'eat to enjoy the atmosphere'

d. 吃健保
chi1   jian4bao3
eat   health_insurance
'take advantage of health insurance'

e. 吃老本
chi1   lao2ben3
eat   old_capital
'live off one's past gains'

[57] a. 跑了好多村庄
pao3   le0   hao3duo1   cun1zhuang1
run   LE   many   village
'went to many villages (to collect data or do other work)'

b. 常跑台北
chang2   pao3   tai2bei3
often   run   Taipei
'often go to Taipei (such as for business)'

c. 跑印刷厂
pao3   yin4shua1chang3
run   printing_factory
'go to the printer's (for business)'

d. 跑记者会
pao3   ji4zhe3hui4
run   press_conference
'attend the press conference (as a journalist or a spokesperson)'

e. 跑客户
pao3   ke4hu4
run   client
'visit clients'

f.   跑运输
pao3   yun4shu1
run   transport
'operate a transport business'

[58]   a.   写毛笔
xie3   mao2bi3
write   brush_pen
'write with a brush pen'

b.   写楷书
xie3   kai3shu1
write   kai_style
'write in the kai style'

c.   写黑板
xie3   hei1ban3
write   blackboard
'write on the blackboard'

Aspectual system

Sze-Wing Tang

Chinese has an aspectual system signaled by the presence of aspect markers, contrasting perfective and imperfective aspects. This chapter gives an overview of aspect markers in Chinese.

5.1. Definition of aspect

Aspect is a syntactic system where some intrinsic parts of clause meanings are associated with the internal temporal constituency of a situation. The aspect of a predicate refers to how the situation denoted by the predicate is being viewed, such as whether all or part of the situation is viewed. The term "situation" (also known as "Aktionsart" in the literature) refers to states and events (such as activities, accomplishments, and achievements) expressed by predicates according to their temporal properties (see Chapter 4). When we speak of a situation, we usually view it as a process consisting of a series of stages and phases, including the beginning, the continuation, and the completion. Each of these stages is an aspect that can be viewed.

Aspect is traditionally classified as either "perfective" or "imperfective." When the perfective aspect is used, a situation is viewed in its entirety without explicit reference to any internal individual stages that make up the situation, namely, a complete situation with a beginning, middle, and end all included. Note that the notion of "completion" does not necessarily imply that the situation is "completed." The perfective aspect focuses on all stages of the situation as a single whole, not just the end of the situation. Highlighting the end of a situation is just one of the possible meanings of the perfective aspect.

When the imperfective aspect is used, part of a situation is viewed with explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of the situation. The situation described in a clause is not presented in its totality but instead is viewed from within, with a focus on the internal temporal structure or on some subinterval of time within the situation. Hence, the imperfective aspect is incompatible with situations that lack internal temporal structure.

Aspect can be represented by aspect markers. Two main kinds of aspect markers are distinguished to express perfectivity and imperfectivity, respectively, namely,

the perfective markers 了 *le0* and 过 *guo4* on the one hand, and the progressive marker 在 *zai4* and the continuous marker 着 *zhe0* on the other hand.

5.2. The perfective aspects

5.2.1. Perfective 了 *le0*

The perfective aspect can be indicated by the perfective marker 了 *le0* 'LE,' a suffix that is attached to the head of verbal or adjectival predicates. 了 *le0* 'LE' can be attached to monosyllabic verbs, such as 做 *zuo4* 'do' in [1a], and disyllabic verbs, such as verb–verb compounds like 扮演 *ban4yan3* 'play' in [1b], verb–adjective compounds like 提高 *ti2gao1* 'raise' in [1c], and verb–noun compounds like 关心 *guan1xin1* 'care' in [1d].

[1]   a.   我们做了以下的安排:
         wo3men0   zuo4   le0   yi3xia4   de0   an1pai2
         we   make   LE   below   DE   arrangement
         'We did the following arrangements.'

       b.   他扮演了最重要的角色。
         ta1   ban4yan3   le0   zui4   zhong4yao4   de0   jue2se4
         he   play   LE   most   important   DE   role
         'He played the most important role.'

       c.   提高了农村生活水准。
         ti2gao1   le0   nong2cun1   sheng1huo2   shui3zhun3
         raise   LE   rural   living   standard
         '(The industry) raised the living standard in rural areas.'

       d.   您在高雄那么多年, 关心了许多题材。
         nin2   zai4   gao1xiong2   na4me0   duo1nian2
         you   PREP   Kaohsiung   so   many_years

         guan1xin1   le0   xu3duo1   ti2cai2
         be_concerned_about   LE   many   topic
         'You were in Kaohsiung so many years and paid attention to so many topics.'

了 *le0* 'LE' can even be attached to trisyllabic verbs like the verb–adjective compound 刮干净 *gua1 gan1jing4* 'shave-clean' in [2a] and quadrisyllabic verbs like the verb–adjective compound 吸引干净 *xi1yin3 gan1jing4* 'attract-clean' in [2b]. The length of verbs does not affect the occurrence of 了 *le* .

[2]   a.   刮干净了胡子。

gua1   gan1jing4   le0   hu2zi0
shave   clean   LE   beard
'(He) has shaved himself clean.'

b.   基本吸引干净了区域内的尘埃。

ji1ben3   xi1yin3   gan1jing4   le0   qu1yu4   nei4   de0
basically   attract   clean   LE   area   inside   DE
chen2ai1
dust
'(It) has basically attracted all the dust in the area.'

了 *le0* 'LE' can also be attached to monosyllabic predicative adjectives, such as the 红 *hong2* 'red' in [3a], and disyllabic predicative adjectives, such as the 高兴 *gao1xing4* 'happy' in [3b].

[3]   a.   让我当场就红了眼眶。

rang4   wo3   dang1chang3   jiu4   hong2   le0   yan3kuang4
make   I   on_the_spot   then   red   LE   orbit
'(The story) made my eyes red immediately.'

b.   当主人买到我时, 高兴了好几天。

dang1   zhu3ren2   mai3   dao4   wo3   shi2   gao1xing4
when   host   buy   PREP   I   when   happy
le0   hao3ji3tian1
LE   quite_a_few_days
'When the owner bought me, he was happy for quite a few days.'

The perfective marker 了 *le0* 'LE' can be attached to all action verbs, namely, the head of verbal predicates that denote activities, accomplishments, and achievements. With 了 *le0* 'LE,' the situation described in a clause is being viewed in its entirety or as a whole. For example, 哭 *ku1* 'cry' in [4a] denotes activities and 看这篇报导 *kan4 zhe4 pian1 bao4dao3* 'read this news report' in [4b] denotes accomplishments. 了 *le0* 'LE' in [4a] focuses on all stages of the situation of crying and all stages of reading the news report in [4b] as a single whole. The verbal predicate 吃饱 *chi1bao3* 'full' in [4c] is a verb–adjective compound, literally meaning 'eat-full,' and 了 *le0* 'LE' views all stages of the situation as a whole, including the action of eating and the result of being full.

[4]   a.   不知哭了多久。

bu4   zhi1   ku1   le0   duo1jiu3
NEG   know   cry   LE   how_long
'(We) do not know how long (she) cried.'

b. 读者看了这篇报导。
   du2zhe3   kan4   le0   zhe4   pian1   bao4dao3
   reader   read   LE   this   CL   report
   'The readers read this news report.'

c. 我吃饱了。
   wo3   chi1bao3   le0
   I   eat_one's_full LE
   'I am full.'

Achievements are single-stage events. With an achievement predicate, 了 *le0* 'LE' views the single-stage event as a whole, as in [5a] and [5b] below.

[5]   a. 他已死了。
         ta1   yi3   si3   le0
         he   already   die   LE
         'He already died.'

      b. 圣诞树就爆炸了。
         sheng4dan4shu4   jiu4   bao4zha4   le0
         Christmas_tree   then   explode   LE
         'The Christmas tree then exploded.'

Stative verbal predicates and adjectival predicates denote states. When the head of such predicates are suffixed with 了 *le0* 'LE,' they are interpreted as inchoative, presenting the coming about of a state. The stative verbal predicate 知道了 *zhi1dao4 le0* 'have known' in [6a] no longer denotes the state denoted by 知道 *zhi1dao4* 'know' but is the change of state with an internal temporal structure, changing from not knowing the matter to having known it. The adjectival predicate 胖了 *pang4 le0* 'fat' in [6b] also denotes a change of state, from not being fat to having gained weight.

[6]   a. 他的朋友知道了这件事。
         ta1   de0   peng2you3   zhi1dao4   le0   zhe4   jian4   shi4
         he   DE   friend   know   LE   this   CL   thing
         'His friends have learned this matter.'

      b. 虽然胖了点, 但依稀还是当年的杰利。
         sui1ran2   pang4   le0   dian3   dan4   yi1xi1
         although   fat   LE   a_little   but   can_be_told_out

         hai2shi4   dang1nian2   de0   jie2li4
         still   that_year   DE   Jerry
         'Although (he) has gained weight a little bit, it seems to me he is still the same Jerry.'

Predicates with a perfective marker 了 *le0* 'LE' attached to their head do not necessarily denote a completed situation. For example, in the first clause of [7] the action of looking for the King was not completed until they found the King later on, which is expressed in the last clause. The 了 *le0* 'LE' in 找了好几天 *zhao3 le0 hao3ji3tian1* 'having looked for several days' focuses on all stages of the situation of looking for the King as a single whole. The precise endpoint of the action is determined by the context in [7] and is not signaled by the occurrence of 了 *le0* 'LE.'

[7]   找了好几天, 都没有找到, 后来他们找到一座山上, 发现国王已经
         饿死在那了。

zhao3   le0   hao3ji3tian1   dou1   mei2you3   zhao3dao4
seek   LE   quite_a_few_days   still   NEG   find

hou4lai2   ta1men0   zhao3   dao4   yi1   zuo4   shan1
later   they   seek   PREP   one   CL   mountain

shang4   fa1xian4   guo2wang2   yi3jing1   e4si3
on   find   king   already   starve_to_death

zai4   na4   le0
PREP   there   LE

'They were looking for the King for quite a few days but didn't find him. Later on, they went to a hill and found that the King had already starved to death.'

Although the perfective marker 了 *le0* 'LE' may be used in sentences describing a situation of the past, as in [8a], it is not a past tense marker, which typically indicates that the time of action is before the time of speech. [8b] shows that 了 *le0* 'LE' can be used in a sentence that describes a future event, as indicated by the temporal adverbial 明天 *ming2tian1* 'tomorrow' (see Chapter 12).

[8]   a.   昨天晚上下了一场雨。
             zuo2tian1   wan3shang4   xia4   le0   yi1   chang3   yu3
             yesterday   night   fall   LE   one   CL   rain
             'It rained last night.'

       b.   今天, 你还好端端的站在这儿, 或许明天就已离开了世间。
             jin1tian1   ni3   hai2   hao3duan1duan1   de0   zhan4   zai4
             today   you   still   good   DE   stand   PREP

zhe4er0	huo4xu3	ming2tian1	jiu4	yi3		li2kai1	le0
here	maybe	tomorrow	then	already	leave	LE

shi4jian1
world

'You are standing here with everything alright today, and perhaps
would have left the world tomorrow.'

The appearance of 了 *le0* 'LE' is not directly related to the time of the event, and
it can appear in sentences that do not have a clear indication of the action time
or event time, such as imperatives like [9a] and conditional sentences like [9b].
了 *le0* 'LE' is therefore not a tense marker, which indicates the relation between
the time of action and the time of speech.

[9] a. 回国别忘了我这个老朋友呀!

hui2	guo2	bie2	wang4	le0	wo3	zhe4	ge4
return	country	do_not	forget	LE	I	this	CL

lao3peng2you3	ya0
old_friend	YA

'Don't forget me, your old friend, after returning home!'

   b. 如果真当了外交部长, 那也是人民给的。

ru2guo3	zhen1	dang1	le0	wai4jiao1bu4zhang3
if	really	become	LE	minister_of_foreign_affairs

na4	ye3	shi4	ren2min2	gei3	de0
that	also	be	people	give	DE

'If she does become Minister of Foreign Affairs, the achievement
(would not be hers) but a gift from the people.'

了 *le0* 'LE' is sometimes used in the first clause of a subtype of complex sen-
tences, in which the first clause denotes a situation bounded by the subsequent
event denoted by the second clause. In [10a] the predicate 看 *kan4* 'read' marked
with 了 *le0* 'LE' denotes a perfective reading, in the sense that right after the
situation of reading has taken place, the situation of knowing happens. The
adverb 就 *jiu4* 'then' is used here to indicate the immediate temporal relation-
ship between two situations, implying that the second situation follows from
the first one (see Chapter 12). The same explanation applies to [10b] as well, in
which the situation of leaving happens once the first situation of taking has
been done. [10c] shows that a connective adjunct like 以后 *yi3hou4* 'thereafter'
can appear in the first clause to mark the temporal relationship between the two
clauses.

[10]   a.   你看了就知道。
           ni3   kan4   le0   jiu4   zhi1dao4
           you   see   LE   then   know
           'After you have read (it), then you know.'

       b.   拿了就走。
           na2   le0   jiu4   zou3
           hold   LE   then   go
           'After taking it, then someone left.'

       c.   你看了以后, 就能对这次商展有更多的认识。
           ni3   kan4   le0   yi3hou4   jiu4   neng2   dui4   zhe4
           you   see   LE   after   then   can   PREP   this

           ci4   shang1zhan3   you3   geng4duo1   de0
           CL   commodity_exhibition   have   more   DE

           ren4shi2
           knowledge
           'After you have read (it), then you know more about this exposition.'

Notice that there is a homophonous 了 *le0* 'LE' that occurs in the sentence-final position, as in [11a] and [11b] below, and follows the object if there is one. This 了 *le0* 'LE' is a "sentence-final particle."

[11]   a.   但是您找到答案了吗?
           dan4shi4   nin2   zhao3dao4   da2an4   le0   ma0
           but   you   find   answer   LE   MA
           'However, have you found the answer?'

       b.   我们总算对行为艺术有点瞭解了。
           wo3men0   zong3suan4   dui4   xing2wei2yi4shu4   you3
           we   at_last   PREP   performance_art   have

           dian3   liao3jie3   le0
           some   understanding   LE
           'Finally we have some understanding of performance art.'

The perfective marker 了 *le0* 'LE' and the sentence-final particle 了 *le0* 'LE' can co-occur. In [12a] the 了 *le0* 'LE' attached to the compound verb 买好 *mai3hao3* 'have bought,' literally meaning 'buy-finish,' is the perfective marker, while the one following the object 明天晚上的飞机票 *ming2tian1 wan3shang4 de0 fei1ji1piao4* 'the ticket for the flight tomorrow night' is the sentence-final particle. The 见面 *xian4mian4* 'meet' in [12b] is a verb–noun compound, which literally means 'see faces.' When both the perfective marker 了 *le0* 'LE' and the sentence-final particle

了 *le0* 'LE' are used, the former is attached to the verb 见 *jian4* 'see' while the latter follows the bare noun 面 *mian4* 'face.'

[12] a. 我已经买好了明天晚上的飞机票了。

      wo3 yi3jing1 mai3 hao3   le0 ming2tian1

      I   already   buy   complete LE Tomorrow

      wan3shang4 de0 fei1ji1   piao4 le0

      night   DE airplane ticket LE

      'I have already bought the ticket for the flight tomorrow night.'

    b. 两个好朋友就见了面了。

      liang3 ge4 hao3 peng2you3 jiu4 jian4 le0 mian4

      two   CL good friend   then see   LE face

      le0

      LE

      'Then the two good friends met.'

The sentence-final particle 了 *le0* 'LE' has no direct relation with the head of the predicate, nor does it denote perfective meaning. The 了 *le0* 'LE' in [13a] is not used to view the situation of taking the flight in its entirety, but instead is used to indicate the fact that the situation of boarding the plane soon has become a reality, signaling a change of situation and its relevance to the situation at the time of reference. The sentence-final particle 了 *le0* 'LE' in [13b] is used to present new information to the addressee, namely, that in the situation at the time of reference the speaker says that paying a little money would suffice.

[13] a. 他快要上机了。

      ta1 kuai4yao4 shang4 ji1   le0

      he   soon   board   plane LE

      'He is going to board the flight soon.'

    b. 付一点钱就可以了。

      fu4 yi1dian3   qian2 jiu4   ke3yi3 le0

      pay a_bit   money then OK   LE

      'It will do to pay a little money.'

5.2.2. Perfective 过 *guo4*

The suffix 过 *guo4* is another marker used to indicate the perfective aspect, which is attached to the head of verbal predicates. The following examples show that 过 *guo4* can be attached to monosyllabic verbs, as in [14a], and disyllabic verbs, such as the verb–verb compound in [14b], the verb–adjective compound in [14c], and the verb–noun compound in [14d].

[14]   a.   他的政权也做过不少坏事。

      ta1   de0   zheng4quan2   ye3   zuo4   guo4   bu4shao3

      he   DE   regime   also   do   GUO   many

      huai4shi4

      evil_deed

      'His regime had also done many bad things.'

    b.   扮演过老师的角色。

      ban4yan3   guo4   lao3shi1   de0   jue2se4

      play   GUO   teacher   DE   role

      '(He) had played the role of a teacher.'

    c.   我在那里提高过自己的技术。

      wo3   zai4   na4li3   ti2gao1   guo4   zi4ji3   de0   ji4shu4

      I   PREP   there   raise   GUO   self   DE   skill

      'I had improved my skills there.'

    d.   谁曾关心过我的痛苦?

      shui2   ceng2   guan1xin1   guo4   wo3   de0

      who   ever   be_concerned_about   GUO   I   DE

      tong4ku3

      pain

      'Who cared about my pain?'

The perfective marker 过 *guo4* indicates the completion of an event or the end of a state. The final stage of the situation is no longer obtained and this implies some experience before the time of reference, namely, the situation has been experienced at least once. With the 过 *guo4* perfective, the situation of crying in [15a] and the situation of reading novels in [15b] have been experienced at least once.

[15]   a.   哭过千百遍。

      ku1   guo4   qian1   bai3   bian4

      cry   GUO   thousand   hundred   CL

      '(I) have cried so many times.'

    b.   他在小学期间, 已经读过不少小说。

      ta1   zai4   xiao3xue2   qi1jian1   yi3jing1   du2

      he   PREP   elementary_school   period   already   read

      guo4   bu4shao3   xiao3shuo1

      GUO   many   novel

      'He had read many novels when he was in primary school.'

The situation conveyed by the sentence with 过 *guo4* is repeatable in the sense that the situation in principle could happen more than once. 千百遍 *qian1 bai3 bian4* 'many times' in [15a] indicates that the situation of crying could happen more than once. When 过 *guo4* is attached to a predicate that denotes a non-repeatable situation, the unnaturalness can be canceled out by pragmatic factors in the discourse. For example, death is normally not repeatable and the situation of dying is not expected to be compatible with the 过 *guo4* perfective. The sentence with 过 *guo4* in [16a] becomes acceptable because it actually describes a near-death experience, which is qualified by the possibility of describing that experience and the negative polarity of 不多见 *bu4 duo1 jian4* 'not very common' in the second clause. In [16b], the situation of dying is defined more narrowly and unconventionally, as in stopped breathing for an extensive period of time, so that we can see examples of the co-occurrence of 死 *si3* and 过 *guo4*.

[16] a. 真正死过一次, 而且还能藉由图像表达经验的人或许就不多见了。

      zhen1zheng4 si3 guo4 yi1 ci4 er2qie3 hai2
      truely   die GUO one CL and   still

      neng2 jie4you2 tu2xiang4 biao3da2 jing1yan4 de0
      can   via   picture   express experience DE

      ren2   huo4xu3 jiu4 bu4 duo1 jian4 le0
      people maybe   then NEG often see   LE
      'It would be rare for someone to be able to claim that s/he did die once and give a visual description of his/her experience.'

b. 形容自己曾死过两次, 一次停止呼吸三十分钟一次四十分钟。

      xing2rong2 zi4ji3 ceng2 si3 guo4 liang3 ci4 yi1
      describe   self   ever   die GUO two   CL one

      ci4 ting2zhi3 hu1xi1 san1shi2 fen1zhong1 yi1 ci4
      CL stop   breathe thirty   minute   one CL

      si4shi2 fen1zhong1
      forty   minute
      '(She) describes that she died twice: each time without breathing for thirty minutes and the second time for forty minutes.'

Sentences with the perfective marker 过 *guo4* can imply past experience, if the time of reference is also the time of speech. For this reason, 过 *guo4* sometimes co-occurs with temporal adverbs referring to the past, such as 昨天 *zuo2tian1* 'yesterday' in [17a], 以前 *yi3qian2* 'in the past' in [17b], and 刚 *gang1* 'just' in [17c].

[17]   a.   昨天我找过你两次。
        zuo2tian1   wo3   zhao3   guo4   ni3   liang3   ci4
        yesterday   I   seek   GUO   you   two   CL
        'I tried to find you twice yesterday.'

      b.   我们以前谈过喜剧的问题。
        wo3men0   yi3qian2   tan2   guo4   xi3ju4   de0   wen4ti2
        we   before   talk   GUO   comedy   DE   issue
        'We discussed comedy issues in the past.'

      c.   不是才刚吃过早餐?
        bu4shi4   cai2gang1   chi1   guo4   zao3can1
        NEG   just   eat   GUO   breakfast
        'Haven't you just had breakfast?'

The perfective 过 *guo4* can also be used in conditional sentences, such as in [18]:

[18]   如果你谈过恋爱, 会知道我在说什么。
        ru2guo3   ni3   tan2   guo4   lian4ai4   hui4   zhi1dao4
        if   you   talk   GUO   love   will   know
        wo3   zai4   shuo1   shen2me0
        I   ZAI   talk   what
        'If you have experienced being in love, you will understand what I am
        saying.'

过 *guo4* indicates that the final stage of the situation is no longer obtained, namely, the situation has come to an end and the outcome of that situation does not hold true at the time of reference. The 过 *guo4* perfective thus requires a "discontinuity" between the final stage of the situation and the state of affairs after the time of reference.

Discontinuity is the main property that distinguishes the 过 *guo4* perfective and the 了 *le0* perfective. The situation denoted by the sentence with 了 *le0* is viewed as a whole, implying it has occurred before the time of reference, and the final stage is still obtained or the outcome of that situation holds true after the time of reference. Sentence [19a] with 过 *guo4* implies that the action of visiting America is over and he is no longer there at the time of reference, which coincides with the time of speech, namely, the final stage of the situation of visiting America is no longer obtained. The 了 *le0* in [19b] focuses on the fact that the situation of going to the East Coast has happened and they are no longer there. This sentence is true regardless of whether they are still in the East Coast or not. In the sentence with 过 *guo4* in [19c] the situation of dating each other has been experienced and is now over, conveying a discontinuity with regard to the time of reference, which is the time of speech or the present in this case. The 过 *guo4* in [19d] makes it clear that

when viewed as a whole, the previous visit to Kaohsiung is over and the last stage of the visit does not hold true. However, the experience gained from that visit is relevant to the current visit. For this reason, the perfective 过 *guo4* is sometimes termed "experiential aspect."

[19] a. 他是中国人, 去过美国。

        ta1   shi4 zhong1guo2ren2   qu4 guo4 mei3guo2

        he   be   Chinese   go   GUO the_United_States

        'He is Chinese, who had been to America.'

    b. 他们开了那辆车, 去了东部。

        ta1men0   kai1   le0   na4   liang4 che1   qu4 le0

        they   drive LE   that CL   car   go   LE

        dong1bu4

        east

        'They drove that car and went to the East Coast.'

    c. 曾经好过的两个人, 还有可能和好吗?

        ceng2jing1 hao3 guo4 de0 liang3 ge4 ren2   hai2

        once   good GUO DE   two   CL people still

        you3 ke3neng2   he2hao3 ma0

        have possibility reunite   MA

        'Two persons who used to date each other, could they be with each other again?'

    d. 我以前来过高雄, 可以做你们的导游。

        wo3 yi3qian2 lai2   guo4 gao1xiong2 ke3yi3 zuo4

        I   before   come GUO Kaohsiung   can   be

        ni3men0 de0   dao3you2

        you   DE   tourist_guide

        'I was in Kaohsiung before and I could be your tour guide.'

过 *guo4* can also co-occur with the sentence-final particle 了 *le0*. The main part of [20a], 厂长看过这张表 *chang3zhang3 kan4 guo4 zhe4 zhang1 biao3* 'the Director read the form,' describes a situation and the sentence-final particle 了 *le0* denotes that the situation has become a reality at the time of reference. A likely scenario for this sentence is that someone is concerned with whether the Director has read the form and another person tells him that the Director is reading the form, so this scenario has become a reality. Similarly, a likely situation for using [20b] is a wife worrying about her child's medication and her husband assuring her that it has become a reality because the child took the medication.

[20]   a.   厂长看过这张表了。

chang3zhang3   kan4   guo4   zhe4   zhang1   biao3   le0
factory_director   see   GUO   this   CL   form   LE
'The Director has read the form.'

b.   孩子吃过药了。

hai2zi0   chi1   guo4   yao4   le0
child   eat   GUO   medication   LE
'The child took her medication.'

5.2.3. Perfective aspects and negation

Sentences with a perfective 过 *guo4* can appear in a negative form (see Chapter 6). The negators most often used are 没有 *mei2you3* or its variation 没 *mei2*, as in [21a] and [21b]. The negator 没有 *mei2you3* is a sentential scope negator indicating that the action or event represented by the predicate has not taken place and therefore does not exist at the time of reference. Since the predicate is marked with the perfective 过 *guo4*, the combination means that the subject never had the experience before; hence, the situation described is a first-ever experience.

[21]   a.   她活到五十多岁没出过国, 心情真的很兴奋。

ta1   huo2   dao4   wu3shi2   duo1   sui4   mei2   chu1
she   live   PREP   fifty   more   year   NEG   leave

guo4   guo2   xin1qing2   zhen1   de0   hen3   xing1fen4
GUO   country   mood   really   DE   very   excited
'She has never been abroad in her life of fifty years or so and is really excited.'

b.   入行这么多年, 她还从来没有像今天这样红过。

ru4   hang2   zhe4me0   duo1   nian2   ta1   hai2
enter   career   so   many   year   she   still

cong2lai2   mei2you3   xiang4   jin1tian1   zhe4yang4
ever   NEG   seem   today   like_this

hong2   guo4
red   GUO
'She has been in the performance business for so long and has never been so popular.'

[22]   a.   他不可能看过这份文件。

ta1   bu4ke3neng2   kan4   guo4   zhe4   fen4   wen2jian4
he   impossible   see   GUO   this   CL   file
'It is not possible that he saw this document before.'

b. 我又不是结过几次婚, 怎么会知道?

wo3　you4　bu4shi4　jie2　guo4　ji3　　ci4　hun1
I　　again　NEG　　　get　GUO　several　CL　marriage

zen3me0　hui4　zhi1dao4
why　　　can　know

'It is not the case that I had several previous marriages. How could
I know?'

The conditional clause in [23a] seems to be an exception. However, since the 不 *bu4* in this case carries the illocutionary force of volition, it has a status similar to a combination of a negative morpheme and a modal. [23a] thus has an interpretation about willingness, in contrast with [23b], which is about a fact.

[23]　a. 不试过几次, 就不会有感觉。

bu4　shi4　guo4　ji3　　ci4　jiu4　bu4hui4　you3
NEG　try　GUO　several　CL　then　NEG_will　have

gan3jue2
feeling

'If you were not willing to have tried it several times, you would not
get the feeling.'

　　b. 没有试过几次, 就不会有感觉。

mei2you3　shi4　guo4　ji3　　ci4　jiu4　bu4hui4
NEG　　　try　GUO　several　CL　then　NEG_will

you3　gan3jue2
have　feeling

'Had you not tried it several times, you would not have that feeling.'

Sentences with the 了 *le0* perfective can also appear in the negative form. Such a sentence typically has a negative and a modal combination, as in [24a] and [24b]. It is also possible for 了 *le0* to appear in a conditional clause negated by the morpheme 不 *bu4*, as in [25], but the 不 *bu4* should also be interpreted as a combination of negation and a modal of willingness.

[24]　a. 你又不是吃了火药, 干什么火气那么大?

ni3　you4　bu4shi4　chi1　le0　huo3yao4
you　again　NEG　　　eat　LE　gunpowder

gan4shen2me0　huo3qi4　na4me0　da4
why　　　　　anger　so　　　big

'It is not the case that you have swallowed some gunpowder, and why
are you so angry?'

b. 他们还住在老地方, 不可能买了房子。

ta1men0 hai2 zhu4 zai4 lao3 di4fang0 bu4ke3neng2
they   still live PREP old   place   impossible

mai3 le0 fang2zi0
buy   LE   house

'They are still living in the usual place, and it is not possible for them to have purchased a new house.'

[25] 你不喝了这杯酒就不能走。

ni3 bu4 he1 le0 zhe4 bei1 jiu3 jiu4
you NEG drink LE   this CL   wine then

bu4neng2 zou3
cannot   go

'You cannot leave if you are not willing to finish this cup of wine.'

An important property of the 了 *le0* perfective is that it does not appear with the negative modal combination 没有 *mei2you3* or its variation 没 *mei2*. When the need arises to indicate that some event has not taken place, sentences like [26a] and [26b] below will be used.

[26] a. 太阳还没有出来呢, 着什么急啊?

tai4yang2 hai2 mei2you3 chu1lai2 ne0 zhao2
sun   still NEG   come_out NE   hurry

shen2me0 ji2   a1
what   hurry A

'The sun has not come out yet. Why are you so anxious?'

b. 没买票不能进去。

mei2 mai3 piao4 bu4neng2 jin4qu4
NEG   buy   ticket cannot   enter

'You cannot enter if you have not bought a ticket.'

5.3. The imperfective aspects

5.3.1. Progressive 在 *zai4*

The imperfective aspect is used to view part of a situation with explicit reference to an internal temporal constituency of the situation. A special case of the imperfective aspect is the progressive aspect, which focuses on the internal stages of non-stative events presented as ongoing or in progress. 在 *zai4* is the progressive marker in Chinese.

Unlike the perfective markers 了 *le0* and 过 *guo4*, the progressive marker 在 *zai4* is not a suffix. It is placed before the verbal predicate, like the monosyllabic verb 干 *gan4* 'do' in [27a] and the disyllabic verb 动摇 *dong4yao2* 'shake' in [27b].

[27]   a.   你在干什么?
              ni3   zai4   gan4   shen2me0
              you   ZAI   do   what
              'What are you doing?'

        b.   现在这信念在动摇了。
              xian4zai4   zhe4   xin4nian4   zai4   dong4yao2   le0
              now   this   faith   ZAI   waver   LE
              'This belief is now shaken.'

When the verbal predicate is modified by adverb adverbials, they typically precede 在 *zai4*, such as the temporal adverb 常常 *chang2chang2* 'always' in [28a], the scope adverb 都 *dou1* 'all' in [28b], and the attitude adverb 一定 *yi1ding4* 'definitely' in [28c].

[28]   a.   我常常在问自己。
              wo3   chang2chang2   zai4   wen4   zi4ji3
              I   often   ZAI   ask   self
              'I am always asking myself.'

        b.   我们每天都在制造垃圾。
              wo3men0   mei3tian1   dou1   zai4   zhi4zao4   la1ji1
              we   everyday   all   ZAI   make   garbage
              'We are producing garbage every day.'

        c.   妈妈一定在骗我。
              ma1ma0   yi1ding4   zai4   pian4   wo3
              mother   must   ZAI   lie   I
              'My mother is definitely cheating me.'

Sentences in [29a] and [29b], however, show that manner adverbials, such as 逐渐 *zhu2jian4* 'gradually,' may be either on the left or on the right of 在 *zai4* .

[29]   a.   气氛才逐渐在转变。
              qi4fen1   cai2   zhu2jian4   zai4   zhuan3bian4
              ambience   just   gradually   ZAI   change
              'The atmosphere is changing gradually.'

b. 环保观念已经在逐渐转变。

huan2bao3   guan1nian4   yi3jing1   zai4
environmental_protection   concept   already   ZAI

zhu2jian4   zhuan3bian4
gradually   change
'The concept of environmental protection is already changing
gradually.'

If the adverbials are preposition phrases, such as 替我 *ti4 wo3* 'for me' in [30a],
为市场经济 *wei4 shi4chang3jing1ji4* 'for the market economy' in [30b], 对我 *dui4wo3*
'to me' in [30c], 跟你 *gen1ni3* 'with you' in [30d], 朝这个方向 *zhao1 zhe4 ge4
fang1xiang4* 'toward this direction' in [30e], and 向外 *xiang4wai4* 'to the outside
world' in [30f], they predominantly follow 在 *zai4* .

[30]   a. 看到老师、校长、同学都在替我加油。

kan4dao4   lao3shi1   xiao4zhang3   tong2xue2   dou1   zai4
see   teacher   president   classmate   all   ZAI

ti4   wo3   jia1you2
PREP   I   add_oil
'(I) see that the teachers, the principal, and the students are all
encouraging me.'

b. 其实全世界都在为市场经济伤脑筋。

qi2shi2   quan2shi4jie4   dou1   zai4   wei4
in_fact   all_ the_world   all   ZAI   PREP

shi4chang3jing1ji4   shang1nao3jin1
market_economy   vexing
'In fact the market economy is exercising the mind of everyone.'

c. 一阵阵西风仿佛在对我说 . . .

yi1   zhen4   zhen4   xi1feng1   fang3fu2   zai4
one   CL   CL   westerly_wind   seemly   ZAI

dui4   wo3   shuo1
PREP   I   talk
'Winds blowing from the west are seemingly telling me . . . '

d. 今天孩子在跟你讲话。

jin1tian1   hai2zi0   zai4   gen1   ni3   jiang3hua4
today   child   ZAI   PREP   you   talk
'The children are talking to you today.'

e. 现代的全球市场也在朝这个方向走。

   xian4dai4　　　de0　quan2qiu2　　shi4chang3　ye3　zai4
   modern_times　DE　whole_world　market　　　also　ZAI

   chao2　zhe4　ge4　fang1xiang4　　zou3
   PREP　this　CL　direction　　　go
   'The modern global market is also moving toward this direction.'

f. 我们从出生开始就一直在向外看。

   wo3men0　cong2　chu1sheng1　kai1shi3　jiu4　yi1zhi2
   we　　　　PREP　birth　　　　start　　then　all_the_time

   zai4　xiang4　wai4　　kan4
   ZAI　PREP　outside　see
   'We have been looking toward the outside world since we were born.'

The temporal adverb 正 *zheng4* 'just, right' can be used with 在 *zai4* to make the sentence slightly more emphatic. The use of 正 *zheng4* 'just, right' before 在 *zai4* in [31a] and [31b] makes the sentences more vivid in their narrative effect.

[31] a. 我正在做功课。

   wo3　zheng4zai4　zuo4　gong1ke4
   I　　ZAI　　　　do　　homework
   'I am just doing homework.'

b. 我正在建造一座大教堂。

   wo3　zheng4zai4　jian4zao4　yi1　zuo4　da4　jiao4tang2
   I　　ZAI　　　　build　　　one　CL　　big　church
   'I am just building a big church.'

在 *zai4* or 正在 *zheng4zai4* may be used in sentences referring to the present, as in [32a] and [32b] below, in which 在 *zai4* or 正在 *zheng4zai4* co-occurs with the temporal adverb 现在 *xian4zai4* 'now.'

[32] a. 妳现在在念什么?

   ni3　xian4zai4　zai4　nian4　shen2me0
   you　now　　　ZAI　read　what
   'What are you studying?'

b. 我家长现在正在看电视。

   wo3　jia1zhang3　xian4zai4　zheng4zai4　kan4　　dian4shi4
   I　　parent　　　now　　　　ZAI　　　　　watch　TV
   'My parents are watching TV right now.'

The situation viewed by 在 *zai4* may be in progress at any time, either in the present, as in the above sentences, or in the past, as signaled by the temporal

adverbial 那个时候 *na4 ge4 shi2hou0* 'that time' in [33a] and 那天 *na4tian1* 'that day' in [33b]. Clearly, neither 在 *zai4* nor 正 *zheng4* is a marker of tense, which is directly related to the relation between the time of action and the time of speech.

[33] a. 那个时候弟弟还在念幼稚园呢。

na4   ge4   shi2hou0   di4di0   hai2   zai4   nian4
that   CL   time   younger_brother   still   ZAI   read

you4zhi4yuan2   ne0
kindergarten   NE
'My younger brother was studying in kindergarten at that time.'

  b. 那天, 刚退伍的我正在台北找工作。

na4   tian1   gang1   tui4wu3   de0   wo3
that   day   just   be_demobilized   DE   I

zheng4zai4   tai2bei3   zhao3   gong1zuo4
ZAI   Taipei   look_for   job
'On that day, I was looking for a job in Taipei after being discharged from the army.'

The progressive aspect focuses on one of the internal stages of non-stative events. The progressive marker 在 *zai4* can co-occur with verbal predicates that express activities, as in [34a], and accomplishments, as in [34b]. It cannot, however, co-occur with predicates that express achievements, such as 死 *si3* 'die' and 爆炸 *bao4zha4* 'explode,' as these events have no internal temporal stage; nor can it co-occur with stative predicates, such as 知道 *zhi1dao4* 'know' and 胖 *pang4* 'fat,' as they do not have internal stages either.

[34] a. 妈妈一直在哭。

ma1ma0   yi1zhi2   zai4   ku1
mother   all_the_time ZAI   cry
'My mother is crying all the time.'

  b. 我前一阵子在看一本那个日本的小说。

wo3   qian2   yi1zhen4zi0   zai4   kan4   yi1   ben3   na4
I   before   a_while   ZAI   see   one   CL   that

ge4   ri4ben3   de0   xiao3shuo1
CL   Japan   DE   novel
'I was reading a Japanese novel some time ago.'

Some predicates, such as 敲 *qiao1* 'knock' and 咳嗽 *ke2sou40* 'cough,' typically denote single-stage, punctual events that occur very quickly, similar to achievements. They are, however, repeatable with no result or outcome, unlike achievements. Such single-stage events are also known as "semelfactives." When semelfactive predicates are marked with 在 *zai4*, the situations are presented in repetitive sequences, also known as "iterative multiplicity." For example, the predicate 敲门 *qiao1men2* 'knock at the door' in [35a] denotes a multiple-event reading involving a sequence of knocks, as signaled by the frequency phrases 一次 *yi1 ci4*, 又一次 *you4 yi1 ci4* 'again and again' and 五六次 *wu3 liu4 ci4* 'five to six times.' It turns out that there is some internal temporal structure or subinterval of time within the repetitive semelfactive event that is compatible with the progressive aspect. The effect of the progressive aspect is to change a single-stage event into a multiple-stage one. The case is similar in [35b], in which 咳嗽 *ke2sou4* 'cough' is interpreted as a multiple-stage event, not a single-stage one.

[35] a. 有人在敲门，敲了一次，又一次，大概是五六次吧。

          you3ren2 zai4 qiao1men2   qiao1 le0 yi1 ci4

          someone ZAI knock_on_a_door knock LE one CL

          you4 yi1 ci4 da4gai4 shi4 wu3 liu4 ci4 ba0

          again one CL around be five six CL BA

          'Somebody was knocking at the door and kept knocking again and again, perhaps five to six times.'

    b. 那个人在咳嗽。

          na4 ge4 ren2 zai4 ke2sou4

          that CL people ZAI cough

          'That person is coughing.'

5.3.2. Continuous 着 *zhe0*

Another imperfect aspect is signaled by 着 *zhe0* (written as 著 *zhe0*, especially in traditional character). 着 *zhe0* presents a continuous and stable situation without regard to the final endpoint of the situation, which is known as the "continuous aspect," "durative aspect," and "stative imperfect aspect" in the literature.

着 *zhe0* is a suffix attached to the head of verbal predicates. The head can be monosyllabic, such as 看 *kan4* 'look' in [36a], or disyllabic, such as 等待 *deng3dai4* 'wait' in [36b].

[36] a. 她无言地看着我。

          ta1 wu2yan2 de0 kan4 zhe0 wo3

          she speechless DE look ZHE I

          'She was looking at me silently.'

b. 我等待着爱情的胜利。

    wo3   deng3dai4   zhe0   ai4qing2   de0   sheng4li4

    I   wait   ZHE   love   DE   victory

    'I am waiting for the victory of love.'

When it is attached to the head of predicates that denote positions or postures, 着 *zhe0* focuses on stativeness of position and posture, presenting the internal stages of situations in a static manner, as [37a], [37b], and [37c] illustrate:

[37]   a.   他只是安静地坐着。

    ta1   zhi3shi4   an1jing4   de0   zuo4   zhe0

    he   just   quiet   DE   sit   ZHE

    'He was just sitting quietly.'

    b.   店内小朋友一个个手上拿着一本书。

    dian4   nei4   xiao3peng2you3   yi1   ge4   ge4   shou3

    store   inside   children   one   CL   CL   hand

    shang4   na2   zhe0   yi1   ben3   shu1

    on   hold   ZHE   one   CL   book

    'Each of the children in the bookstore was holding a book in his hand.'

    c.   他也是跪着。

    ta1   ye3   shi4   gui4   zhe0

    he   also   be   kneel   ZHE

    'He was kneeling too.'

着 *zhe0* may also focus on statives resulting from an action. The states of the national flags being hung in [38a], two big characters being written in [38b], and the door being open in [38c] are all resultative. Although the verbs 挂 *gua4* 'hang,' 写 *xie3* 'write,' and 开 *kai1* 'open' are action verbs, they do not convey an action in progress in these sentences. Instead, they convey a state that results from an action (i.e., being hung, being written, and being open) and 着 *zhe0* in these sentences focuses on a stative stage after the action has been accomplished by someone prior to the moment of observation.

[38]   a.   处处挂着国旗。

    chu4chu4   gua4   zhe0   guo2qi2

    everywhere   hang   ZHE   national_flag

    'The national flags are hanging everywhere.'

    b.   桶上写着两个大字。

    tong3   shang4   xie3   zhe0   liang3   ge4   da4zi4

    tub   on   write   ZHE   two   CL   big_character

    'Two big characters are written on the bucket.'

c. 当她看见门开着 . . .

dang1 ta1 kan4jian4 men2 kai1 zhe0

when she see door open ZHE

'When she saw the door was open . . .'

A limited number of adjectival predicates may have their head suffixed by 着 *zhe0*, such as 红 *hong2* 'red' in [39a] and 空 *kong1* 'empty' in [39b]. The situations in these sentences are all statives resulting from some action.

[39] a. 她红着眼睛。

ta1 hong2 zhe0 yan3jing1

she red ZHE eye

'Her eyes are red.'

b. 原来的房子不少空着。

yuan2lai2 de0 fang2zi0 bu4shao3 kong1 zhe0

before DE house many empty ZHE

'Many old houses are empty.'

着 *zhe0* often co-occurs with the sentence-final particle 呢 *ne0* to indicate a continuous situation with some gentle protest or request for an explanation, as in [40a] and [40b]. The gentle request for an explanation can sometimes be extended to mean a soft reprimand, as in [40c] and [40d], in that the speaker is complaining about the obvious ignorance on the part of the listener.

[40] a. 村里人都等着呢!

cun1 li3 ren2 dou1 deng3 zhe0 ne0

village inside people all wait ZHE NE

'The people in the village are all waiting!'

b. 墙上贴着呢, 你不会看吗?

qiang2 shang4 tie1 zhe0 ne0 ni3 bu4hui4 kan4

wall on glue ZHE NE you NEG_can see

ma0

MA

'(The notice) is posted on the wall. Can't you read it?'

c. 国庆日还早着呢!

guo2qing4ri4 hai2 zao3 zhe0 ne0

national_day still early ZHE NE

'The National Day is still too far away!'

   d. 情势复杂着呢。

      qing2shi4   fu4za2   zhe0   ne0

      situation   complex   ZHE   NE

      'The situation is so complicated.'

Similar expressions without 呢 *ne0* can be found, as in [41a], [41b], and [41c] below. The major difference between these two sets of examples is the availability of some additional illocutionary force associated with 呢 *ne0*, which conveys a gentle request for an explanation or a soft reprimand.

[41]   a. . . . 无数问题都等着他。

      wu2shu4   wen4ti2   dou1   deng3   zhe0   ta1

      many   problem   all   wait   ZHE   he

      'Many questions are waiting for him.'

   b. 全世界看着你。

      quan2shi4jie4   kan4   zhe0   ni3

      all_the_world   see   ZHE   you

      'The world is watching you.'

   c. 屋外贴着红红的春联。

      wu1   wai4   tie1   zhe0   hong2hong2   de0

      house   outside   glue   ZHE   red   DE

      chun1lian2

      New_Year_scrolls

      'Red couplets for the Chinese New Year are being posted outside the house.'

Similar to the progressive marker 在 *zai4*, the continuous marker 着 *zhe0* can be used in sentences referring to the present or the past, carrying no indication of tense. [42a] shows that 着 *zhe0* can be used in a sentence that refers to the present. The clauses in [42b] show that 着 *zhe0* can co-occur with the temporal adverbs 昨天 *zuo2tian1* 'yesterday' and 今天 *jin1tian1* 'today.'

[42]   a. 她现在孤独地过着贫苦的日子。

      ta1   xian4zai4   gu1du2   de0   guo4   zhe0   pin2ku3

      she   now   lonely   DE   live   ZHE   poverty-stricken

      de0   ri4zi0

      DE   day

      'She is now living a poor, lonely life.'

   b. 礼拜天下着雨, 昨天也下着雨, 今天仍旧下着雨。

      li3bai4tian1   xia4   zhe0   yu3   zuo2tian1   ye3   xia4   zhe0

      Sunday   fall   ZHE   rain   yesterday   also   fall   ZHE

yu3　jin1tian1　reng2jiu4　xia4　zhe0　yu3
rain　today　still　fall　ZHE　rain
'It was raining on Sunday. It was also raining yesterday. It is still raining today.'

Although the progressive marker 在 *zai4* and the continuous marker 着 *zhe0* are both imperfective markers, they are used in different contexts. [43a] describes what a boy was doing, whereas [43b] describes the appearance of a woman. The verb 穿 *chuan1* 'to wear' in [43a] denotes an ongoing activity meaning 'putting on' and 在 *zai4* views the internal stages of the situation of putting on new pants. The verb 穿 *chuan1* in [43b], however, denotes a state resulting from the action of putting on a pair of loose linen pants and means 'wearing.' 着 *zhe0* is used to focus on the result.

[43]　a.　一名九岁的小男生在穿新裤子时 . . .

yi1　ming2　jiu3　sui4　de0　xiao3　nan2sheng1　zai4
one　CL　nine　year　DE　small　boy　ZAI

chuan1　xin1　ku4zi0　shi2
wear　new　pants　time
'When a nine-year-old boy was putting on his new pants . . . '

　　　b.　她穿着一件宽松的亚麻布衬裤。

ta1　chuan1　zhe0　yi1　jian4　kuan1song1
she　wear　ZHE　one　CL　loose_and_comfortable

de0　ya4ma2bu4　chen4ku4
DE　linen_cloth　(under)pants
'She was wearing a pair of loose linen pants.'

The same can be said about the contrast between [44a] and [44b]. When the verb 放 *fang4* 'put' takes the progressive marker 在 *zai4* in [44a], it is interpreted as an action verb meaning 'to put into,' with the internal stages of the ongoing action being viewed. When it takes a continuous marker 着 *zhe0*, as in [44b], the same verb is used to name a state resulting from the action of putting.

[44]　a.　起火前事主在往锅里放油。

qi3huo3　qian2　shi4zhu3　zai4　wang3　guo1　li3
fire　before　victim　ZAI　PREP　pan　inside

fang4　you2
put　oil
'The person was putting oil into the pot before the fire started.'

b. 停在饭店外的一辆汽车行李箱内放着一枚大炸弹。

ting2	zai4	fan4dian4	wai4	de0	yi1	liang4
stop	PREP	hotel	outside	DE	one	CL

qi4che1	xing2li3xiang1	nei4	fang4	zhe0	yi1	mei2
car	luggage	inside	put	ZHE	one CL	

da4	zha4dan4
big	bomb

'A big bomb was lying in the trunk of a car that was outside the hotel.'

着 *zhe0* is sometimes used in the first predicate of a complex sentence to provide a background for the second one. The situation denoted by the first predicate with 着 *zhe0* should have some internal stages extending over a certain period of time. For example, the first predicate 站 *zhan4* 'stand' marked with 着 *zhe0* in [45a] describes the posture of two people while they were having a 说话 *shuo1hua4* 'talk.' Similarly, the situation of crying in [45b] is presented as ongoing background to the situation of looking for the teacher.

[45]   a. 阳台上有两个人站着说话。

yang2tai2	shang4	you3	liang3	ge4	ren2	zhan4
balcony	on	have	two	CL	people	stand

zhe0	shuo1hua4
ZHE	talk

'Two people were talking while standing on the balcony.'

b. 学生哭着去找老师。

xue2sheng1	ku1	zhe0	qu4	zhao3	lao3shi1
student	cry	ZHE	go	seek	teacher

'The crying students looked for their teacher.'

The background predicate marked with 着 *zhe0* may contain a transitive verb and its object, such as the 听 *ting1* 'listen to' and 张学友的「真爱」 *zhang1xue2you3 de0 zhen1ai4* 'Jackie Cheung's *True Love*' in [46a], where the situation of listening to Jackie Cheung's *True Love* provides a background for the situation of falling asleep. Although the situation denoted by the verb 敲 *qiao1* 'tap, knock' in [46b] is a single-stage event, it is repeatable and, when marked with 着 *zhe0*, can be reinterpreted as an ongoing situation with internal stages, somewhat similar to activities. Hence, the first predicate 敲着盆子 *qiao1 zhe0 pen2zi0* 'tapping the bowl' in [46b] is an accompaniment to the situation of singing.

[46]   a.   每天要听着张学友的「真爱」入眠的忠义。

   mei3tian1   yao4   ting1   zhe0   zhang1xue2you3   de0
   everyday   need   listen   ZHE   Zhang_Xueyou   DE

   zhen1ai4   ru4mian2   de0   zhong1yi4
   true_love   fall_asleep   DE   ZHONGYI
   'Zhongyi falls asleep listening to Jackie Cheung's *True Love* every day.'

   b.   敲着盆子唱歌。

   qiao1   zhe0   pen2zi0   chang4   ge1
   knock   ZHE   pot   sing   song
   '(He) sang while tapping the bowl.'

5.3.3. Imperfective and negation

Sentences with progressive 在 *zai4* typically do not appear in negative form. In the rare cases in which negation is called for, the predominant form is for the negative morpheme 不 *bu4* to combine with a modal, such as the 是 *shi4* 'be' in [47a], and the 可能 *ke3neng2* 'can' in [47b].

[47]   a.   你又不是在上课, 怎么就不接电话?

   ni3   you4   bu4shi4   zai4   shang4ke4   zen3me0   jiu4
   you   also   NEG   ZAI   have_class   why   then

   bu4   jie1dian4hua4
   NEG   answer_phone
   'It is not the case that you are having classes. Why didn't you answer the phone call?'

   b.   大年三十的, 她不可能在上班。

   da4nian2san1shi2   de0   ta1   bu4ke3neng2   zai4   shang4ban1
   New_Year's_Eve   DE   she   impossible   ZAI   be_on_duty
   'It is New Year's Eve, and it cannot be the case that she is working.'

Sentences with continuous 着 *zhe0* typically do not appear in negative form either. When such a rare case does happen, the negative morpheme 不 *bu4* characteristically combines with a modal, such as the 应该 *ying1gai1* 'should' in [48] below:

[48]   这种天气不应该都穿着短裤吧?

   zhe4zhong3   tian1qi4   bu4   ying1gai1   dou1   chuan1
   such   weather   NEG   should   all   wear

   zhe0   duan3ku4   ba0
   ZHE   shorts   BA
   'Shouldn't it be the case that everyone is wearing shorts?'

In some very limited contexts, such as the question and answer pairs in [49], the combination 没有 *mei2you3* or its variation 没 *mei2* can be used to indicate that the event or action represented by the imperfective predicate has not happened.

[49]   a.   Teacher: 你又在玩游戏了吧?
           ni3　　you4　 zai4　 wan2　 you2xi4　 le0　 ba0
           you　　again　ZAI　 play　　game　　 LE　 BA
           'Are you playing video games again?'

           Student: 我没在玩游戏。
           wo3　　mei2　 zai4　 wan2　 you2xi4
           I　　　NEG　 ZAI　 play　　game
           'I was not playing video games.'

     b.   Mother: 你怎么又躺着了?
           ni3　　zen3me0　 you4　　tang3　 zhe0　 le0
           you　　why　　　 again　lay　 ZHE　 LE
           'Why are you lying down again?'

           Son: 我没躺着。
           wo3　　mei2　 tang3　　zhe0
           I　　　NEG　 lay　　　 ZHE
           'I have not been lying down.'

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6

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Negation

Haihua Pan, Po Lun Peppina Lee, and Chu-Ren Huang

Negation in Chinese involves a negator which changes the polarity of a sentence or other linguistic unit it modifies. This chapter describes the use of negators in Chinese. A negator in Chinese is a word or root which expresses negative meaning. Common negative forms in Chinese include 不 *bu4* 'not,' 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have),' and 别 *bie2* 'don't.' We will discuss different types of negation according to the positions of the negators and the scope of negation. We will also discuss the interaction between the negators and aspects and predicates, as well as how focus affects the interpretation of negative sentences. Lastly, we will discuss negation involving questions, metalinguistic negation, and negative polarity items.

6.1. Scope of negation

6.1.1. The concept of scope

The scope of negation is the part of the meaning whose polarity is changed. The semantic scope of negation in Chinese is very often, though not always, parallel to its syntactic structure.

[1]   a.   张震岳依旧怡然自得, 完全不受流言影响。

           zhang1zhen4yue4   yi1jiu4   yi2ran2zi4de2
           ZHANG_ZHENYUE   still   happy_and_pleased

           wan2quan2   bu2   shou4   liu2yan2   ying3xiang3
           completely   NEG   SHOU   rumor   affect
           'Zhengyue Zhang remains delightful, and is not affected by the rumors at all.'

         b.   张震岳依旧怡然自得, 不完全受流言影响。

           zhang1zhen4yue4   yi1jiu4   yi2ran2zi4de2   bu4
           ZHANG_ZHENYUE   still   happy_and_pleased   NEG

           wan2quan2   shou4   liu2yan2   ying3xiang3
           completely   suffer   rumor   be_affected
           'Zhengyue Zhang remains delightful, and is not totally affected by the rumors.'

不 in [1a] negates the verb phrase 受流言影响 *shou4 liu2yan2 ying3xiang3* 'affected by the rumors,' and the whole negated phrase is then modified by the adverb 完全 *wan2quan2* 'completely/totally,' which is external to the scope of negation. If the adverb 完全 *wan2quan2* 'completely/totally' occurs after the negator, then it is inside the scope of 不 *bu4* 'no' negation, resulting in the 'not completely' interpretation of [1b].

6.1.2. Clausal negation and constituent negation

The scope of negation can be either the whole clause/sentence or restricted to a local constituent. Negation constructions are often classified according to their scope difference.

6.1.2.1. Clausal negation

Negation which changes the polarity of the whole sentence or clause is called clausal negation. Negators in such negation are called clausal negators.

[2]   (组委会) 也没有说明每场比赛有多少向公众出售的门票。

zu3wei3hui4   ye3   mei2you3   shuo1ming2
the_organizing_committee   also   NEG   explain

mei3   chang3   bi3sai4   you3   duo1shao3   xiang4
every   CL   game   have   how_many   PREP

gong1zhong4   chu1shou4   de0   men2piao4
public   sell   DE   admission_ticket

'(The organizing committee) did not make clear the number of tickets available for the public in each match.'

没(有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' in [2] takes scope over the entire clause where it appears. Clausal negation yields a negative clause and can be defined semantically in terms of contradictory opposition.

[3]   a.   小张没有去美国。

xiao3zhang1   mei2you3   qu4   mei3guo2
Xiaozhang   NEG   go_to   United_States
'Xiaozhang did not go to the U.S.'

b.   小张去了美国。

xiao3zhang1   qu4   le0   mei3guo2
Xiaozhang   go   LE   United_States
'Xiaozhang went to the U.S.'

[3a] and [3b] are two statements that are contradictory to each other. They cannot both be true, but they also cannot both be false. The effect of clausal negation is to create a statement that is logically contradictory to the original one; hence, if either statement is true, then the other one must be false, and vice versa.

6.1.2.2. Constituent negation

Constituent negation operates on part of a sentence/clause only. It may also be referred to as subclausal negation. The scope of negation can be a verb phrase (VP), an adjective phrase (AdjP), an adverb phrase (AdvP), a noun phrase (NP), or a prepositional phrase (PP). Subclausal negation is also known as "internal negation" or "narrow negation."

[4]   两岸处于高度<u>不信任</u>状态, 复谈有相当难度。
        liang3an4   chu4yu2   gao1du4   bu2   xin4ren4
        cross-strait   situated_in   highly   NEG   trust

        zhuang4tai4   fu4tan2   you3   xiang1dang1
        condition   resume_the_talk   have   quite

        nan2du4
        degree-of-difficulty
        'As China and Taiwan, the two sides of the strait, were in a state of "high degree of distrust," resuming negotiations would be difficult.'

As a negator 不 *bu4* 'no' in [4] negates the verb 信任 *xin4ren4* 'trust,' which describes the state that both sides of the strait are in (i.e., not trusting each other). The negation scopes of 不 *bu4* 'no' and 没(有) *mei2you3* 'not (have)' will be discussed further in the next section.

6.2. The positions and scopes of negators

6.2.1. 不 *bu4*

6.2.1.1. The position of 不 *bu4*

As an adverb, 不 *bu4* 'no' precedes either an adverb phrase or an adjective phrase. When 不 *bu4* 'no' is added to a verb which denotes an action, it usually results in a volitional negation, equivalent in meaning to 不愿意 *bu4yvan4yi4* 'not willing to,' 不肯 *bu4ken3* 'not willing to,' and 不想 *bu4xiang3* 'not want to.'

[5]   美司法部长<u>不评论</u>有关台湾威胁美国安全的问题。
        mei3   si1fa3   bu4zhang3   bu4   ping2lun4
        America   judiciary   administer   NEG   comment_on

you3guan1	tai2wan1	wei1xie2	mei3guo2	an1quan2
concern	Taiwan	menace	America	safety

de0	wen4ti2
DE	issue

'The United States Attorney General would not comment on the issue
of whether Taiwan is threatening the national security of the United
States.'

In [5], 不 *bu4* 'no' is a volitional negation indicating that the Attorney General refused to comment. In this context, a simple denial of the fact (i.e., 'did not comment') is expressed by the negator 没有 *mei2you3* 'no.' 不 *bu4* 'no' can also occur in a constituent negation.

[6]   我不翻译, 他们怎么懂?

wo3	bu4	fan1yi4	ta1men0	zen3me0	dong3
I	NEG	translate	they	how	understand

'If I had not done the translation, how would they understand (what people are saying)?'

When 不 *bu4* 'no' combines with an auxiliary, it negates the modality expressed by the auxiliary.

[7]   情感选择回归到个人身上, 不应由国家以法律来规范人民。

qing2gan3	xuan3ze2	hui2gui1	dao4	ge4ren2
emotion	choice	go_back	PREP	individual

shen1shang4	bu4	ying1	you2	guo2jia1	yi3	fa3lü4
body_on	NEG	should	PREP	country	PREP	law

lai2	gui1fan4	ren2min2
come	rule	people

'Emotional commitments are personal (and) should not be imposed by the country through the implementation of laws.'

When 不 *bu4* 'no' is added to an adjective phrase or a predicate that denotes a property or a quality, it negates the property or quality in question.

[8]   环境不佳的现实情境下, 不太适合进行促销活动。

huan2jing4	bu4	jia1	de0	xian4shi2	qing2jing4
environment	NEG	fine	DE	reality	situation

xia4   bu2   tai4   shi4he2   jin4xing2   cu4xiao1
under   NEG   too   appropriate   perform   promotion

huo2dong4
activities

'In consideration of the adverse economic situation, it is not that appropriate to perform any promotional activities (at this moment).'

In [8], the negator 不 *bu4* occurs before a preverbal adjunct and its scope is over that adjunct. Hence, it is a comment on the appropriateness of the activity, without indicating whether the activity has actually taken place or not.

6.2.1.2. The scope of 不 *bu4*

The semantic difference in scope is marked syntactically by a difference in linear order, especially relative to other scope-taking elements like adverbs, quantifiers, and modals. Typically, the relative scope of adverbs and 不 *bu4* matches their relative linear order. When an adverb follows 不 *bu4*, it is within the scope of 不 *bu4* and is negated by 不 *bu4*, as in [9].

[9]   a.   他不好好的吃饭。
            ta1   bu4   hao3hao   de0   chi1fan4
            he   no   properly   DE   eat
            'He does not eat properly.'

        b.   它不完全是书信体。
            ta1   bu4   wan2quan2   shi4   shu1xin4ti3
            it   NEG   completely   be   epistolary_style
            'This is not completely written in the style of a correspondence letter.'

不 *bu4* precedes the adverbs 好好 *hao3hao* 'properly' in [9a] and 完全 *wan2quan2* 'totally' in [9b] and negates the two adverbs by taking a wider scope over them. In contrast, when an adverb precedes 不 *bu4*, it is external to the scope of 不 *bu4* and is not part of the negation.

[10]   a.   (他) 一直不讲话, 在那边画圈。
            ta1   yi1zhi2   bu4   jiang3hua4   zai4   na4bian1
            he   all_the_time   NEG   speak   PREP   there

            hua4quan1
            draw_circle
            'He remained speechless, and kept drawing circles over there.'

    b.   因为没有经验, 我<u>完全</u><u>不</u>明白导演的要求。

        yin1wei2   mei2you3   jing1yan4   wo3   wan2quan2   bu4
        because   not_have   experience   I   totally   NEG

        ming2bai2   dao3yan3   de0   yao1qiu2
        understand   director   DE   demand
        'Due to a lack of experience, I completely failed to understand the demand of the director.'

[11]   我<u>一定</u><u>不</u>去。
        wo3   yi1ding4   bu2   qu4
        I   definitely   NEG   go
        'I will definitely not go.'

The adverbs 一直 *yi1zhi2* 'always' in [10a] and 完全 *wan2quan2* 'totally' in [10b] precede 不 *bu4*, hence, they are not negated by 不 *bu4* but instead modify the full negative verb phrase. Likewise, in [11], the adverb 一定 *yi1ding4* 'definitely' is external to the scope of 不 *bu4* and asserts the certainty of "not going." Similarly, the relative scope of duration and the frequency adverb and the negator 不 match their relative linear order.

[12]   他<u>常常</u><u>不</u>刷牙。
        ta1   chang2chang2   bu4   shua1ya2
        he   often   NEG   brush_one's_teeth
        'It is often the case that (he) does not brush his teeth.'

In [12], the temporal frequency adverb modifies the negative VP. However, when a temporal frequency adverb follows 不 *bu4* 'no,' it is negated by 不 *bu4* 'no' together with the predicate.

[13]   他<u>不</u>经常来这儿吃饭的。
        ta1   bu4   jing1chang2   lai2   zhe4er0   chi1fan4   de0
        he   NEG   often   come   here   eat   DE
        'It is not often that he comes here to eat.'

The same linear order effect can be found with quantifiers such as 所有 *suo3you3* 'all,' 全部 *quan2bu4* 'all,' 很多 *hen3duo1* 'many,' and 一些 *yi1xie2* 'some.'

[14]   a.   他<u>不</u>喜欢<u>所有</u>这里的人。 [negator has scope over quantifier]
        ta1   bu4   xi3huan1   suo3you3   zhe4li3   de0   ren2
        he   NEG   like   all   here   DE   people
        'He does not like anyone here.'

b. 我<u>不</u>同意<u>很多</u>他的观点。[negator has scope over quantifier]
    wo3   bu4   tong2yi4   hen3duo1   ta1   de0   guan1dian3
    I   NEG   agree   many   he   DE   viewpoint
    'I do not agree with many of his points.'

Although the fact that the scope of negation matches the relative linear order seems trivial, it is important to note that not all languages work this way. It is well known that in English, for instance, a negator and a quantifier can have a scope relation that is contrary to their linear order, such as in "All that glitters is not gold." In this English example, the negator "not" negates the whole sentence "All that glitters is gold," although it occurs after both the universal quantifier and the verb. Similarly, the relative scope of the modals and 不 *bu4* matches their relative linear order.

[15] 他<u>可能</u><u>不</u>来见你了。[*bu*'s main verb negation]
      ta1   ke3neng2   bu4   lai2   jian4   ni3   le0
      he   probably   NEG   come   see   you   LE
      'He probably will not come to see you.'

[16] 公司的大陆包机, 民航局<u>不愿(意)</u>预测。[*bu*'s auxiliary negation]
      gong1si1   de0   da4lu4   bao1ji1
      company   DE   mainland   chartered_airplane

      min2hang2ju2   bu4   yuan4yi4   yu4ce4
      the_civil_aviation_bureau   NEG   be_willing_to   predict
      'Regarding mainland air charters by companies, the Civic Aviation
      Administration is not willing to make any predictions.'

[17] 新西兰<u>不应(该)</u>有牦牛出现。[*bu*'s auxiliary negation]
      xin1xi1lan2   bu4   ying1gai1   you3   mao2niu2
      New_Zealand   NEG   should   have   yak
      chu1xian4
      appear
      'There should not be any yaks in New Zealand.'

The modals 愿意 *yuan4yi4* 'is willing to' in [16] and 应 (该) *ying1 (gai1)* 'should' in [17] follow 不 *bu4* and can be negated by it, as they are within its scope. [18] involves more than one negator.

[18]   政府既定政策, 政府絶对不会不推动。

zheng4fu3   ji4ding4   zheng4ce4   zheng4fu3   jue2dui4
government   established   policy   government   for_sure

bu2   hui4   bu4   tui1dong4
NEG   will   NEG   promote

'For established government policies, it is certain that it would not be possible for the government not to implement them.'

The modal 絶对 *jue2dui4* 'for *sure*' precedes the first negator 不 *bu4*, while another modal 会 hui4 'will' follows it. It is 会 hui4 'will,' instead of 絶对 *jue2dui4*' that falls under the scope of the first negator and thus undergoes negation. The second negator 不 *bu4* in [18] negates the verb phrase 推动 *tui1dong4* 'promote,' which follows it and is within the scope of the negative modal.

6.2.2. 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)*

The prevalence and complexity of the use of the negator 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' can be attributed to its categorical ambiguity between a verb and an adverb, as well as to the free alternations of its two forms 没有 *mei2you3* 'not have' and 没 *mei2* 'not (have)' in most contexts. It can be either a verb that takes a nominal object or an adverb that modifies a verb. When it combines with nominals, 没有 *mei2you3* can be treated as the main verb 有 *you3* 'have' being negated by 没 *mei2* 'not.' However, since these instances of 没有 *mei2you3* 'not have' can be replaced by 没 *mei2* 'not,' it is more intuitive to simply treat both forms as free variants of the categorically ambiguous 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)*. When it collocates with a predicate, the same variations occur and both function as an adverbial negator, which exercises negation upon the predicate. It is important to note that in all the examples in this book, unless otherwise specified, 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* can be freely substituted with 没 *mei2*, and vice versa.

[19]   谈到宗教, 它是没有国界的。

tan2dao4   zong1jiao4   ta1   shi4   mei2you3   guo2
as_for   religion   it   be   NEG   country

jie4   de0
boundary   DE

'As for religion, it has no national boundaries.'

[20]   在禅修中也就曾经整天没有吃东西, 也没有睡觉, 只是去思考。

zai4   chan2xiu1   zhong1   ye3   jiu4   ceng2jing1
at   Zen-meditation   in_the_process   too   then   once

zheng3tian1   mei2you3   chi1   dong1xi0   ye3   mei2you3
the_whole_day   NEG   eat   thing   too   NEG

shui4jiao4   zhi3   shi4   qu4   si1kao3
sleep   only   be   go   think
'During practicing Zen-meditation, (s/he) had the experience of not eating anything and not sleeping for a whole day, just thinking.'

[19] exemplifies 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* as a verb taking a nominal object, while [20] is an example of it as an adverb modifying a predicate.

6.2.2.1. Negation types of 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)*

没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' can negate either a verbal predicate or an adjectival one. When it negates a verbal predicate, it expresses the meaning that the event denoted did not happen or has not yet been completed, depending on the event types of the predicate.

[21]   a.   他入警 23 年, 没发生一起违法违纪的事。
           ta1   ru4   jing3   23   nian2   mei2   fa1sheng1   yi1   qi3
           he   join   police   23   year   NEG   happen   one   CL

           wei2fa3   wei2ji4   de0   shi4
           violate_law   violate_discipline   DE   thing
           'He joined the police force 23 years ago, and has never committed any misconduct or illegal act.'

[21]   b.   祖辈传下的手艺不但没丢, 反而异乎寻常地热了。
           zu3bei4   chuan2   xia4   de0   shou3yi4   bu4dan4
           ancestors   pass_on   down   DE   handicraft   not_only

           mei2   diu1   fan3er2   yi4hu1xun2chang2   de0   re4   le0
           NEG   lose   instead   unexpectedly   DE   popular   LE
           'The handicraft inherited from the ancestors not only was not lost, it has become unexpectedly popular.'

[22]   a.   . . .登到现在都还没有结婚。
           deng1   dao4   xian4zai4   dou1   hai2   mei2you3   jie2hun1
           register   PERP   now   all   still   NEG   marry
           '(The announcement) was made (but) . . . till now they have not yet got married.'

b.   会议还没有开完, 我还没有听完其他代表团的演讲。

hui4yi4   hai2   mei2   you3   kai1   wan2   wo3   hai2
meeting   still   NEG   have   proceed   finish   I   still

mei2   you3   ting1   wan2   qi2ta1   dai4biao3tuan2   de0
NEG   have   listen finish other   delegation   DE

yan3jiang3
speech
'The meeting is not yet over, and I have not listened to the speech of
other delegations yet.'

[21a] denies any occurrence of law-breaking acts, and [21b] denies the disappearance of the handicraft inherited from the ancestors. On the other hand, [22a] expresses that the event "getting married" has not yet been realized, and [22b] expresses that the meeting is not yet over. When conveying the meaning of 'not yet,' 没有 *mei2you3* 'not have' is typically preceded by the adverb 还 *hai2* 'yet.' This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 12.

When 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' negates an adjectival predicate, it means that the state denoted by the adjectival predicate does not exist or the intended change of state has not been achieved at the time of reference.

[23]   真正适合大陆居民购置的住宅没热起来, 内地广大有潜力的地区
          也没热起来。

zhen1zheng4   shi4he2   da4lu4   ju1min2   gou4zhi4   de0
truely   fit   mainland   resident   purchase   DE

zhu4zhai2   mei2   re4   qi3lai2   nei4di4   guang3da4
houses   NEG   popular   QILAI   mainland   vast

you3   qian2li4   de0   di4qu1   ye3   mei2   re4
have   potentiality   DE   area   also   NEG   popular

qi3lai2
QILAI
'(The market for) houses which are tailor-made for purchase by mainland residents did not heat up, neither did (the market in) the broad regions with potential in Mainland China.'

[24]   a.   心情兴奋得连觉都没睡好。

xin1qing2   xing1fen4   de2   lian2   jiao4   dou1   mei2
mood   excited   DE   even   sleep   even   NEG

shui4   hao3
sleep   well
'(S/he) was so excited that s/he did not sleep well.'

b.   也许是我们自己没讲清楚。

    ye3xu3   shi4   wo3men0   zi4ji3   mei2   jiang3   qing1chu3

    maybe   be   we   self   NEG   explain   clear

    'It may be the case that we did not say it clearly.'

[23] expresses the meaning that the state of the market heating up has not been obtained yet. Similarly, it can also negate the state denoted by the descriptive complement, as in the 好 *hao3* 'well' in 睡好 *shui4hao3* 'sleep well' in [24a], and the postverbal adverb, as in the 清楚 *qing1chu3* 'clearly' in 讲清楚 *jiang3qing1chu3* 'say clearly' in [24b]. In contrast, the negator 不 *bu4* used in the same context will deny the occurrence of the activity in the manner denoted by the modifier. For instance, 不睡好 *bu2shui4hao3* 'not sleep well' denies the intention or manner of sleeping well, while 不讲清楚 *bu4jiang3qing1chu3* 'not speak in a clear manner' means that the speaker spoke in a way that the content was not clearly presented. In both cases, the scope of negation is not on the activity denoted by the verb, but, rather on the state referred to by the adjective/adverb in question.

When 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' modifies an adjectival predicate containing the degree adverb 这么/那么 *zhe4me0/na4me0* 'this/that,' it denies the fact that a certain degree of the property has been reached.

[25]   a.   但应用时的对应分歧, 实际上并没有那么严重。

    dan4   ying4yong4   shi2   de0   dui4ying4   fen1qi2

    but   use   time   DE   correspond   divergence

    shi2ji4shang4   bing4   mei2you3   na4me0   yan2zhong4

    as_a_matter_of_fact   at_all   NEG   that_much   serious

    'But the corresponding ambiguity in use is actually not that serious.'

b.   进入海南的时间较晚, 运气没那么好。

    jin4ru4   hai3nan2   de0   shi2jian1   jiao4   wan3

    enter   Hainan_province   DE   time   quite   late

    yun4qi4   mei2   na4me0   hao4

    luck   not   that_much   good

    '(They) entered Hainan quite late, (and) their luck was not that good.'

Similar to other modified adjectival constructions, 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' negates the meaning of the degree adverb, but not the existence of the state denoted by the adjective.

6.2.2.2. Negation of predicate by 没有 *mei2you3*

When 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' negates a predicate, 没 *mei2* 'not' and 没有 *mei2you3* 'not have' are free variants. 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' denies either the

completion or the occurrence of an event or an action in question. However, this does not mean that 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' can only deny an event which occurred in the past. In fact, it can also be used to deny the occurrence of an event in the future, as shown by the sentence in [26].

[26]   明年这个时候你应该还没有毕业。
        ming2nian2   zhe4ge4   shi2hou0   ni3   ying1gai1   hai2
        next_year   this   time   you   should   still

        mei2you3   bi4ye4
        NEG   graduate
        'You should not have graduated yet by this time next year.'

In fact, 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' functions like the negation form of the perfective 有 discussed in Chapter 5, and it takes a clause as its complement. 没 *mei2* 'not' is closely related to the perfective marker 了 *le0*, which would be realized as 有 *you3* 'have' when it occurs with 没 *mei3* 'not.' 有 *you3* 'have' asserts the existence of an event or a state. By directly negating 有 *you3* 'have,' 没 *mei2* 'not' in [27b] either denies the occurrence of an action or negates the existence of the situation (state or event), while [27d] denies the completion of an event.

[27]   a.   他去了日本。[affirmative]
              ta1   qu4   le0   ri4ben3
              he   go   LE   Japan
              'He went to Japan.'

        b.   他没(有)去日本。[denial of the occurrence of an event]
              ta1   mei2you3   qu4   ri4ben3
              he   NEG   go   Japan
              'He did not go to Japan.'

        c.   他没有生病。[denial of the existence of a state]
              ta1   mei2you3   sheng1bing4
              he   NEG   fall_ill
              'He wasn't ill.'

        d.   他没有写完作业。[denial of the completion of an event]
              ta1   mei2you3   xie3wan2   zuo4ye4
              he   NEG   write_finish   homework
              'He did not finish writing his homework.'

While [27a] affirms the occurrence of the event, [27b] denies its occurrence. 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' can thus be considered as the negative counterpart

of the perfective marker 了 *le0*, hence, the marker of the non-existence or non-realization of an event. 了 *le0* and 有 *you3* 'have' should be taken as allomorphs of the same perfective morpheme. Therefore, we cannot simply consider 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' as a past tense negative particle. On the other hand, [27c] gives an example of 没 *mei2* 'not' denying the existence of a state, and [27d] is an example of 没 *mei3* 'not' denying the completion of an event.

Moreover, 没有 *mei2you3* 'not have' can also appear at the sentence-final position to form a tag question. What is being asked then is whether a certain action has been performed or not.

[28]   你吃药没有?
         ni3   chi1   yao4   mei2you3
         you   eat   medication   NEG
         'Did you take any medication?'

Similarly, the negator 不 *bu4* can also occur in the sentence-final position to form a tag question as in [29]. While 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* is widely used in Chinese tag questions [28], the use of 不 *bu4* in tag questions is more restricted to northern dialects.

[29]   你吃水果不?
         ni3   chi1   shui3guo3   bu4
         you   eat   fruit   NEG
         'Do you (want to) eat fruit?'

When 没 *mei2* interacts with other scope-taking elements, the scope relation generally matches their linear order, as exemplified by the following sentences [30]–[32] in terms of scope between the negator and the underlined element.

[30]   (他)并幽自己一默, 遗憾自己没能好好学中文。
         ta1   bing4   you1   zi4ji3   yi1   mo4   yi2han4
         he   and   make(fun_of) oneself one   humor   regret
         zi4ji3   mei2   neng2   hao3hao3   xue2   zhong1wen2
         oneself   NEG   can   conscientiously   learn Chinese
         '(S/he) also made fun of herself/himself, expressing regret in light
         of the fact that s/he did not study Chinese well.'

[31]   a.   将近七、八年没在台湾开唱, 如今被「送做堆」开演唱会, 两人
              乐观其成。
              jiang1jin4   qi1   ba1   nian2   mei2   zai4   tai2wan1
              nearly   seven   eight   year   NEG   PREP   Taiwan

kai1chang4   ru2jin1   bei4   song4zuo4dui1   kai1
sing   now   BEI   bundled_together hold

yan3chang4hui4   liang3   ren2
concert   two   people

le4guan1qi2cheng2
optimistic_about_one's_success
'The two did not hold any concerts in Taiwan for nearly 7 to 8 years.
And now being "bundled together" to hold one, the two are more than
happy to see to its success.'

b.　他在家里没读书。
　　ta1   zai4   jia1li3   mei2   du2   shu1
　　he   be_at   home   NEG   read   book
　　'S/he did not study while s/he was at home.'

[32]　a.　召开第一次公听会时, 建设局没邀集所有里民。
　　　　zhao1kai1   di1yi1ci4   gong1ting1hui4   shi2
　　　　convene   the_first_time   public_hearing   when

　　　　jian4she4ju2   mei2   yao1ji2   suo3you3
　　　　construction_bureau   NEG   invite   all

　　　　li3   min2
　　　　a_unit_of_neighborhood   citizen
　　　　'When calling for the first public hearing, the Construction Bureau
　　　　did not invite all citizens in the borough.'

b.　但双方依然在作拉锯式的往返, 并没很多精彩的场面出现。
　　dan4   shuang1fang1   yi1ran2   zai4   zuo4
　　but   both_sides   still   be_at   do

　　la1ju4shi4   de0   wang3fan3   bing4   mei2
　　in_a_see-saw_form   DE   back_and_forth   and   NEG

　　hen3duo1   jing1cai3de0   chang3mian4   chu1xian4
　　many   exciting   scene   appear
　　'But both sides are still engaged in a back-and-forth see-saw, and did
　　not create many exciting scenes.'

c.　由于大都没办规划报建和用地等手续, 逃避各项税收 . . .
　　you2yu2   da4dou1   mei2   ban4   bao4jian4
　　because   mainly_all   NEG   attend_to   report_construction

he2   yong4di4   deng3   shou3xu4   tao2bi4   ge4xiang4
and   use_land   etc.   formalities   avoid   all_items

shui4shou1
tax

'Since in most cases they did not go through the procedures of applying for land planning, building, and used approval to avoid paying various tax and levy . . .'

6.2.3. Variations between 不 *bu4* and 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)*

6.2.3.1. Negation and predicates

Although 不 *bu4* 'no' and 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' can both negate state and activity predicates, their meanings are different. 不 *bu4* 'no,' as a simple negator, denies the occurrence of an event (including state and activity), while 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' typically takes a scope over the event, which allows it to interact with various eventive attributes, including frequency, manner, and aspect, of an event that is currently taking place.

However, the occurrence of 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' with stative predicates is more restricted. For instance, it cannot occur with predicates denoting homogeneous states (i.e., states which can be divided into smaller states while remaining the same state), such as 诚实 *cheng2shi2* 'honest,' or non-volitional cognitive predicates, such as 像 *xiang4* 'resemble,' 知道 *zhi1dao4* 'know,' and 是 *shi4* 'be.' The underlying reason may be that, unlike 不 *bu4* 'no,' 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' is reserved for non-volitional negation. The strong association of 不 *bu4* 'no' with volition can be supported by the fact that 不 for Chinese speaking children is certainly one of the most frequently used in the 2- to 3-year-old stage to assert the child's will. It is important to note that, in some cases, a homogeneous state can be coerced, such as the examples below involving the state of 饿 *e4* 'being hungry' in [33] and [34].

[33]   a.   (你)没有老, 只是成熟了。
        ni3   mei2you3   lao3   zhi3shi4   cheng2shou2   le0
        you   NEG   old   only   mature   LE
        '(You) did not age, just became more mature.'

       b.   他不饿。
        ta1   bu4   e4
        he   NEG   be_hungry
        'He is not hungry.'

    c.   他还没饿。

        ta1   hai2   mei2   e4

        he   yet   NEG   be_hungry

        'He is not hungry yet.'

[34] a.   他不诚实。

        ta1   bu4   cheng2shi2

        he   NEG   be_honest

        'He is not honest.'

    b.   他不像他爸爸。

        ta1   bu2   xiang4   ta1   ba4ba0

        he   NEG   like   he   father

        'He does not like his father.'

    c.   他不知道问题出在哪里。

        ta1   bu4   zhi1dao4   wen4ti2   chu1   zai4   na3li3

        he   NEG   know   problem   lie_in   PREP   where

        'He does not know where the problem lies.'

    d.   他不是小明的老师。

        ta1   bu2   shi4   xiao3ming2   de0   lao3shi1

        he   NEG   be   XIAOMING   DE   teacher

        'He is not Xiao Ming's teacher.'

[33a] gives the typical example of 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' negating a change-of-state predicate (老 *lao3* 'to age, to grow old'). However, even though 饿 *e4* 'being hungry' cannot typically be negated by 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' but can be negated by 不 *bu4* 'no' (as in [33b]), it is negated by 没 (有) *mei2 (you3)* 'not (have)' in [33c]. This is because the introduction of the adverb 还 *hai2* 'yet' coerced and changed the meaning of 饿 *e4* 'being hungry' from 'being hungry' to 'become hungry,' a change of state that is now being denied at the current time. A more detailed discussion of the interaction between negation and aspects is given in Chapter 5.

6.2.4. Negation and imperatives

When an imperative sentence appears in a negative form to express persuasion or prohibition, 不要 *bu2yao4* 'should not' is the first choice in formal written genres. In informal spoken discourse, 不要 *bu2yao4* 'should not' is also used at times but it is often contracted to a monosyllabic word in various dialects, such as 别 *bie2* 'should not' in the Beijing dialect and in the Northeast, 包 *bao1* 'should not' in the

Shanxi dialect, and 莫 *mo4* 'should not' in the Hunan and Hubei dialects. Some of these contracted forms have found their way into Standard Mandarin and written genres, such as 别 *bie2* 'should not' and, to a much more limited extent, 莫 *mo4* 'should not,' which happens to be homophonous with the negative morpheme 莫 *mo4* 'should not' inherited from Classic Chinese.

别 *bie2* 'should not,' as an auxiliary verb, appears between the subject and the verb. The subject of negative imperative sentences with 别 *bie2* 'should not' is typically the second-person plural pronoun 你们 *ni3men0* 'you' or 大家 *da4jia1* 'you all,' as in [35a] and [35b], or the second-person singular pronoun 你 *ni3* 'you,' as in [35c]. In rare cases, the subject could be the first-person plural pronoun 我们 *wo3men0* 'we' or 咱们 *zan2men0* 'we,' as in [35d].

[35]   a.   他呼吁民众: 如果没有必要的话, 千万别上山。

          ta1   hu1yu4   min2zhong4   ru2guo3   mei2you3   bi4yao4
          he   appeal   public   if   not_have   necessary

          de0   hua4   qian1wan4   bie2   shang4shan1
          DE   words   be_sure_to   should_not   go_to_mountain
          'He appealed to the public that if it is not necessary, do not go up the mountain.'

   b.   (你们/大家) 停下来 ! 停下来 ! 别再跳下去了!

          ni3men2   da4jia1   ting2   xia4lai4   ting2
          you   all   stop   imperative   stop

          xia4lai2   bie2   tiao4   xia4qu4   le0
          imperative   should_not   jump   imperative   LE
          'Stop! Stop! Stop jumping!'

   c.   你别乱说话了。 [second-person singular pronoun]

          ni3   bie2   luan4   shuo1   hua4   le0
          you   should_not   wrong   talk   words   LE
          'You (all) stop saying what isn't true.'

   d.   我们/咱们别说话了。 [first-person plural pronoun]

          wo3men0   zan2men0   bie2   shuo1   hua4   le0
          we   we   should_not   talk   words   LE
          'Let's stop talking.'

When there is a need to express a polite persuasion, the polite marker 请 *qing3* 'please' could be used to tone down the imperative force of 别 *bie2* 'should not.'

[36]   看节目的当儿, 大家请别忘记拨打电话: XXXX 或 YYYY, 捐款给肾脏病人。

kan4   jie2mu4   de0   dang4er0   da4jia1   qing3
watch   show   DE   while   we   please

bie2   wang4ji4   bo1da3   dian4hua4   XXXX   huo4
should_not   forget   dial   telephone   XXXX   or

YYYY   juan1kuan3   gei3   shen4zang4   bing4ren2
YYYY   donate_money   to   kidney   patient

'While watching the show, please do not forget to dial XXXX or YYYY, for a donation to patients with kidney disease.'

Negative imperatives can also be expressed with combinations of negative morphemes and other auxiliary verbs, such as 不必 *bu2bi4* 'not necessary,' 不准 *bu4zhun3* 'not allowed,' and 不用 *bu2yong4* 'not needed,' in addition to 不要 *bu2yao4* 'should not.' Note that 别 *bie2* 'should not' is only used in imperatives, while 不要 *bu2yao4* 'should not,' 不用 *bu2yong4* 'not needed,' 不准 *bu4zhun3* 'not allowed,' and 不必 *bu2bi4* 'not necessary' represent a normal [不 *bu4* 'no' + modal auxiliary] form and thus may quite freely occur in various sentence types, such as declarative and interrogative sentences.

[37]   a.   你不必再来上课了!
              ni3   bu4bi4   lai2   shang4ke4   le0
              you   not_necessary   come   have_class   LE
              'You do not have to come to class again!'

       b.   他不必太操心了。
              ta1   bu4bi4   tai4   cao1xin1
              he   not_necessary   too   worry
              'He does not have to worry too much.'

[38]   a.   你不用再说了!
              ni3   bu4yong4   zai4   shuo1   le0
              you   need_not   again   talk   LE
              'Say no more!'

       b.   他不用再担心他女儿了。
              ta1   bu4yong4   zai4   dan1xin1   ta1   nü3er2   le0
              he   need_not   again   worry   he   daughter   LE
              'He does not have to worry about his daughter anymore.'

       c.   他不用来考试吗? [question]
              ta1   bu4yong4   lai2   kao3shi4   ma1
              he   not_need   come   take_exam   MA
              'Doesn't he have to take the examination?'

不用 *bu2yong4* 'need not' can be contracted into 甭 *beng2* 'need not' in the Beijing dialect and other nearby places, and is used in spoken form only.

[39]　a.　这是小事, 甭请示了。

　　　　zhe4　shi4　xiao3shi4　　beng2　　　qing3shi4

　　　　this　be　small_thing　need_not　ask_for_permission

　　　　le0

　　　　LE

　　　　'This is a trivial issue. No need to ask for permission.'

　　b.　好好听着就行了, 甭说话!

　　　　hao3hao3　ting1　　zhe0　jiu4　xing2　le0　beng2

　　　　well　　　　listen_to　ZHE　then　ok　　LE　need_not

　　　　shuo1　　hua4

　　　　speak　　word

　　　　'Just listen carefully. No need to say a word!'

Although both 别 *bie2* 'should not' and 甭 *beng2* 'need not' are used to express prohibition or persuasion, they differ in subjectivity. 别 *bie2* 'should not' expresses subjectivity and indicates that the speaker does not want the hearer to perform an action, while 甭 *beng2* 'need not' does not express subjectivity explicitly but suggests that there is no reason or need for the hearer to act. Given the contrast, when the speaker does not want something to happen, he will use 别 *bie2* 'should not' instead of 甭 *beng2* 'need not.'

[40]　　你别摔着了!

　　　　ni3　bie2　shuai1　　zhe0　le0

　　　　you　do_not　fall_down　suffer　LE

　　　　'(Watch out!) Don't fall!'

[41]　　别把钱弄丢了!!

　　　　bie2　　ba3　qian2　nong4diu1　le0

　　　　do_not　BA　money　make_lose　LE

　　　　'Don't lose the money!'

6.2.5. Multiple negation

When there is more than one negator in the sentence, the interpretation of the negative sentence is determined by the relative scope of the co-occurring negators. In Chinese, the relative scope of the negators matches their relative linear order in the sentence.

[42]   a.   他没 (有) 想过不好好读书的后果。

ta1   mei2   you3   xiang3   guo4   bu4   hao3hao3   du2

he   not   have   think   GUO   NEG   well   read

shu1   de0   hou4guo3

book   DE   consequence

'He has not considered the consequences of not studying hard.'

   b.   他没有不好好读书。

ta1   mei2you3   bu4   hao3hao0   du2   shu1

he   NEG   no   well   read   book

'It is not true that he did not study hard.'

6.3. Sublexical negation

Negation can also be expressed without a lexical negator in a negative construction, but with a negative morpheme in the word formation process. The morphemes commonly used are 无 *wu2* 'not,' 非 *fei1* 'not,' and 反 *fan3* 'against,' in addition to the negators 不 *bu4* 'no' and 没 *mei2* 'not.'

[43]   a.   无铅汽油

wu2   qian1   qi4you2

no   lead   gasoline

'lead-free gasoline'

   b.   这个车箱是非吸烟区。(or 禁烟区)

zhe4   ge4   che1xiang1   shi4   fei1   xi1yan1   qu1

this   CL   carriage   be   NEG   smoke   zone

'This car is a non-smoking zone.'

   c.   不织布

bu4   zhi1   bu4

NEG   weave   cloth

'non-woven fabric'

   d.   没品

mei2   pin3

NEG   taste

'tasteless, crass'

It is important to note that in sub-lexical negation, the negative morpheme is always the first morpheme of the word. The most versatile of the sub-lexical negative morphemes is probably 非 *fei1* 'not,' as it is frequently used as a negator when appearing at the beginning of a relative clause headed by 者 *zhe3* '(of) the person.'

[44] a. 非本地出生者

        fei1   ben3di4   chu1sheng1   zhe3

        NEG   local   born   the_person

        'those who are not born locally'

     b. 非台湾护照持有者

        fei1   tai2wan1   hu4zhao4   chi2you3   zhe3

        NEG   Taiwan   passport   hold   the_person

        'those who do not hold Taiwan passports'

     c. 非长者一人申请者

        fei1   zhang3zhe3   yi1   ren2   shen1qing3   zhe3

        NEG   senior   one person apply   the_person

        'those applicants who are not applying as a single elderly person'

The negation of relative clauses, such as those in [44], are commonly used in legal and formal documents but can also be used in spoken language in the right context. 非 *fei1* 'not' as a negator changes the referents to a complementary set of individuals to those who were defined by the relative clause. For instance, in [44a], the original relative clause refers to those who were born in a particular place under discussion, but the negated relative clause refers to all others (i.e., those who were not born in that place.) Similarly, [44b] refers to the complementary set of those who hold Taiwan passports, and [44c] refers to the complementary set of those elderly applicants who are applying alone.

6.4. Negative answers to questions

"Yes" and "no" serve as markers of positive and negative polarity in answers to yes–no questions. In English, the choice between "yes" and "no" depends simply on the logical polarity of the answer. In Chinese, however, the choice of positive or negative answers depends on whether the speaker agrees with the expressed presupposition of the question or not. In other words, a negative answer represents an objection to the stated presupposition, and it may or may not be associated with a negative statement.

[45]   Question: Are/Aren't you going to the party?

        Answer:

        a.   Yes, I am.

        b.   No, I am not.

In English, regardless of whether the question is asked in an affirmative or negative way, it would not affect the choice of polarity of the answer.

[46]   a.   你参加那个宴会吗?
        ni3   can1jia1   na4   ge4   yan4hui4   ma0
        you   attend   that   CL   banquet   MA
        'Will you go to the banquet?'

      b.   是(的)/对, 我参加。
        shi4de0   dui4   wo3   can1jia1
        yes   right   I   attend
        'Yes, I will.'

      c.   不, 我不参加。
        bu4   wo3   bu4   can1jia1
        NEG   I   NEG   attend
        'No, I won't.'

[47]   a.   你不参加那个宴会吗?
        ni3   bu4   can1jia1   na4   ge4   yan4hui4   ma0
        you   NEG   attend   that   CL   banquet   MA
        'Won't you go to the banquet?'

      b.   不, 我会参加。
        bu4   wo3   hui4   can1jia1
        NEG   I   will   attend
        'Yes, I will.'

      c.   是(的)/对, 我不会去/参加。
        shi4de0   dui4   wo3   bu4   hui4   qu4   can1jia1
        yes   right   I   NEG   will   go   attend
        'No, I won't.'

[46] and [47] show that the use of a positive answer in Chinese is to show agreement with the presupposition, regardless of whether it is expressed in a positive or a negative sentence. Accordingly, a negative answer is used to show an objection to the presupposition.

6.5. Negative polarity items and negation

Negation can also be expressed by Negative Polarity Items (NPIs), such as 任何 *ren4he2* 'any' and 什么 *shen2me0* 'what(ever),' which are polarity-sensitive and their occurrence requires negative polarity contexts.

[48]   a.   小张没去过任何地方。
        xiao3zhang1   mei2   qu4   guo4   ren4he2   di4fang1
        XIAOZHANG   NEG   go   GUO   any   place
        'Xiaozhang did not go to any places.'

b. 在逻辑及道义上, 都没有什么道理。

zai4	luo2ji4	ji2	dao4yi4	shang4	dou1	mei2you3
PREP	logic	and	moral	on	all	NEG

shen2me0	dao4li3
what	sense

'Either logically or morally, it does not make any sense.'

c. 这些年来, 尽管我国女排仍旧没有在任何的国际赛上交出杰出的成绩单, 但是 . . . 。

zhe4xie1	nian2	lai2	jin4guan3	wo3	guo2
these	year	come	although	I	country

nü3pai2	reng3jiu4	mei2you3	zai4	ren4he2
women_volleyball	still	not_have	PREP	any

de0	guo2ji4sai4	shang4	jiao1chu1	jie2chu1
DE	international_competition	on	present	excellent

de0	cheng2ji1dan1
DE	report

'For these years, although our women's volleyball team did not perform very well in any international competition . . .'

The occurrence of 任何地方 *ren4he2 di4fang1* 'any places' in [48a] and 什么道理 *shen2me0 dao4li3* 'any sense' in [48b] requires a context of negation, and in this case is provided by the negator 没 *mei2* 'not.' In addition to these NPIs, there are some others, including 从来 *cong2lai2* 'from the start; ever' and 好险 *hao3xian3* 'narrow squeak; almost,' which strongly prefer to co-occur with a negator.

However, there are also Chinese NPIs which not only commonly occur in a negation context but also basically function as a negator, such as 几乎 *ji1hu1* 'almost,' 差点 *cha 4dian3* 'nearly,' and 险些 *xian3xie1* 'nearly.'

[49] a. 晶体极小或几乎不存在。

jing1ti3	ji2	xiao3	huo4	ji1hu1	bu4	cun2zai4
crystal	extremely	small	or	almost	NEG	exist

'The crystal is extremely small or barely exists.'

b. 农民差点血本无归。

nong2min2	cha 4dian3	xue2ben3wu2gui1
Farmer	nearly	down_the_drain

'The farmers barely got back what they had invested.'

    c.   记者险些惹上杀身之祸。

        ji4zhe3   xian3xie1   re3shang1   sha1shen1zhi1huo4

        reporter   nearly   incur_on   fatal_disaster

        'The reporter barely avoided getting killed.'

Just like negators, the NPIs 几乎 *ji1hu1* 'almost,' 差点 *cha 1dian3* 'nearly,' and 险些 *xian3xie1* 'nearly' used in [49] above deny the actual occurrence of the stated events. However, unlike regular negators, these NPIs further imply that these events could and almost did happen.

6.6. Metalinguistic negation

Metalinguistic negation involves an objection to a previous utterance based on reasons other than the truthfulness of the linguistic meaning of that utterance. Metalinguistic negation in Chinese is commonly marked with the negators 不是 or 不. In addition, the negative polarity tag 才怪 *cai2guai4* 'this would indeed be weird' and a few other expressions are used in the same way as the English metalinguistic negation tag NOT.

[50]   他不是胖, 是肥。

         ta1   bu2   shi4   pang4   shi4   fei2

         he   NEG   be   fat   be   obese

         'S/he is not fat, s/he is obese.

[51]   他不是向前看, 是向「钱」看。

         ta1   bu2   shi4   xiang4   qian2   kan4   shi4   xiang4

         he   NEG   be   PREP   forward   look   be   PREP

         qian2   kan4

         money   look

         'S/he is not forward-looking; (s/he) is money-ward-looking.'

[52]   小时候胖不是胖。

         xiao3   shi2hou0   pang4   bu2   shi4   pang4

         small   time   fat   NEG   be   fat

         '[Lit.] Being plump as a child is not being plump.'

         'Don't judge success by performance in an early stage.'

In [50], since it is true that an obese person is fat, the negation cannot be on the truthfulness of the statement, and hence it is not a linguistic negation. The metalinguistic negation expresses an objection to that inadequate statement and underlines the statement that s/he is obese and beyond the usual standard of being merely fat. In [51], the metalinguistic negation is built upon the homophone

pair of 前 *qian2* 'forward' and 钱 *qian2* 'money' (both pronounced as *qian2*), again, to underscore the greedy money-driven nature of the subject. [52] shows that metalinguistic negation can even be used in conventional idioms. The idiom is a legacy inherited from times when Chinese people were mostly poor and being plump indicated a person's wealth and success. Again, this cannot be a linguistic negation, since being plump at any age can be truly stated as being plump. However, the use of being well fed as an indication of being successful is of course only valid in one's adult life.

[53]   a.   变速箱寿命不短才怪。

bian4   su4   xiang1   shou4ming4   bu4   duan3
change velocity box   life   NEG   short

cai2guai4
indeed_be_weird

'It would be usual if the gearbox did not last long.'

b.   像你这样叫做有格调? 才怪。

xiang4   ni3   zhe4yang4   jiao4zuo4   you3   ge2diao4
like   you   this_way   be_called   have   style

cai2guai4
indeed_be_weird

'And to call people like you as having class? Definitely not.'

c.   我又中了大乐透(才怪)。

wo3   you4   zhong4   le0   da4   le4tou4   cai2guan4
I   again win   LE   big   lottery   indeed_be_weird

'I won the grand lotto again. (NOT.)'

[53a] shows that 才怪 *cai2guai4* 'indeed be weird' can be used as a predicate for metalinguistic negation. It denotes the speaker's objection to the proposition stated in the clausal subject. The proposition encoded in the clause is typically in the form of a negation or a question. This usage can be expanded to the use of 才怪 *cai2guai4* 'indeed be weird' as either a tag, as in [53b], or as a comment, as in [53c]; both function like the emergent use of the English metalinguistic negation tag NOT.

Lastly, this discussion of metalinguistic negation in Chinese cannot be complete without mentioning one of the most (mis)quoted statements in Chinese philosophy by GongsunLongzi: 公孙龙子 *gong1sun1long2zi3* 'Kung-sun Lung Tzu; a piece of historical literature,' where the negator 非 *fei1* 'not' is used for metalinguistic negation, e.g. [54].

[54]   白马非马。

bai2   ma3   fei1   ma3

white   horse   NEG   horse

'White horses are not horses.'

'[Lit.] A white horse is not a horse.'

'The concept of white-horseness is not the same as the concept of horseness.'

Classifiers

Kathleen Ahrens and Chu-Ren Huang

This chapter describes classifiers, which consist of sortal classifiers and measure words and are found in noun phrases in Chinese. The three semantic classes of sortal classifiers are individual classifiers, event classifiers, and kind classifiers; and the three semantic classes of measure words are container measure words, approximation measure words, and standard measure words. The classifier system is an important characteristic of Chinese. In this chapter, we will give examples of the most commonly used classifiers and discuss how sortal classifiers may coerce different interpretations from nouns.

7.1. Definition of classifiers

Classifiers [CL] in this chapter refer to the morphosyntactic category serving the semantic function of marking noun classes. Chinese has a particularly rich nominal classifier system that requires classifiers to occur in a noun phrase using the following construction:

Determiner (Det)/Number (Num)/Quantifier (Q) – Classifier (CL) – Noun (N)

A noun may select only one classifier (either a sortal classifier or a measure word) in any given context. Thus, sortal classifiers and measure words occur in complementary distribution and cannot co-occur. In what follows, we will first introduce a set of criteria to establish and differentiate the different types of classifiers based on their semantic functions and syntactic distribution.

Note that "classifier," as well as its corresponding Chinese term 量词 *liang4ci2* (literally, measure + word), is often used to refer to both the broader grammatical category given above and its narrower subcategory with the specific semantic function of identifying a class. We will maintain the convention of using "classifier" (or 量词 *liang4ci2*) exclusively to refer to the grammatical category and will use the unambiguous terms of "sortal classifier" and "measure word" to refer to its subcategories.

Classifiers

Sortal classifiers   Measure words

Individual   Event   Kind   Container   Standard   Approximation
classifier   classifier classifier measure   measure   measure
                                      word   word   word

个 *ge4*   场 *chang3* 种 *zhong3* 碗 *wan3*   公斤 *gong1jin1*   堆 *dui1*
张 *zhang1*   次 *ci4*   样 *yang4*   瓶 *ping2*   年 *nian2*   身 *shen1*
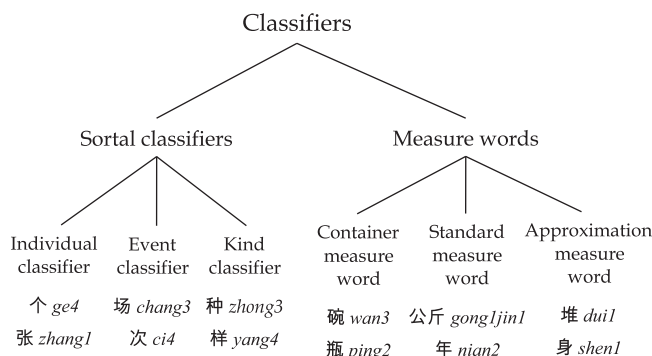
Figure 7.1 Taxonomy of classifiers

7.2. Semantic properties of classifiers

7.2.1. Taxonomy of classifiers according to their semantic functions

Sortal classifiers (often referred to as 分类词 *fen1lei4ci2* 'classifier' in Chinese litera-
ture) are usually considered the prototypical type of classifier, as they linguistically
mark conventionalized conceptual noun classes. Sortal classifier selection may be
motivated by the inherent properties of the noun, which are often conceptually
salient and intuitive, as 只 *zhi1* selects animals, whereas 张 *zhang1* selects thin,
broad objects. Measure words, on the other hand, are not typical classifiers, as
they do not directly refer to noun classes. Instead, they provide a measuring unit,
which may or may not directly depend on the inherent properties of the noun.
The selection of nouns for measure words depends on world knowledge and ex-
perience. The taxonomy of classifiers is shown above in Figure 7.1, with some
typical examples given for each type. These classifiers will be explained further in
this chapter.

   Sortal classifiers and measure words appearing with only a number or a deter-
miner preceding them can refer to a noun phrase associated with that certain
quality or feature, as in 这本 *zhe4 ben3* 'this book.' For example, the classifier
本 *ben3* refers to a book or a book-like object, as only books or book-like objects
can co-occur with it. Another example is 两条 *liang3 tiao2*, which could refer to
两条鱼 *liang3 tiao2 yu2* 'two fish' or 两条绳 *liang3 tiao2 sheng2* 'two strings of rope,'
among other possibilities in context. Moreover, in most genres of contemporary
Chinese, nouns cannot be enumerated without co-occurring classifiers, as in *一
书 *yi1 shu1* 'one book.' Lastly, sortal classifiers can often be used with a referen-
tial demonstrative without a numeral (always meaning 'one'), as in 那辆汽车 *na4
liang4 qi4che1* 'that car,' but standard measure words cannot.

   The primary semantic function of classifiers, including both sortal classifiers
and measure words, is to individuate; that is, to identify the units for enumeration
or reference. The classifying function of selecting different noun classes is

dependent on this primary function of individuation through the different units chosen to enumerate or refer to the nouns. Classes are formed by the enumerating/referring unit with which they can co-occur. This primary function leads to three types of the most frequent usages of classifiers in Chinese NPs: enumerating, ordering, and referring. In the enumerating usage, a classifier precedes the noun and is preceded by numerals, for example, 三只老虎 *san1 zhi1 lao3hu3* 'three tigers.' In the ordering usage, a classifier precedes the noun and is preceded by ordinal numbers, as in 第三只老虎 *di4san1 zhi1 lao3hu3* 'the third tiger.' In the referring usage, a classifier precedes the noun and is preceded by demonstratives followed by an optional numeral, as in 那两只老虎 *na4 liang3 zhi1 lao3hu3* 'those two tigers' and 那只老虎 *na4 zhi1 lao3hu3* 'that tiger.'

It is important to note that when individuating, a classifier can select either a natural unit, as in 三只老虎 *san1 zhi1 lao3hu3* 'three tigers,' or a conventionalized unit by choosing a particularly relevant set of collections. Although both chopsticks and candy can be individuated with a natural unit (chopstick with 支 *zhi1*, as in 一支筷子 *yi1 zhi1 kuai4zi0* 'a chopstick,' and candy with 颗 *ke1*, as in 一颗糖果 *yi1 ke1 tang2guo3* 'one piece of candy'), these nouns can also collocate with other classifiers to refer to other conceptually salient collections, as in 一包筷子 *yi1bao1 kuai4zi0* 'a package of chopsticks' and 一包糖果 *yi1 bao1 tang2guo3* 'a package of candies.'

In addition, a classifier functions to individuate and to provide enumerating units for the generic conceptual type referred to by the bare noun. As discussed in Chapter 8, bare nouns in Chinese refer to kinds, not individuals. For instance, 狗比猫大 *gou3 bi3 mao1 da4* 'dogs are bigger than cats' refers to the generalization that dogs as a kind are bigger than cats as a kind. This generalization is not contradicted by a specific statement, such as 这只猫比你家那只狗大 *zhe4 zhi1 mao1 bi3 ni3 jia1 na4 zhi1 gou3 da4* 'this cat is bigger than that dog of yours.' The classifier 只 *zhi1* in the second sentence serves two important functions, both to individuate the referent and to establish that this specific individual is an animal.

7.2.2. The semantic functions of classifier reduplication

Both the classifier and the numeral-classifier compound can be reduplicated for different semantic functions. The function of reduplicating classifiers is not unlike the vivid reduplication of adjectives. In examples like 屋子里到处都是一块块(的)金子 *wu1zi0 li3 dao4chu4 dou1 shi4 yi1 kuai4 kuai4 (de0) jin1zi0* 'there are nuggets and nuggets of gold everywhere in the house,' the emphasis is on both the individuated nature of the object and the implication that there are many of them. The numeral one is the only numeral allowed in the context, since the implication is that the actual number is too big to be counted/specified. This reduplication applies in general to sortal classifiers and container measure words. On the other hand, when a numeral−classifier compound is reduplicated, it is most commonly used

as an adverb to focus on the repeatable and quantifiable stages of a measured-out event in terms of the incremental amount of the participant role involved. For instance, 又看到体重一公斤一公斤的降 *you4 kan4dao4 ti3zhong4 yi1 gong1jin1 yi1 gong1jin1 de0 jiang4* '(you) then see that (you) are losing weight one kilogram by one kilogram' and 雁子排成人字, 三只三只飞 *yan4zi0 pai2 cheng2 ren2zi4, san1 zhi1 san1 zhi1 fei1* 'geese fly in formation, three by three.' Note that in this type of reduplication, the numeral carries crucial information and cannot be omitted or replaced. This type of reduplication applies to all classifiers' subclasses, except for approximation measure words.

7.3. Syntactic properties of classifiers

Three linguistic tests may be employed to establish two subcategories of classifiers. First, it has been observed that not all classifiers allow the [Num+CL+NP]/[Num+CL+DE+NP] alternation. Sortal classifiers, the most pro-totypical nominal classifier, do not tend to occur in this alternating construction; for example, 三只老虎 *san1 zhi1 lao3hu3* 'three tigers' and 那只狗 *na4 zhi1 gou3* 'that dog' are felicitous, but *三只的老虎 *san1 zhi1 de0 lao3hu3* 'three tigers' and *那只的狗 *na4 zhi1 de0 gou3* 'that dog' are not. However, 的 *de0* can occur following standard measure words and approximation measure words. For instance, for the standard measure word 秒 *miao3* it is possible to say either 三十秒广播广告 *san1shi2 miao3 guang3bo1 guang3gao4* or 三十秒的广播广告 *san1shi2 miao3 de0 guang3bo1 guang3gao4* 'a 30-second radio advertisement.' In addition, for the approximation measure word 线 *xian4* it is possible to say either 一线希望 *yi1xian4xi1wang4* or 一线的希望 *yi1xian4 de0 xi1wang4* 'some hope.' Note that sortal classifiers select a set of natural and inherent characteristics of the noun, while standard and approximation measure words refer to a set of conventionalized features which are independent of the head noun. This seems to be the main motivation for the difference in the distribution of 的 *de0*. It is interesting to note that the use of container measure words has a mixed nature: there is no selectional restriction between the container measure word and the noun as long as there is feasible real-world context, yet each container measure word also carries a set of natural and inherent characteristics itself. Hence, it is not surprising that container measure words allow 的 *de0* -insertion in some, but not all, contexts. For instance, 的 *de0* is commonly found to occur after container measure words in measured-out constructions, such as 每天最好能吃四到六碗的饭 *mei3tian1 zui4hao3 neng2 chi1 si4 dao4 liu4 wan3 de0 fan4* 'it is best to eat four to six bowls of rice each day.'

Second, sortal classifiers and container measure words allow limited modification by adjectives. The small set of adjectives allowed is highly dependent on the classifier, with the most common adjectives being the size adjectives 大 *da4* 'big,' as shown in [1a], and 小 *xiao3* 'small,' as shown in [1b]:

[1] a. 两大块饼干
      liang3 da4 kuai4 bing3gan1
      two big CL cookie
      'two big pieces of cookies'

   b. 两小包糖果
      liang3 xiao3 bao1 tang2guo3
      two small CL candy
      'two small bags of candies'

Yet to the extent that direct modification is allowed, the interpretations differ according to different subtypes of classifiers. In [1a], the direct modification of a sortal classifier is semantically equivalent to the direct modification of the head noun, as in 两块大饼干 *liang3 kuai4 da4 bing3gan1* 'two big pieces of cookie.' It is important to note that such direct modification of a sortal classifier is restricted to the salient property of the noun class selected by that particular classifier. Hence, it is possible to say 一大块 *yi1 da4 kuai4* 'a big piece,' 一长条 *yi1 chang2 tiao2* 'a long strip,' and 一薄片 *yi1 bao2 pian4* 'a thin slice' because these classifiers select the properties of a sizable chunk, a long thin strip, and a thin two-dimensional object, respectively.

Conceptually, however, the size/dimensional properties belong to the object referred to by the noun, not to the noun class. Similarly, container measure words, as in [1b], are bona fide nouns whose properties can be modified. In this case, direct modification refers to the container, not to the contained. Hence, the meaning of [1b], with direct modification of the container measure word, has a different meaning from 一包小糖果 *yi1 bao1 xiao3 tang2guo3* 'a bag of small candies' with direct modification of the noun. The reasons why event classifiers, kind classifiers, and standard measure words cannot be directly modified can be explained semantically. Standard measure words represent a fixed measurement, while kind classifiers and event classifiers refer to abstract properties.

Third, approximation measure words are restricted in the selection of numerals, allowing only the numeral 一 *yi1* 'one,' as shown in [2], while other subclasses of classifiers do not have such restrictions.

[2] 晴天一身汗, 雨天一身水
      qing2tian1 yi1 shen1 han4 yu3tian1 yi1 shen1
      fine_day one CL sweat rainy_day one CL
      shui3
      water
      'sweated all over under the sun, got splattered all over in the rain'

Table 7.1 Linguistic characteristics of classifier subcategories

		[Num+CL+NP]/ [Num+CL+DE+NP] alternation	Strict selection of numerals	Direct dimensional modification
Sortal classifiers	Individual classifiers	−	−	+ (Property of noun)
	Event classifiers	−	−	−
	Kind classifiers	−	−	−
Measure words	Container measure words	+	−	+ (Property of classifier/ container)
	Standard measure words	+	−	−
	Approximation measure words	+	−	−

Approximation measure words borrow a concrete locus in order to establish approximately the measure and/or extent of a mass noun or an abstract noun. As such, it does not provide a constant unit for enumeration and, hence, cannot co-occur with any numerals other than one. The linguistic tests of all classifier subcategories are given in Table 7.1.

7.4. Overview of classifier types

Sortal classifiers can be classified into three types based on their classificatory functions: individual classifiers, event classifiers, and kind classifiers. Similarly, measure words can be divided into three types based on their measuring functions: container measure words, approximation measure words, and standard measure words.

When the numeral one occurs before a sortal classifier or a measure word, it can refer to the quantity of one, or it could be an indeterminate reference. Similar to the ambiguity shown by bare nominals in Chinese (see discussion in Chapter 8, on nouns), the interpretation of "one-CL" is context dependent. The ambiguity may or may not be resolved by contextual information, as the concept of indeterminacy is not grammaticalized. All true classifiers and measure words can occur with a numeral other than one. The only exception is approximation measure words (which are also called pseudo-classifiers or temporary classifiers). As mentioned in section 7.3, this category of measure words typically co-occurs with the numeral one but not with other numerals or determiners.

An additional type of classifier often mentioned in the literature is 动**量**词 *dong4liang4ci2* 'activity classifier,' and its typical structure is [V–Num–CL]. A typical

example is 下 *xia4*, as in 打一下 *da3 yi1 xia4* 'hit one time.' Although they are known as activity classifiers, they are not bona fide classifiers, as they cannot be used to enumerate entities. Activity classifiers are discussed further in Chapter 4 on verbs.

7.4.1. Types of sortal classifiers

Individual classifiers, also known as general classifiers, classify both concrete objects, such as, 这棵树 *zhe4 ke1 shu4* 'this tree,' and abstract objects, such as 一个想法 *yi1 ge4 xiang3fa3* 'one thought.' They can also be used with grouped objects, such as 两双筷子 *liang3 shuang1 kuai4zi0* 'two pairs of chopsticks.' They usually precede the noun but may follow the noun, as in predicate use in 奇异果 两个 *qi2yi4guo3 liang3 ge4* 'two kiwifruit' (e.g., in a listing context, such as ordering or inventory) or in Classic Chinese.

Event classifiers enumerate the occurrences of an event, such as 会议 *hui4yi4* 'meeting.' They can be used with nouns denoting events, as in 十场比赛 *shi2 chang3 bi3sai4* 'ten competitions,' or with count nouns specific to the events coerced to refer to the event, as in 一班车 *yi1 ban1 che1* 'a scheduled run of public transportation.'

Kind classifiers enumerate types of objects, such as 十二种动物 *shi2er4 zhong3 dong4wu4* 'twelve kinds of animals,' but not individual objects.

7.4.2. Types of measure words

As mentioned in section 7.2, there are three types of measure words: container measure words, approximation measure words, and standard measure words. Container measure words are derived from a subset of container nouns. They specify quantity in terms of the number of containers that hold the objects, as in 一碗饭 *yi1 wan3 fan4* 'a bowl of rice.' It is important to note that container measure words co-occur with both COUNT and MASS nouns (e.g., 一碗花生 *yi1 wan3 hua1sheng1* 'a bowl of peanuts,' where 花生 *hua1sheng1* typically selects the individual classifier 颗 *ke1*, which classifies small round objects).

Approximation measure words refer to an approximate quantity and typically are preceded by the number one, as in 一身汗 *yi1 shen1 han4* 'body full of sweat' or 一份心意 *yi1 fen4 xin1yi4* 'a sign of appreciation.'

Standard measure words measure concrete objects in terms of a specific standard measurement for length, area, weight, volume, and time, as in 八百公尺 *ba1 bai3 gong1chi3* 'eight hundred meters,' 半公斤脂肪 *ban4 gong1jin1 zhi1fang2* 'half a kilogram of fat,' 400 公升汽油 *400 gong1sheng1 qi4you2* '400 liters of petrol,' and 三年 *san1 nian2* 'three years.'

In what follows, we will further demonstrate with examples the function and usage of each classifier type based on the frequency of their co-occurrence

with particular nouns in the corpus. In section 7.7, we will discuss polysemous classifiers that have different classifier senses. Lastly, in section 7.8, we will discuss how sortal classifiers can coerce different meanings from nouns.

7.5. Sortal classifiers

7.5.1. Individual classifiers

Individual classifiers are prototypically viewed as categorizing a semantically salient perceptual property of a noun that refers to something that can be individuated. The functions and usages of individual classifiers in this section are exemplified by our discussion of the corpus's most frequently used individual classifiers.

个 *ge4* is the most frequently used individual classifier. It is often referred to as the generic classifier or the default classifier, as it individuates without specifying the shared semantic properties of the class of individuals it classifies. 个 *ge4* is frequently used with human nouns, such as 两个小孩 *liang3 ge4 xiao3hai2* 'two children' and 三个朋友 *san1 ge4 peng2you3* 'three friends.' In addition, it can be used with a wide range of concrete count nouns, such as 三四个月 *san1 si4 ge4 yue4* 'three or four months,' 整个国家 *zheng3 ge4 guo2jia1* 'the whole country,' 一个房子 *yi1 ge4 fang2zi0* 'a house,' and 两个苹果 *liang3 ge4 ping2guo3* 'two apples,' and abstract count nouns, such as 一个想法 *yi1 ge4 xiang3fa3* 'a thought,' 两个现象 *liang3 ge4 xian4xiang4* 'two phenomena,' 五个层面 *wu3 ge4 ceng2mian4* 'five levels,' and 这个系统 *zhe4 ge4 xi4tong3* 'this system.' Oftentimes, these nouns also have other more specific classifiers they may occur with, as in 两颗苹果 *liang3 ke1 ping2guo3* 'two apples.' Various sociolinguistic factors will influence the speaker's choice between the generic and the specific classifier.

There are, however, restrictions on the use of 个 *ge4*. For example, 个 *ge4* does not co-occur with mass nouns, such as 水 *shui3* 'water' and 土 *tu3* 'soil.' It also does not co-occur with count nouns that have strong semantic links with specific classifiers, such as 线 *xian4* 'thread,' 纸 *zhi3* 'paper,' and 书 *shu1* 'books.' 个 *ge4* also has non-classifier uses in idiomatic expressions, as in 起个大早 *qi3 ge4 da4 zao3* 'got up early' and 笑个不停 *xiao4 ge4 bu4ting2* 'laugh without stopping.' Some apparent counter examples of 个 *ge4* co-occur with mass nouns, such as 喝个水 *he1 ge4 shui3* '(please allow me to) drink a bit of water,' involving an aspectual sense and not a classifying one.

The most frequent individual classifiers, other than the generic classifier 个 *ge4*, are two classifiers individuating human beings: 位 *wei4* and 名 *ming2*. 位 *wei4* is the second most frequently used individual classifier, classifying people when they are referred to with the associated meaning of their roles or occupations, as in 同学/学生 *tong2xue2/xue2sheng1* 'students,' 老师 *lao3shi1* 'teachers,' and 朋友

peng2you3 'friends.' It is also used when addressing a group of people, as in 各位女士 *ge4wei4 nü3shi4* 'ladies' and 各位先生 *ge4wei4 xian1sheng1* 'gentlemen,' when being polite, as when a restaurant host asks, 几位? *ji3wei4?* 'How many (in your party)?,' and when introducing one person to another, as in 我给你们介绍介绍。这位是从约旦来的萨先生。 *wo3 gei3 ni3men0 jie4shao4 jie4shao4. zhe4 wei4 shi4 cong2 yue1dan4 lai2 de0 sa4 xian1sheng1.* 'Let me introduce you. This is Mr. Sa from Jordan.' 位 *wei4* is often used when referring to people who are well respected in a particular sociolinguistic group, as in 八位教授 *ba1 wei4 jiao4shou4* 'eight professors' and 一位官员 *yi1 wei4 guan1yvan2* 'an official.' However, when the roles or occupations have a negative connotation, they collocate only with 名 *ming2*, not 位 *wei4*, which limits the usage of 位 *wei4*.

名 *ming2* is another frequently used individual classifier individuating people. It classifies people when they are referred to by their social role or occupation. However, unlike 位 *wei4*, it is not associated with the value of the job or occupation. Instead, it is used more generically, as in 一名男子 *yi1 ming2 nan2zi3* 'a man' and 该名女子 *gai1 ming2 nü3zi3* 'that woman.' When compared with the usage of 位 *wei4* above, 名 *ming2* is also preferred when referring to people who are less respected in a particular sociolinguistic group, for example, 歹徒 *dai3tu2* 'criminals' and 罪犯 *zui4fan4* 'criminals.' In addition, 名 *ming2* is used most frequently when ranking individuals, as in 第一名 *di4yi1ming2* 'first place' and 第二名 *di4er4ming2* 'second place,' although it functions as a nominal and not a classifier in this usage.

A second group of frequently used classifiers classifies objects according to their shape, as in 条 *tiao2*, 根 *gen1*, 片 *pian4*, 块 *kuai4*, 颗/粒 *ke2/li4*, and 滴 *di1*. 条 *tiao2* is the most frequently used individual classifier classifying the shape of an object. 条 *tiao2* categorizes a variety of nouns that may be seen as embodying, to a greater or lesser degree, the prototypical attributes of long, thin, cylindrical, and flexible. 条 *tiao2* classifies concrete nouns, such as 这条路/道路 *zhe4 tiao2 lu4/dao4lu4* 'this road,' 一条腿 *yi1 tiao2 tui3* 'a leg,' 两条船 *liang3 tiao2 chuan2* 'two boats,' 一条裙子 *yi1 tiao2 qun2zi0* 'a skirt,' 一条浴巾 *yi1 tiao2 yu4jin1* 'a bath towel,' and 整条项炼 *zheng3 tiao2 xiang4lian4* 'the whole necklace,' as well as abstract nouns that may be seen as metaphorical extensions of the above-mentioned concrete attributes, such as 第十条规定 *di4shi2 tiao2 gui1ding4* 'Article X,' 三十六条条文 *san1shi2liu4 tiao2 tiao2wen2* 'thirty-six clauses,' 该条规则 *gai1 tiao2 gui1ze2* 'that rule,' 十五条人命/命 *shi2wu3 tiao2 ren2ming4/ming4* 'fifteen lives,' 整条生产线 *zheng3 tiao2 sheng1chan3xian4* 'the whole production line,' and 这条新闻 *zhe4 tiao2 xin1wen2* 'this news.'

When quantifying a section of (legal) writing in an official document, 条 *tiao2* is at the highest level (i.e., a number) compared with 项 *xiang4* and 款 *kuan3*, as in 关税法第二十条第一项第六款 *guan1shui4fa3 di4er4shi2 tiao2 di4yi1 xiang4 di4liu4 kuan3* 'Custom Law Number 20 Section 1 Sub-section 6.' In addition, animals such as 鱼 *yu2* 'fish,' 金鱼 *jin1yu2* 'goldfish,' 狗 *gou3* 'dogs,' 猪 *zhu1* 'pigs,' 龙 *long2* 'dragons,' 蛇

she2 'snakes,' and 毛虫 *mao2chong2* 'caterpillars' co-occur with 条 *tiao2*. For clothing, tops and jackets are usually classified by 件 *jian4*, whereas pants and skirts are classified by 条 *tiao2*. In reference to the individual classifier 只 *zhi1* discussed later in this section, 条 *tiao2* can also classify boats.

根 *gen1* classifies long, thin, and cylindrical objects, such as hair, including 二十一根头发 *er4shi2yi1 gen1 tou2fa4* 'twenty-one hairs' and 十根胡须 *shi2 gen1 hu2xu1* 'ten beards.' It also individuates cylindrical objects, such as 三根旗杆 *san1 gen1 qi2gan1* 'three poles' and 一根圆柱 *yi1 gen1 yuan2zhu4* 'one cylinder,' and string-like objects made of taut and elastic materials, including 两根弦 *liang3 gen1 xian2* 'two strings (of a stringed instrument),' 一根铁丝 *yi1 gen1 tie3si1* 'one steel wire,' and 一根电线 *yi1 gen1 dian4xian4* 'one electric wire.'

The usages of 根 *gen1* and 条 *tiao2* are similar and, thus, are often interchangeable; for instance, 两根弦 *liang3 gen1 xian2* can be written as 两条弦 *liang3 tiao2 xian2* without any semantic difference. Both 根 *gen1* and 条 *tiao2* can be used to individuate objects with the prototypical attributes of long, thin, and cylindrical. In addition to these three attributes, 根 *gen1* has the attribute of being rigid, while 条 *tiao2* has the attribute of being flexible, so those objects with the attribute of winding flexibility usually prefer/select 条 *tiao2* instead of 根 *gen1*; thus, 一条马路 *yi1 tiao2 ma3lu4* 'a road' is the correct usage, not *一根马路 *yi1 gen1 ma3lu4*. Another distinction between 根 *gen1* and 条 *tiao2* is the abstractness of the nouns. Concrete nouns, such as 钢管 *gang1guan3* 'steel tube,' tend to collocate with 根 *gen1*, while abstract nouns, such as 线索 *xian4suo3* 'clue' and 人命 *ren2ming4* 'life,' tend to collocate with 条 *tiao2*. It is important to note that the very compact semantic content of a classifier means that it is possible for different salient semantic characteristics to play the role of different selectional preference of nouns. For instance, although the rigid versus flexible characteristic does not favor either *tiao2* or *gen1* for nouns such as 头发 *tou2fa4* 'hair' and 秧苗 *yang1miao2* 'young rice plant,' the fact that they are both rooted objects sets up the selectional preference of 根 *gen1* versus 条 *tiao2*, as 根 *gen1* also refers to roots.

张 *zhang1* is most frequently used to classify objects that are typically flat, two-dimensional, and horizontal, such as 一张专辑/唱片 *yi1 zhang1 zhuan1ji2* 'an album,' 一张照片/相片 *yi1 zhang1 zhao4pian4/xiang1pian4* 'a photo,' 几张牌 *ji3 zhang1 pai2* 'a few cards,' 三十张纸 *san1shi2 zhang1 zhi3* 'thirty pieces of paper,' 四张画 *si4 zhang1 hua4* 'four paintings,' 四十八张支票 *si4shi2ba1 zhang1 zhi1piao4* 'forty-eight checks,' 两张表 *liang3 zhang1 biao3* 'two forms,' 一张地图 *yi1 zhang1 di4tu2* 'a map,' 一张五百元礼券 *yi1 zhang1 wu3bai3 yuan2 li3quan4* 'a 500-dollar coupon,' and 一张收据 *yi1 zhang1 shou1ju4* 'a receipt.' It also classifies furniture that has a flat, rectangular, and two-dimensional main functional part, such as 一张双人床 *yi1 zhang1 shuang1ren2chuang2* 'a double bed,' 几张桌子 *ji3 hang1 zhuo1zi0* 'a few tables,' 这张椅子 *zhe4 zhang1 yi3zi0* 'this chair,' 一张方形的书桌 *yi1 zhang1*

fang1xing2 de0 shu1zhuo1 'a rectangular desk,' and 几张按摩椅 *ji3 zhang1 an4mo2yi3* 'a few massage chairs.' In addition, 张 *zhang1* classifies the face of a person, as well as facial expressions by extension, as in 整张脸 *zheng3 zhang1 lian3* 'the whole face,' 那张充满怒气的脸 *na4 zhang1 chong1man3 nu4qi4 de0 lian3* 'that face full of anger,' 一张自信的笑脸 *yi1 zhang1 zi4xin4 de0 xiao4lian3* 'a confident, smiling face,' and 一张臭脸 *yi1 zhang1 chou4 lian3* 'an unhappy face.' Lastly, it classifies nouns that can be opened wide, as in 那张嘴 *na4 zhang1 zui3* 'that mouth' and 这张鱼网 *zhe4 zhang1 yu2wang3* 'this fishing net.' These examples also underline the fact that classifiers represent a lexicalized convention, so gaps are to be expected. That is, the lexical convention predicts that all nouns which are selected by 张 *zhang1* will have at least one of the above characteristics, but it does not predict that all nouns that have the above characteristics will be selected by 张 *zhang1*.

片 *pian4* is used to classify objects that have the attributes of being flat and thin, such as 一片玻璃 *yi1 pian4 bo1li2* 'a glass,' 几片树叶 *ji3 pian1 shu4ye4* 'a few leaves,' 一片云 *yi1 pian4 yun2* 'a cloud,' 一片茶叶 *yi1 pian4 cha 2ye4* 'a tea leaf,' and 数十片光碟 *shu4shi2 pian1 guang1die2* 'dozens of discs.' In addition, 片 *pian4* functions as an approximation measure word. See section 7.6.2 for a discussion on this point.

块 *kuai4* classifies concrete nouns that are typically a solid block shape or in piece form, such as 一块大石头 *yi1 kuai4 da4 shi2tou0* 'a big rock,' 一块空地 *yi1 kuai4 kong4di4* 'a piece of open ground,' 那块璧玉 *na4 kuai4 bi4yu4* 'that piece of jade,' 这块布 *zhe4 kuai4 bu4* 'this piece of cloth,' 这块(肥)肉 *zhe4 kuai4 (fei2) rou4* 'this piece of (fat) meat,' and 十块金子 *shi2 kuai4 jin1zi0* 'ten pieces of gold.' In terms of frequency, 块 *kuai4* is most often used as a classifier in modern colloquial Mandarin to refer to monetary units, as in 一万多块钱 *yi1 wan4 duo1 kuai4 qian2* 'more than ten thousand dollars.' It is crucial to differentiate the use of a classifier for monetary units and nouns for actual monetary units. 块 *kuai4* can be used as a unit for enumerating any monetary system, such as 一百块{美金/人民币/泰币} *yi1 bai3 kuai4{mei3jin1/ren2min2bi4/tai4bi4}* 'one hundred US dollars/renminbi/Thai baht,' although different nouns must be used to refer to the actual monetary units, as in 一百美元/人民币/泰铢 *yi1 bai3 mei3yvan2/ren2min2bi4/tai4zhu1* 'one hundred US dollars/renminbi/Thai baht.' The origin of this monetary usage is probably from classifying silver dollars. 块 *kuai4* also classifies land, as in 空地 *kong4di4* 'open ground,' 净土 *jing4tu3* 'paradise,' 荒地 *huang1di4* 'wasteland,' and 园地 *yuan2di4* 'garden.'

Both 片 *pian4* and 块 *kuai4* serve a similar function, which is to classify concrete nouns in typical piece form, so 这块肉 *zhe4 kuai4 rou4* 'this piece of meat' and 那块乳酪 *na4 kuai4 ru3lao4* 'that piece of cheese' can be written as 这片肉 *zhe4 pian1 rou4* and 那片乳酪 *na4 pian1 ru3lao4*, respectively. However, the use of 片 *pian4* and 块 *kuai4* brings about slight differences in meaning. For example, 这块乳酪 *zhe4 kuai4 ru3lao4* 'this piece of cheese' emphasizes a more

three-dimensional-like state, while 那片乳酪 *na4 pian1 ru3lao4* 'this piece of cheese' implies that the piece is thin. In some cases, both 块 *kuai4* and 片 *pian4* can be used interchangeably without changing the semantic meaning, as in the case of 一块吐司 *yi1 kuai4 tu3si1* and 一片吐司 *yi1 pian4 tu3si1* 'a piece of toast.'

颗/粒 *ke1/li4* typically classifies small round objects and those that are nearly round. Thus, 弹珠 *dan4zhu1* 'marbles,' 钻石 *zuan4shi2* 'diamonds,' 糖 *tang2* 'candies,' 子弹 *zi3dan4* 'bullets,' and 星星 *xing1xing1* 'stars' tend to collocate with 颗 *ke1*. 颗/粒 *ke1/li4* also classifies star-/planet-like objects, such as 星球 *xing1qiu2* 'planets' and 人造卫星 *ren2zao4 wei4xing1* 'satellites.' A minor difference between 颗 *ke1* and 粒 *li4* arises from the size of the round object. For example, 粒 *li4* is limited only to small or tiny round objects, whereas with relatively large round objects, 颗 *ke1* is used instead, as in 一颗炮弹 *yi1 ke1 pao4dan4* 'a cannonball,' not ∗一粒炮弹 *yi1 li4 pao4dan4*. It also classifies the heart as an organ, as in 一颗心 *yi1 ke1 xin1* 'a heart,' as well as its metaphoric extensions, such as 赤子之心 *chi4zi3 zhi1 xin1* 'a pure heart of a newborn baby' and 善良的心 *shan4liang2 de xin1* 'a kind heart.'

滴 *di1* classifies a drop of liquid, such as 一滴水 *yi1 di1 shui3* 'a drop of water,' 一滴一滴的水珠 *yi1 di1 yi1 di1 de0 shui3zhu1* 'drops of water,' 几滴眼泪 *ji3 di1 yan3lei4* 'a few tear drops,' and 一滴血 *yi1 di1 xue4* 'a drop of blood.' 滴 *di1* and 点 *dian3* can be used to measure the volume of liquid and, thus, sometimes they are interchangeable without a change in semantic meaning, as in 一滴雨水 *yi1 di1 yv3shui3* and 一点雨水 *yi1 dian3 yu3shui3* 'a drop of rain.' However, the nouns that 点 *dian3* classifies are not limited only to liquid. 点 *dian3* can also classify round objects in other forms as long as they are perceived as the form of a speck, such as 一点火星 *yi1 dian3 huo3xing1* 'a spark' and 一点银星 *yi1 dian3 yin2xing1* 'a silver star.' Dripping liquid seldom collocates with 点 *dian3*; instead, it tends to collocate with 滴 *di1*. 滴 *di1* and 点 *dian3* can be used together to form an idiomatic phrase, as in 点点滴滴 *dian3dian3di1di1*, meaning the accumulation of small and tiny things together, or 一点一滴 *yi1dian3yi1di1*, meaning modifying the action to be completed slowly, bit by bit.

The third group of classifiers classifies different animal categories, such as 只 *zhi1*, 头 *tou2*, 条 *tiao2*, 尾 *wei3*, and 匹 *pi3*. 只 *zhi1* is the most frequently used individual classifier for animals, such as 一只猫 *yi1 zhi1 mao1* 'a cat,' 那只鸟 *na4 zhi1 niao3* 'that bird,' 两只老虎 *liang3 zhi1 lao3hu3* 'two tigers,' 五千多只流浪狗 *wu3 qian1 duo1 zhi1 liu2lang4gou3* 'more than five thousand stray dogs,' and 这只猪 *zhe4 zhi1 zhu1* 'this pig.' In addition to animals, 只 *zhi1* classifies pairs of the visible body parts of animals or humans, such as 这只右手 *zhe4 zhi1 you4shou3* 'this right hand,' 两只脚 *liang3 zhi1 jiao3* 'two legs,' and 一只眼睛 *yi1 zhi1 yan3jing1* 'an eye,' as well as objects that usually appear in pairs, such as 一只鞋/鞋子 *yi1 zhi1 xie2/xie2zi0* 'a shoe' and 一只袜/袜子 *yi1 zhi1 wa4/wa4zi0* 'a sock.' It can also be used to classify containers or utensils, as in 一只手表 *yi1 zhi1 shou3biao3* 'a watch,' 一只茶碗 *yi1 zhi1*

cha 2wan3 'a teacup,' and 一只玉镯 *yi1 zhi1 yu4zhuo2* 'a jade bracelet.' It is important to note that the usage of the classifier 只 *zhi1* corresponds to two classifiers 隻 *zhi1* and 只 *zhi1* in traditional Chinese. 隻 is the default form; while 只 is an alternative form which can be used in place of 隻 only when classifying containers and utensils.

只 *zhi1* is also frequently used to classify ships, for example, 二十只船 *er4shi2 zhi1 chuan2* 'twenty boats' and 一只白帆船 *yi1 zhi1 bai2 fan1chuan2* 'a white sailing boat.' In addition, 条 *tiao2* and 艘 *sou1* also classify ships. The difference lies in the discourse genre as well as the size of the ships. When the genre is written, 艘 *sou1* tends to be used more frequently, while 条 *tiao2* and 只 *zhi1* are more commonly used when the genre is spoken. Relatively small ships, such as 木船 *mu4chuan2* 'wooden boat' and 帆船 *fan1chuan2* 'sailing boat,' tend to collocate with the classifiers 只 *zhi1* and 条 *tiao2*, while ships bigger in size and scale, such as 缉私艇 *ji1si1ting3* 'coastguard cutter' and 兵舰 *bing1jian4* 'warship,' tend to collocate with 艘 *sou1*.

Other classifiers for animals include 头 *tou2*, 条 *tiao2*, 尾 *wei3*, and 匹 *pi3*. 头 *tou2* classifies big animals with four legs, for example, 一头大象 *yi1 tou2 da4xiang4* 'an elephant,' 34 头的小老虎 *34 tou2 de0 xiao3 lao3hu3* 'thirty-four little tigers,' 五头狮子 *wu3 tou2 shi1zi0* 'five lions,' and 一头怪兽 *yi1 tou2 guai4shou4* 'a monster.' 头 *tou2* usually classifies animals that are bigger in size; thus, expressions such as *一头猫 *yi1 tou2 mao1* 'a cat' and *一头老鼠 *yi1 tou2 lao3shu3* 'a mouse' do not occur in the corpus.

As mentioned earlier in this section, 条 *tiao2* classifies animals such as 鱼 *yu2* 'fish,' 金鱼 *jin1yu2* 'goldfish,' 狗 *gou3* 'dogs,' 猪 *zhu1* 'pigs,' 龙 *long2* 'dragons,' 蛇 *she2* 'snakes,' and 毛虫 *mao2chong2* 'caterpillars.'

尾 *wei3* classifies fish and shrimp, for example 四尾金鱼 *si4 wei3 jin1yu2* 'four goldfishes' and 几尾小虾 *ji3 wei3 xiao3 xia1* 'a few shrimps.' Both 条 *tiao2* and 尾 *wei3* can be used to classify fish, as in 一尾鱼 *yi1 wei3 yu2* and 一条鱼 *yi1 tiao2 yu2* 'a fish.' However, the use of 尾 *wei3* is restricted to written text only, while 条 *tiao2* can classify fish in both spoken and written language.

匹 *pi3* classifies only animals such as 马 *ma3* 'horses,' 骆驼 *luo4tuo2* 'camels,' 狼 *lang2* 'wolves,' and other similar types of animals. The usage of 匹 *pi3* for classifying animals is thus very limited. 匹 *pi3* used to classify 狼 *lang2* 'wolves' is a recent phenomenon. In addition to individuating certain animals, 匹 *pi3* is also used to classify a unit of power, such as 马力 *ma3li4* 'horsepower,' as it is derived from the usage of classifying horses. 匹 *pi3* also functions as a standard measure word, such as 一匹布 *yi1 pi3 bu4* 'a bolt of cloth.' See section 7.6.3 for a discussion on standard measure words.

The remaining list of individual classifiers highlights other commonly used individual classifiers.

把 *ba3* has three individual classifier usages. First, it classifies a thing with a handle or things that can be held in the hand, in particular, musical instruments and tools. For example, 剪刀 *jian3dao1* 'scissors,' 剑 *jian4* 'swords,' 手枪 *shou3qiang1* 'guns,' 雨伞 *yu3san3* 'umbrellas,' 小提琴 *xiao3ti2qin2* 'violins,' 笛子 *di2zi0* 'flutes,' and 椅子 *yi3zi0* 'chairs' are classified by 把 *ba3*. Second, it classifies fire, such as 三把野火 *san1 ba3 ye3huo3* 'three camp/wild fires.' Third, it classifies an abstract meaning of fire, as in 一把怒火 *yi1 ba3 nu4huo3* 'a rage'; however, only 一把 *yi1 ba3* is allowed to collocate with this abstract meaning of fire. In addition, 把 *ba3* classifies objects that can be grasped by the hand as a container measure word, for example, 大把钞票 *da4 ba3 chao1piao4* 'many bank notes,' 一把青菜 *yi1 ba3 qing1cai4* 'a bundle of vegetables,' and 一把泥土 *yi1 ba3 ni2tu3* 'a handful of mud.' 把 *ba3* can also be used as an approximation measure word and as a container measure word. See section 7.6 for an additional discussion on this topic.

The individual classifiers 张 *zhang1* and 把 *ba3* refer to the functional part of any artifact. It is also crucial to understand that they refer to the functional part of a word. Hence, 一张椅子 *yi1 zhang1 yi3zi0* 'one chair' refers to the functional flat part for sitting, while 一把刀 *yi1 ba3 dao1* 'one knife' refers to the handle that is essential to the control of functionality of that artifact.

项 *xiang4* categorizes abstract entities or events that can be divided into parts or sections, such as 这项计划 *zhe4 xiang4 ji4hua4* 'this project,' 各项议题 *ge4xiang4 yi4ti2* 'each topic,' 这项措施 *zhe4 xiang4 cuo4shi1* 'this measure,' 多项活动 *duo1 xiang4 huo2dong4* 'a number of activities,' 这项比赛 *zhe4 xiang4 bi3sai4* 'this competition,' and 该项调查 *gai1 xiang4 diao4cha2* 'that investigation.' 项 *xiang4* is also used to refer to a section of (legal) writing in an official document, as in 第一条第二项规定 *di4yi1 tiao2 di4er4 xiang4 gui1ding4* 'Number 1 Section 2 rule.' 项 *xiang4* is at the middle level (i.e., a number) concerning a section of legal writing compared with 条 *tiao2* and 款 *kuan3*, which are two other individual classifiers that also refer to sections of legal writing, as in 关税法第二十条第一项第六款 *guan1shui4fa3 di4er4shi2 tiao2 di4yi1 xiang4 di4liu4 kuan3* 'Customs Law Number 20 Section 1 Subsection 6.'

本 *ben3* classifies books or other bound volumes, such as 书 *shu1* 'books,' 小说 *xiao3shuo1* 'novels,' 诗集 *shi1ji2* '(collection of) poems,' 著作 *zhu4zuo4* 'writings,' 杂志 *za2zhi4* 'magazines,' 小册子 *xiao3ce4zi0* 'booklets,' 辞典 *ci2dian3* 'dictionaries,' 散文集 *san3wen2ji2* 'collections of prose,' 笔记 *bi3ji4* 'notebooks,' 护照 *hu4zhao4* 'passports,' 手册 *shou3ce4* 'handbooks,' 圣经 *sheng4jing1* 'Bible,' 漫画 *man4hua4* 'comics,' and 教科书 *jiao4ke1shu1* 'textbooks.' 本 *ben3*, 册 *ce4*, 部 *bu4*, and 套 *tao4* can all be used to classify books. 本 *ben3* is the most common and most popular classifier for books and bound volumes, such as 一本笔记 *yi1 ben3 bi3ji4* 'a notebook.' The usage of 册 *ce4* is both more literal and more classical. Nowadays, 册 *ce4* is used to indicate a particular book among an entire series, for example,

册 *shang4ce4* 'Volume One' and 下册 *xia4ce4* 'Volume Two.' 部 *bu4* classifies either a book or a series of books. Lastly, 套 *tao4* classifies a set of objects, including sets of books, as in 一套八本书 *yi1 tao4 ba1 ben3 shu1* 'a set of eight books.' 本 *ben3* and 册 *ce4* classify books only, while 部 *bu4* and 套 *tao4* classify other nouns as well. It should be noted that the same classifiers are used regardless of whether the noun refers to the physical object/bound volume or its informational content.

部 *bu4* has four major usages. First, 部 *bu4* classifies motor vehicles, such as 70 多部新车(子) *70 duo1 bu4 xin1 che1 (zi0)* 'around 70 new cars,' 五百部计程车 *wu3bai3 bu4 ji4cheng2che1* 'five hundred taxis,' 十余部汽车 *shi2yu2 bu4 qi4che1* 'more than ten cars,' 五部机车 *wu3 bu4 ji1che1* 'five motorbikes,' 两部轿车 *liang3 bu4 jiao4che1* 'two sedans,' 四部法拉利 *si4 bu4 fa3la1li4* 'four Ferraris,' and 十部休旅车 *shi2 bu4 xiu1lü3che2* 'ten sport utility vehicles.' 部 *bu4*, 台 *tai2*, and 辆 *liang4* can be used to classify cars, with 辆 *liang4* being used most frequently for this purpose. 部 *bu4* is used for bigger motor vehicles, whereas 台 *tai2* is used for smaller motor vehicles, such as 脚踏车 *jiao3ta4che1* 'bikes,' 推车 *tui1che1* 'wagons,' and 轮椅 *lun2yi3* 'wheelchairs.'

Second, 部 *bu4* classifies machines and other more complicated artifacts with many functioning components, such as 四部机器 *si4 bu4 ji1qi4* 'four machines,' 一部电脑 *yi1 bu4 dian4nao3* 'a computer,' 一部传真 *yi1 bu4 chuan2zhen1* 'a fax machine,' 一部电视 *yi1 bu4 dian4shi4* 'a TV,' 一部时间机器 *yi1 bu4 shi2jian1ji1qi4* 'a time machine,' and 一部录影机 *yi1 bu4 lu4ying3ji1* 'a video recorder.' Both 部 *bu4* and 台 *tai2* can be used to classify machines without a significant difference in meaning.

Third, 部 *bu4* classifies books, as in 一部最伟大的书 *yi1 bu4 zui4 wei3da4 de0 shu1* 'the greatest book,' 这部预言书 *zhe4 bu4 yu4yan2 shu1* 'this prophecy,' and 两部小说集 *liang3 bu4 xiao3shuo1ji2* 'two novel collections.' When 部 *bu4* is used to classify books, it can refer to a single book or to a set of books; the difference is determined only by context. 部 *bu4* also classifies a series of classic books that contains many volumes, as in 十部小说 *shi2 bu4 xiao3shuo1* 'ten novels,' 整部十三经 *zheng3 bu4 shi2san1jing1* 'the whole set of Thirteen Classics,' 一部旧式史书 *yi1 bu4 jiu4shi4 shi3shu1* 'a history book (printed or bound) in an old style,' and 一部茶经 *yi1 bu4 cha 2jing1* 'a book for tea.'

Fourth, 部 *bu4* classifies movies. For example, 电影/戏/影片 *dian4ying3/xi4/ying3pian4* 'films,' 纪录片 *ji4lu4pian1* 'documentaries,' 日剧 *ri4ju4* 'Japanese TV dramas,' 剧情片 *ju4qing2pian1* 'feature films,' and 短片 *duan3pian1* 'short films' can all co-occur with 部 *bu4*.

家 *jia1* classifies a family based on its original meaning, as in 一家人 *yi1 jia1 ren2* 'a family' and 三家美国人 *san1 jia1 mei3guo2ren2* 'three American families.' By extension, it can classify the houses families live in, such as 一家民宅 *yi1 jia1 min2zhai2* 'a residence.' In addition, it is frequently used with nouns referring to

institutions, such as 一家诊所 *yi1 jia1 zhen3suo3* 'a clinic.' It should be noted that 家 *jia1* and 户 *hu4* can be used interchangeably when referring to the home of a family.

When 家 *jia1* is used to refer to institutions, it often co-occurs with organizations and companies, such as 两家公司 *liang3 jia1 gong1si1* 'two companies,' 二十四家企业 *er4shi2si4 jia1 qi3ye4* 'twenty-four enterprises,' 几家美国银行 *ji3 jia1 mei3guo2 yin2hang2* 'a few American banks,' 这家啤酒屋 *zhe4 jia1 pi2jiu3wu1* 'this beer house,' and 100 家最佳航空公司 *100 jia1 zui4jia1 hang2kong1gong1si1* 'the 100 best airline companies.' It should be noted that both 家 *jia1* and 间 *jian1* can be used interchangeably, in most cases, when referring to organizations or companies. For example, 一家餐厅 *yi1 jia1 can1ting1* 'a restaurant' can also be written as 一间餐厅 *yi1 jian1 can1ting1*. 间 *jian1* is preferred, however, when referring to the physical building an organization occupies.

座 *zuo4* quantifies buildings, such as 六十四座小小的城堡 *liu4shi2si4 zuo4 xiao3xiao3 de0 cheng2bao3* 'sixty-four small castles,' 一座现代化的建筑物 *yi1 zuo4 xian4dai4hua4 de0 jian4zhu4wu4* 'a modernized building,' 三千两百座庙(宇) *san1qian1liang3bai3 zuo4 miao4 (yu3)* '3200 temples,' 三座金字塔 *san1 zuo4 jin1zi4ta3* 'three pyramids,' 多座新教堂 *duo1 zuo4 xin1 jiao4tang2* 'a few new chapels,' and 这座世界级的博物馆 *zhe4 zuo4 shi4jie4ji2de0 bo2wu4guan3* 'this world-class museum.' 座 *zuo4*, 栋 *dong4*, 幢 *chuang4*, and 间 *jian1* are all used to classify buildings, as in 一栋别墅 *yi1 dong4 bie2shu4* 'a villa,' 一幢房子 *yi1 zhuang4 fang2zi0* 'a building,' and 三间卧房 *san1 jian1 wo4fang2* 'three bedrooms.' However, they refer to different kinds of buildings. 座 *zuo4*, 栋 *dong4*, and 幢 *zhuang4* classify entire buildings or some bigger buildings, while 间 *jian1* typically co-occurs with smaller buildings or rooms inside the buildings.

In addition to buildings, *zuo4* classifies other constructions, such as 这座桥/桥梁/大桥 *zhe4 zuo4 qiao2/qiao2liang2/da4qiao2* 'this bridge.' 座 *zuo4* can also classify installed artifacts, such as 雕像 *diao1xiang4* 'statues,' 铜像 *tong2xiang4* 'bronze statues,' and 城市 *cheng2shi4* 'city.' Moreover, 座 *zuo4* classifies landforms with great mass, for example, 一座山/山头 *yi1 zuo4 shan1/shan1tou2* 'a mountain' and 一座岛/岛屿 *yi1 zuo4 dao3/ dao3yu3* 'an island.'

点 *dian3* classifies nouns that have the attribute of being viewed as a tiny drop or a spot, as in 几点黑斑 *ji3 dian3 hei1ban1* 'a few black dots,' 长空万点星 *chang2kong1 wan4 dian3 xing1* 'tens of thousands of stars in a clear sky,' and 一点火光 *yi1 dian3 huo3guang1* 'a little spark.' 点 *dian3* is also used to classify a variety of abstract nouns with the attributes of being listed out. Nouns such as 意见 *yi4jian4* 'opinions,' 原则 *yuan2ze2* 'principles,' 要求 *yao1qiu2* 'requests,' 理由 *li3you2* 'reasons,' and 结论 *jie2lun4* 'conclusions' all have the attribute of something that can be listed out; thus, they can collocate with the classifier 点 *dian3*. 点 *dian3* is also frequently used as an approximation measure word, as discussed in section 7.6.2. (See also the discussion on 滴 *di1* in the earlier part of this section.)

句 *ju4* is mostly used to classify sentences, such as 这句话 *zhe4 ju4 hua4* 'this sentence,' 那句名言 *na4 ju4 ming2yan2* 'that famous remark,' 几句诗 *ji3 ju4 shi1* 'a few lines of a poem,' 几句台词 *ji3ju4 tai2ci2* 'a few lines in a play,' 一句漂亮的口号 *yi1 ju4 piao4liang4 de0 kou3hao4* 'a beautiful slogan,' 一句英文 *yi1 ju4 ying1wen2* 'an English sentence,' 一句玩笑话 *yi1 ju4 wan2xiao4hua4* 'a joke,' 一句脏话 *yi1 ju4 zang1hua4* 'a dirty word,' 一句深刻的俚语 *yi1 ju4 shen1ke4 de0 li3yu3* 'a profound slang,' and 几句咒语 *ji3 ju4 zhou4yu3* 'a few magical spells.'

段 *duan4* classifies distance, as in 一段距离 *yi1 duan4 ju4li2* 'a distance' and 两段路 *liang3 duan4 lu4* 'two sections of road /journey.' It also classifies speech and words, such as 一段对话 *yi1 duan4 dui4hua4* 'a conversation' and 一段章节 *yi1 duan4 zhang1jie2* 'a section.' In addition, 段 *duan4* can also be used as an approximation measure word. See section 7.6.2 for further discussion on this topic.

The last group of frequent classifiers, 套 *tao4*, 分 *fen1*, and 件 *jian4*, deals with the parts of a whole that can be individuated. 套 *tao4* usually classifies a pack/set of artifacts and implies that the nouns refer to an artifact with conventionalized and enumerable parts, such as 整套书 *zheng3 tao4 shu1* 'a whole set of books,' 五十套电脑 *wu3shi2 tao4 dian4nao3* 'fifty sets of computers,' 这套仪器 *zhe4 tao4 yi2qi4* 'this set of apparatus,' 那套教材 *na4 tao4 jiao4cai2* 'that set of teaching materials,' 两套餐具 *liang3 tao4 can1ju4* 'two sets of cutlery,' 这套录音带 *zhe4 tao4 lu4yin1dai4* 'this set of audiotapes,' and 一套恭王府紫檀木家具 *yi1 tao4 gong1wang2fu3 zi3tan2mu4 jia1ju4* 'a set of Padauk furniture from Prince Gong Mansion.' 套 *tao4* also classifies a whole set of clothes that has a top half and a bottom half that is worn together, such as 球衣 *qiu2yi1* 'soccer uniforms,' 衣服 *yi1fu2* 'clothes,' 西装 *xi1zhuang1* 'suits,' and 礼服 *li3fu2* 'tuxedos.'

套 *tao4* also classifies procedures or combinations of methods or events, as in 一套系统/制度 *yi1 tao4 xi4tong3/zhi4du4* 'a system,' 这套理论 *zhe4 tao4 li3lun4* 'this theory,' 那套方法 *na4 tao4 fang1fa3* 'that way,' 一套公式 *yi1 tao4 gong1shi4* 'a formula,' 这套管理模式 *zhe4 tao4 guan3li3 mo2shi4* 'this management mode,' 一套完整的大学评鉴机制 *yi1 tao4 wan2zheng3 de0da4xue2 ping2jian4 ji1zhi4* 'a complete mechanism to evaluate the university,' 一套功夫 *yi1 tao4 gong1fu0* 'a system of martial arts,' and 一套都市计划 *yi1 tao4 du1shi4 ji4hua4* 'an urban plan.'

套 *tao4* and 组 *zu3* similarly classify entities that can be combined together. 套 *tao4* refers to the combination of non-living things in one set, such as 衣服 *yi1fu2* 'clothes' and 书 *shu1* 'books,' while 组 *zu3* typically refers to humans forming a team, as in 一组人马/人员 *yi1 zu3 ren2ma3/ren2yuan2* 'a group of people' and 一组同学 *yi1 zu3 tong2xue2* 'a group of students.' 组 *zu3*, however, can also classify a set of non-human entities when each member has a different function, such as 一组数字 *yi1 zu3 shu4zi4* 'a set of numbers' and 一组螺丝 *yi1 zu3 luo2si1* 'a set of screws.'

分 *fen1* classifies a part of the whole entity, for example, 十分把握 *ten2 fen1 ba3wo4* 'full confidence,' 一分的天才 *yi1 fen1 de0 tian1cai2* 'ten percent talent,' and 三分熟 *san1 fen4 shu2* 'rare (as in meat).' Originally, 一分 *yi1 fen1* stood for

one-tenth of the whole, but this numeric value often cannot be interpreted literally in its classifier use. Moreover, idioms containing 分 *fen1* can be conventionalized, and these conventional expressions collocate with fixed numerals and cannot be changed; for instance, 入木三分 *ru4 mu4 san1 fen1* 'penetrating.' It is impossible to substitute 三分 *san1 fen4* with 四分 *si4 fen1*, 二分 *er4 fen4*, and so on. 三分 *san1 fen4* can also be collocated with emotional verbs, as in 畏惧三分 *wei4ju4 san1 fen4* 'certain degree of fear.' See section 7.7 for an additional discussion on 分 *fen1*.

件 *jian4* is used extensively as an individual classifier to classify clothes, in particular tops and jackets, such as 毛衣 *mao2yi1* 'sweaters,' 大衣 *da4yi1* 'coats,' 外套 *wai4tao4* 'jackets,' 衬衫 *chen4shan1* 'shirts,' 背心 *bei4xin1* 'vests,' 皮衣 *pi2yi1* 'furs,' 泳衣 *yong3yi1* 'swimming suits,' and 球衣 *qiu2yi1* 'jerseys.' Moreover, 间 *jian4* is used to count utensils/instruments/tools, such as 数件作品 *shu4 jian4 zuo4pin3* 'a few pieces,' 一件艺术品 *yi1 jian4 yi4shu4pin3* 'a work of art,' 百余件玉器 *bai3 yu2 jian4 yu4qi4* 'more than a hundred pieces of jade,' 这件物品 *zhe4 jian4 wu4pin3* 'this piece,' 一件雕塑品 *yi1 jian4 diao1su4pin3* 'a sculpture,' and 五十余件乐器 *wu3shi2 yu2 jian4 yue4qi4* 'more than fifty musical instruments.' When 件 *jian4* is used to classify utensils/instruments/tools, it refers to a broad category, not to a specific category. Thus, 件 *jian4* co-occurs with 乐器 *yue4qi4* 'musical instruments' and 作品 *zuo4pin3* 'pieces' instead of 笛子 *di2zi0* 'flute' or 画 *hua4* 'painting.'

7.5.2. Event classifiers

Event classifiers individuate events and, as a type of sortal classifier, categorize events according to their salient eventive properties. They can classify event nouns, such as 本次比赛 *ben3 ci4 bi3sai4* 'this competition,' 该件火车对撞意外 *gai1 jian4 huo3che1 dui4zhuang4 yi4wai4* 'that train crash accident,' and 两场演讲 *liang3 chang3 yan3jiang3* 'two talks.' They can also coerce event readings from concrete count nouns specific to a particular event and classify that event, such as in 好多通电话 *hao3duo1 tong1 dian4hua4* 'many telephone calls,' 这班列车 *zhe4 ban1 lie4che1* 'this scheduled train,' and 一餐/顿晚餐 *yi1 can1/dun4 wan3can1* 'a dinner.' Event classifiers can individuate event instances (i.e., tokens), event types, or event stages.

Event classifiers which individuate event instances provide units for enumerating incidents of the same event types. They include 次 *ci4*, 场 *chang3*, 通 *tong1*, 回 *hui2*, and 顿 *dun4*. A special subtype of event instance classifiers is that which individuates scheduled events, such as 届 *jie4*, 期 *qi1*, and 班 *ban1*. This subset of scheduled event classifiers has the unique property of being able to enumerate unrealized events, such as 三班没开出的火车 *san1 ban1 mei2 kai1chu1 de0 huo3che1* 'three scheduled trains which failed to depart' and 两期没缴的房贷 *liang3 qi1 mei2 jiao3 de0 fang2dai4* 'two unpaid mortgage installments.'

次 *ci4* is the most frequent and most typical event instance classifier. It counts the occurrences of an action and can thus be used as an activity classifier (see

discussion in Chapter 4, on verbs). For event classifier usage, 次 *ci4* is used to classify events, such as 本次院士会议 *ben3 ci4 yuan4shi4 hui4yi4* 'this academician meeting,' 此次活动 *ci3 ci4 huo2dong4* 'this activity,' 这次空难事件 *zhe4 ci4 kong1nan4 shi4jian4* 'this air crash,' 这次地震 *zhe4 ci4 di4zhen4* 'this earthquake,' 一次干净的比赛 *yi1 ci4 gan1jing4 de0 bi3sai4* 'a competition without corruption,' and 无数次考试 *wu2shu4 ci4 kao3shi4* 'innumerable examinations.' 次 *ci4* can also be used to enumerate events expressed by deverbal nouns (i.e., nouns derived from verbs), as in 比赛 *bi3sai4* 'competitions,' 考试 *kao3shi4* 'examinations,' 演出 *yan3chu1* 'performances,' 调查 *diao4cha2* 'investigations,' and 展览 *zhan3lan3* 'exhibitions.' 次 *ci4* cannot directly classify monosyllabic event nouns, such as 事 *shi4* 'event.' However, it can be used when such nouns occur as a separate part of a Verb–Object, such as 开了二次会 *kai1 le er4 ci4 hui4* 'held two meetings.' It can be argued that this is a structural variation of the activity classifier use of 开会二次 *kai1 hui4 er4 ci4* 'held two meetings,' as mentioned in section 7.4. These types of nouns can only collocate with 件 *jian4*, 桩 *zhuang1*, or 回 *hui2*, as in 一件/桩/回事 *yi1jian4/zhuang1/hui2shi4* 'one event,' for an event.

场 *chang3* is another event instance classifier. 场 *chang3* counts performance or competition events, as in 十场比赛 *shi2 chang3 bi3sai4* 'ten competitions,' 二十多场的文学演讲 *er4shi2 duo1 chang3 de0 wen2xue2yan3jiang3* 'more than twenty literature talks,' 六十六场演出 *liu4shi2liu4 chang3 yan3chu1* 'sixty-six performances,' 这场音乐会 *zhe4 chang3 yin1yue4hui4* 'this concert,' and 两场球赛 *liang3 chang3 qiu2sai4* 'two ball games.' 场 *chang3* also classifies hazardous events, including natural disasters and man-made accidents, as in 一场大雨 *yi1 chang3 da4yu3* 'a rainstorm,' 这场战争 *zhe4 chang3 zhan4zheng1* 'this war,' 一场极其恐怖的灾难 *yi1 chang3 ji2qi2 kong3bu4 de0 zai1nan4* 'an extremely terrifying disaster,' 那场车祸 *na4 chang3 che1huo4* 'that car accident,' 那场可能发生的金融风暴 *na4 chang3 ke3neng2 fa1sheng1 de0 jin1rong2 feng1bao4* 'that potential financial tsunami,' and 一场浩劫 *yi1 chang3 hao4jie2* 'a disaster.' 场 *chang3* can also be used as an activity classifier measuring actions. It emphasizes the complete cycle of an event, as in 一场噩梦 *yi1 chang3 e4meng4* 'a nightmare' and 一场骗局 *yi1 chang3 pian4ju2* 'a fraud,' and is very often used with nominal relational predicates, such as 朋友一场 *peng2you3 yi1 chang3* 'friend' (see discussion in Chapter 4, on verbs).

通 *tong1* and 顿 *dun4* are highly specified event instance classifiers. 通 *tong1* individuates phone calls, as in 两通电话 *liang3 tong1 dian4hua4* 'two phone calls,' 多通电话 *duo1 tong1 dian4hua4* 'many calls,' and 十多通恐吓电话 *shi2 duo1 tong1 kong3he4 dian4hua4* 'more than ten threatening phone calls.' 顿 *dun4* individuates meals, for example 一顿饭 *yi1 dun4 fan4* 'a meal,' 吃了一顿中国菜 *chi1 le0 yi1 dun4 zhong1guo2 cai4* 'have a Chinese-style meal,' and 一顿好吃的午餐 *yi1 dun4 hao4chi1 de0 wu3can1* 'have a delicious lunch.'

As mentioned, 届 *jie4* and 期 *qi1* are both scheduled event classifiers, while 班 *ban1* is used specifically for scheduled transportation events. 届 *jie4* refers to

events which occur at regular intervals, while 期 *qi1* refers to events which occupy regular durations.

届 *jie4* classifies events that are held on a regular basis, for example, competitions, meetings, and elections, as in 三届世界杯 *san1 jie4 shi4jie4bei1* 'three World Cups,' 第十一届亚运 *di4shi2yi1 jie4 ya4yun4* '11th Asian Games,' 本届比赛 *ben3 jie4 bi3sai4* 'this year's competition,' 第六届世界游泳锦标赛锦标赛 *di4liu4 jie4 shi4jie4 you2yong3 jin3biao1sai4* '6th FINA World Swimming Championships,' 第 73 届奥斯卡 *di4qi1shi2san1 jie4 ao4si1ka3* '73rd Oscars,' 下届总统大选 *xia4 jie4 zong3tong3 da4xuan3* 'the next presidential election,' 第五届立法院 *di4wu3 jie4 li4fa3yuan4* '5th Legislative Yuan (of the Republic of China),' and 本届议会 *ben3 jie4 yi4hui4* 'this parliament.'

届 *jie4* also classifies titles and posts determined by regularly held events, such as 三届世界杯冠军 *san1 jie4 shi4jie4bei1 guan4jun1* 'three World Cup Championships' and 第六届学生会会长 *di4liu4 jie4 xue2sheng1hui4 hui4zhang3* 'the 6th President of the Student Union.' Both 届 *jie4* and 任 *ren4* can refer to the title and post of events. 任 *ren4*, however, is restricted to a title/duty with fixed terms.

期 *qi1* classifies events that involve stages of completion. Construction projects and plans typically collocate with 期 *qi1*, as in 第一、二期建设工程 *di4yi1, er4 qi1 jian4she4 gong1cheng2* 'the first and second phases of the construction project,' 第二期五年计划 *di4er4 qi1 wu3 nian2 ji4hua4* 'the second 5-year plan,' 第三期扩建计划 *di4san1 qi1 kuo4jian4 ji4hua4* 'the third extension plan,' and 一期废水处理工程 *yi1 qi1 fei4shui3 chu4li3 gong1cheng2* 'a construction project for sewage/wastewater treatment.' 期 *qi1* also classifies the issue number of magazines/publications/lottery when used as an individual classifier.

Event type classifiers, such as 件 *jian4*, 桩 *zhuang1*, and 起 *qi3*, put events of the same type together to enumerate them. The events enumerated are of the same type but are not repetitions of the same event. It is important to note that the choice of event type or token classifiers is often dependent on the speaker's perspective. 三起车祸 *san1 qi3 che1huo4* 'three traffic accidents' refers to three independent events, while the use of the event token classifier 三次车祸 *san1 ci4 che1huo4* 'three traffic accidents' implies that the three occurrences are related, such as by the same car/driver or at the same intersection.

件 *jian4* classifies less specialized nouns, such as 一件事 *yi1 jian4 shi4/shi4qing2* 'an event,' 一件大事 *yi1 jian4 da4shi4* 'a big issue,' 一件好事 *yi1 jian4 hao3shi4* 'a good thing,' 两件案子 *liang3 jian4 an4zi0* 'two cases,' 每件申请案 *mei3 jian4 shen1qing3an4* 'each application,' 八百多件个案 *ba1bai3 duo1 jian4 ge4an4* 'more than eight hundred cases,' 这件谋杀案 *zhe4 jian4 mou2sha1an4* 'this murder,' 多件绑票案 *duo1 jian4 bang3piao4an4* 'many kidnappings,' and 十多件病例 *shi2 duo1 jian4 bing4li4* 'more than ten cases of this sickness.'

件 *jian4*, 桩 *zhuang1*, and 起 *qi3* can all be used to classify monosyllabic event nouns, with 件 *jian4* being the most common classifier. 起 *qi3* usually classifies crimes and accidents, such as 两起自杀案 *liang3 qi3 zi4sha1 an4* 'two suicide cases.' For other usages measuring events, 件 *jian3* and 桩 *zhuang1* can be used interchangeably, such as 一件/桩喜事 *yi1 jian4/zhuang1 xi3shi4* 'a joyous occasion.'

Lastly, event stage classifiers individuate the natural segments or stages within an event. They include 步 *bu4*, 段 *duan4*, and 期 *qi1*. 步 *bu4* individuates by stages of a process, while 段 *duan4* typically individuates by duration. 期 *qi1*, as discussed above, is polysemous between the scheduled incident reading and a durational segment reading.

段 *duan4*, in addition to its individual classifier usage, is also frequently used as an event classifier to classify a period of time, as in 这段时间 *zhe4 duan4 shi2jian1* 'this period of time,' 一段缓冲时间 *yi1 duan4 huan3chong1shi2jian1* 'a buffer time,' 这段期间 *zhe4 duan4 qi1jian1* 'this period,' 此段过渡时期 *ci3 duan4 guo4du4shi2qi1* 'this transition period,' 那段快乐的日子 *na4 duan4 kuai4le4 de0 ri4zi0* 'that happy time,' 一段繁华岁月 *yi1 duan4 fan2hua2 sui4yue4* 'a prosperous time,' 一段相当漫长的历史 *yi1 duan4 xiang1dang1man4chang2 de0 li4shi3* 'a very long history,' and 这段美好的时光 *zhe4 duan4 mei3hao3 de0 shi2guang1* 'a wonderful time.' 段 *duan4* also classifies a complete episode of an event, as in 两段爱情 *liang3 duan4 ai4qing2* 'two love relationships,' 一段重要的过程 *yi1 duan4 zhong4yao4 de0 guo4cheng2* 'a very important process,' 每段感情 *mei3 duan4 gan3qing2* 'each relationship,' and 这段婚外情 *zhe4 duan4 hun1wai4qing2* 'this extramarital affair.'

步 *bu4* refers to the steps in an event, as in 下一步工作 *xia4 yi1 bu4 gong1zuo4* 'the next step' and 采取第一步行动 *cai3qu3 di4yi1 bu4 xing2dong4* 'take the first step of action.' 步 *bu4* is used together with ordinal numbers and demonstratives, but not with cardinal numbers. Based on the nature of the type of event it classifies, a part of a procedure can be identified only sequentially; that is, even if the same activity is repeated, it will be repeated in sequential steps, not by the same step repeating itself.

7.5.3. Kind classifiers

More than a dozen kind classifiers are used to enumerate kinds of objects. Kind classifiers are the least restrictive in selecting their collocating nouns. They classify types of objects rather than the objects themselves, unlike individual classifiers. For example, 三种蝴蝶 *san1 zhong3 hu2die2* 'three types of butterflies' differs from 三只蝴蝶 *san1 zhi1 hu2die2* 'three butterflies' in that the former points out that there are three types of butterflies but does not specify how many butterflies there are of these three types, whereas the latter emphasizes the existence of three individual butterflies, regardless of their types.

种 *zhong3* is the most frequent kind classifier. It does not pose any restriction on the noun it selects. Concrete nouns, such as 人 *ren2* 'human beings,' 动物 *dong4wu4* 'animals,' 药/药物 *yao4/yao4wu4* 'medicine,' 工具 *gong1ju4* 'tools,' and 植物 *zhi2wu4* 'plants,' and abstract nouns, such as 情况/情形 *qing2kuang4/qing2xing2* 'situations,' 方式/方法 *fang1shi4/fang1fa3* 'ways,' 程度 *cheng2du4* 'degrees,' and 说法 *shuo1fa3* 'the ways of speaking,' can all collocate with 种 *zhong3*. It has been observed that 种 *zhong3* tends to co-occur with abstract nouns more often than with concrete nouns. When 种 *zhong3* is used with abstract nouns, it functions similarly to the individual classifier 个 *ge4* without any significant difference in meaning; thus, 一种情况 *yi1 zhong3 qing2kuang4* and 一个情况 *yi1 ge4 qing2kuang4* 'a situation' can often be used interchangeably. This is because the abstract concept of individuality often involves categorizing the nouns into general types. Hence, for these nouns, individual classifiers overlap their functions with general classifiers.

类 *lei4* ranks as the second most frequent kind classifier in the corpus. Similar to 种 *zhong3*, 类 *lei4* implies a sorting process, with similar objects being sorted together, as in 同类的问题 *tong2lei4 de0 wen4ti2* 'the same type of question,' 各类案件 *ge4 lei4 an4jian4* 'different types of cases,' 这一类病人 *zhe4 yi1 lei4 bing4ren2* 'this type of patient,' 各类亲子教育的书籍 *ge4 lei4 qin1 zi3 jiao4yu4 de0 shu1ji2* 'all types of parenting books,' and 这类电影的题材新颖 *zhe4 lei4 dian4ying3 de0 ti2cai2 xin1ying3* 'this kind of movie has a novel theme and content.' 类 *lei4* and 种 *zhong3* serve a similar function, which is to quantify the types of objects; thus, they can be used interchangeably without changing the semantic meaning, as in 这类案件 *zhe4 lei4 an4jian4* and 这种案件 *zhe4zhong3an4jian4* 'this type of case.'

样 *yang4* is rated the third most frequent kind classifier in the corpus. As a kind classifier, 样 *yang4* classifies the implied similarity in appearance or function of objects, as in 四样菜 *si4 yang4 cai4* 'four dishes,' 两样心情 *liang3 yang4 xin1qing2* 'two moods,' 每样商品 *mei3 yang4 shang1pin3* 'each commodity,' 各样的角色 *ge4 yang4 de0 jue2se4* 'all kinds of characters,' 两样乐器 *liang3 yang4 yue4qi4* 'two types of musical instruments,' and 不但养着百样人，竟还养着百样花 *bu4dan4 yang3 zhe0 bai3 yang4 ren2, jing4 hai2 yang3 zhe0 bai3 yang4 hua1* 'not only different types of people are raised, different types of flowers are planted.'

号 *hao4* is the fourth most frequent kind classifier and it classifies categories of human beings, as in 这号人物 *zhe4 hao4 ren2wu4* 'this character,' which refers to an unspecified characteristic that puts this person in a different category. 号 *hao4* can also be the number assigned to a noun for sorting purposes, as in 118 号公路 *118 hao4 gong1lu4* 'Highway No. 118,' 第一号奏鸣曲 *di4yi1 hao4 zou4ming2qu3* 'Sonata No. 1,' 第 218 号法案 *di4 218 hao4 fa3an4* 'Bill No. 218,' 第四号台风 *di4si4 hao4 tai2feng1* 'Typhoon No. 4,' and 十一号太空船 *shi2yi1 hao4 tai4kong1chuan2* 'Spaceship No. 11.' This noun usage in a numbering system serves as a unique identifier but it is not a type of kind classifier.

款 *kuan3* is the fifth most frequent kind classifier in the corpus. As a kind classifier, 款 *kuan3* is used to classify categories of manufactured products. Clothes, cars, and electronic products can all be classified by 款 *kuan3*, as in 这款游戏 *zhe4 kuan3 you2xi4* 'this game,' 这款产品 *zhe4 kuan3 chan3pin3* 'this product,' 这款机种 *zhe4 kuan3 ji1zhong3* 'this airplane model,' 四十一款车款 *si4shi2yi1 kuan3 che1 kuan3* '41 styles of cars,' 这款童装 *zhe4 kuan3 tong2zhuang1* 'this children's outfit,' 一款的礼服设计 *yi1 kuan3 de0 li3fu2 she4ji4* 'a tuxedo design,' 这款手机 *zhe4 kuan3 shou3ji1* 'this mobile phone,' and 一款小型休旅车 *yi1 kuan3 xiao3xing2 xiu1lü3che1* 'a small sport utility vehicle.'

式 *shi4* is the sixth most frequent kind classifier in the corpus. 式 *shi4* classifies the type of style or pattern of an abstract or concrete object. Concrete nouns, such as 家具 *jia1ju4* 'furniture,' 建筑物 *jian4zhu4wu4* 'architecture,' 赠品 *zeng4pin3* 'gifts,' 画具 *hua4ju4* 'drawing utensils,' and 游乐场 *you2le4chang3* 'playground,' and abstract nouns, such as 口味 *kou3wei4* 'flavor,' 弹药 *dan4yao4* 'ammunition,' and 美食佳肴 *mei3shi2jia1yao2* 'delicacies,' all co-occur with 式 *shi4*. For the left-hand collocation, 式 *shi4* collocates only with 各 *ge4* 'every.' It cannot co-occur with different numerals or demonstratives, such as 这 *zhe4* 'this' and 那 *na4* 'that.'

The remaining eight kind classifiers are 派 *pai4*, 码 *ma3*, 档 *dang4*, 色 *se4*, 般 *ban1*, 等 *deng3*, 档子 *dang4 zi0*, and 码子 *ma3 zi0*.

7.6. Measure words

7.6.1. Container measure words

Container measure words are derived from container nouns. They do not specify the quantity of objects directly; instead, they do so indirectly in terms of the container that contains the object, as in 一篮水果 *yi1 lan2 shui3guo3* 'a basket of fruit,' 一盒蛋糕 *yi1 he2 dan4gao1* 'a box of cake,' and 四百多箱旧玩具 *si4bai3 duo1 xiang1 jiu4 wan2ju4* 'more than four hundred boxes of old toys.' There are many container nouns but not all of them can serve as container measure words. More than thirty container measure words are attested in the Sinica Corpus and the top ten container measure words are listed in Table 7.2.

7.6.2. Approximation measure words

Approximation measure words refer to an approximate quantity, for example 有些问题 *you3xie1 wen4ti2* 'some questions,' 一点颜色 *yi1 dian3 yan2se4* 'certain/some color,' and 一线希望 *yi1 xian4 xi1wang4* 'some hope.' A characteristic of approximation measure words is that they cannot be preceded by numerals other than 一 *yi1* 'one,' 这 (一) *zhe4 (yi1)* 'this,' and 那 (一) *na4 (yi1)* 'that.' Therefore, uses such as *两些问题 *liang3 xie1 wen4ti2* 'two questions,' *三点颜色 *san1 dian3 yan2se4* 'three colors,' and *五线希望 *wu3 xian4 xi1wang4* 'five hopes' are not found in the corpus.

Table 7.2 List of top ten container measure words

口	*Kou3*	Mouth
杯	*Bei1*	Cup
瓶	*Ping2*	Bottle
碗	*Wan3*	Bowl
包	*Bao1*	Bag
盘	*Pan2*	Plate
箱	*Xiang1*	Box
盆	*Pen2*	Basin
罐	*Guan4*	Can
桶	*Tong3*	Bucket

Since the "approximate quantity" is determined by the lexical meaning of the measure word, the quantity that approximation measure words convey varies. For example, 串 *chuan4* indicates 'a sequence of,' as in 一大串问题 *yi1 da4 chuan4 wen4ti2* 'a long string of questions,' 股 *gu3* indicates 'a surge,' as in 一股欲望 *yi1 gu3 yu4wang* 4 'a surge of desire,' 堆 *dui1* indicates 'a bunch,' as in 一堆想法 *yi1 dui1 xiang3fa3* 'a bunch of ideas,' and 头 *tou2* indicates 'a head,' as in 一头白发 *yi1 tou2 bai2fa4* 'a head of white hair.'

Not all approximation measure words express a large quantity. For instance, 丝 *si1* and 缕 *lü3*, meaning 'a thread,' as in 一丝笑意 *yi1 si1 xiao4yi4* 'a thread of a smile' and 一缕轻烟 *yi1 lü3 qing1yan1* 'a thread of smoke,' together with 抹 *mo3*, which refers to "a slight touch," as in 一抹幽香 *yi1 mo3 you1xiang1* 'a touch of faint fragrance,' all express a scant quantity. Furthermore, the quantity expressed by some approximation measure words is metaphorical, as in 一手好字 *yi1 shou3 hao4 zi4* 'good writing skills,' 一幅宁静悠远的村景 *yi1 fu2 ning2jing4 you1yuan3 de0 cun1 jing3* 'a fantastic scene of the quiet village,' and 一派学者风范 *yi1 pai4 xue2zhe3 feng1fan4* 'scholar-like behaviors.' Common approximation measure words found in the Sinica Corpus are identified in Table 7.3.

In addition to the above, the classifier 片 *pian4* is also capable of approximation measure word usage. When 片 *pian4* is used to describe the continuum of a landform, such as 这片土地 *zhe4pian4tu3di4* 'this land,' 一片茂盛的树林 *yi1 pian4 mao4sheng4 de0 shu4lin2* 'a luxuriant forest,' 一片儿时生长的大地 *yi1 pian4 er2shi2 sheng1zhang3 de0 da4di4* 'a land that I grew up in from my childhood,' 这片汪洋 *zhe4 pian4 wang1yang2* 'this large ocean,' 那片荒野 *na4 pian4 huang1ye3* 'the wilds,' 一片沙漠 *yi1 pian4 sha1mo4* 'a desert,' 一片绿洲 *yi1 pian4 lü4zhou1* 'an oasis,' and 一片甘蔗园 *yi1 pian4 gan1zhe4 yuan2* 'a sugar cane field,' it is being used as an approximation measure word to measure conceptual meaning.

Table 7.3 List of top ten approximation measure words

股	*Gu3*	Water stream-like
幅	*Fu2*	Picture-like
点	*Dian3*	Spot/bit-like
堆	*Dui1*	Pile-like
丝	*Si1*	Thread-like
些	*Xie1*	Some
派	*Pai4*	An air of
线	*Xian4*	String-like
串	*Chuan4*	String
抹	*Mo3*	Covered by a wipe of the hand

As in the principle of approximation measure words stated above, 片 *pian4* can be preceded only by 一 *yi1* 'one,' 这(一) *zhi4 (yi1)* 'this,' and 那(一) *na4 (yi1)* 'that.' Therefore, uses such as *两片沙漠 liang3pian4sha1mo4* 'two deserts' and *数片茂盛的树林 shu4pian4mao4sheng4 de0 shu4lin2* 'many luxuriant forests' are not found in the corpus. In a few exceptional cases, 片 *pian4* can be preceded by numerals other than 一 *yi1* 'one,' 这(一) *zhe4 (yi1)* 'this,' and 那(一) *na4 (yi1)* 'that' to highlight the fact that the landform can be counted piece by piece, as in 三片沙滩 *san1pian4sha1tan1* 'three sandy beaches.' 片 *pian4* is also used to describe light or color that is evenly distributed, such as 一片黑暗/漆黑 *yi1 pian4 hei1an4/qi1hei1* 'the darkness,' 一片阳光 *yi1 pian4 yang2guang1* 'a ray of sunlight,' 一片阴影 *yi1 pian4 yin1ying3* 'a shadow,' 一片绿色 *yi1 pian4 lü4se4* 'a field of green,' and 一片黄色 *yi1 pian4 huang2se4* 'a field of yellow.' It is also used to measure the scenery, for example, 一片晓色 *yi1 pian4 xiao3se4* 'a scene in the early morning,' 一片荒芜 *yi1 pian4 huang1wu2* 'a scene of desolation,' 一片好风光 *yi1 pian4 hao4 feng1guang1* 'a good scenery,' 一片浓郁的田园风光 *yi1 pian4 nong2yu4 de0 tian2yuan2 feng1guang1* 'a rich scenery of farmlands,' and 一片混乱 *yi1 pian4 hun4luan4* 'a scene of chaos.'

片 *pian4* categorizes the atmosphere in a particular environment, such as 一片死寂 *yi1 pian4 si3ji4* 'total silence,' 一片祥和 *yi1 pian4 xiang2he2* 'a harmonious atmosphere,' 一片宁静 *yi1 pian4 ning2jing4* 'total quietness,' 一片温馨 *yi1 pian4 wen1xin1* 'a warm atmosphere,' and 一片欢乐 *yi1 pian4 huan1le4* 'a joyful and happy moment.' Both 片 *pian4* and 团 *tuan2* can be used to describe the atmosphere, as in 一片欢乐 *yi1 pian4 huan1le4* and 一团欢乐 *yi1 tuan2 huan1le4* 'a joyful and happy moment.' 片 *pian4* and 团 *tuan2* can also function as activity classifiers to further illustrate the scenery created by the verbs, which is discussed further in Chapter 4, on verbs.

片 *pian4* classifies the kind and gentle feelings for people or appreciation of these feelings. Feelings such as 爱心 *ai4xin1* 'caring,' 痴心 *chi1xin1* 'infatuation,' and 好

心意 *hao3xin1yi4* 'good feelings' thus co-occur with 片 *pian4*. Besides 片 *pian4*, 番 *fan1* can also be used to describe kind and gentle feelings, as in 这番心意 *zhe4 fan1 xin1yi4* 'these feelings.' While 片 *pian4* and 番 *fan1* are used to categorize kind and gentle feelings for people, only 片 *pian4* can be used to describe the appreciation of these feelings. Therefore, it is acceptable to say 一片痴心 *yi1 pian4 chi1xin1* instead of 一番痴心 *yi1 fan1 chi1xin1* when referring to the appreciation of the feeling "infatuation."

The last approximation measure word usage for 片 *pian4* is to describe a sound in great quantity. Sounds such as 喝采之声 *he1cai3 zhi1 sheng1* 'cheering sound,' 笑声 *xiao4sheng1* 'laughter,' 欢呼声 *huan1hu1sheng1* '(sound of) acclamation,' and 反对之声 *fan3dui4 zhi1 sheng1* '(sound of) objection' all collocate with 一片 *yi1pian4*. In contrast, the most common classifier for sound is 声 *sheng1*, which measures only the individuated sounds, as in 笑声一声一声 *xiao4sheng1 yi1 sheng1 yi1 sheng1* 'the laughter comes one after another' and 几声清脆的鸟鸣声 *ji3 sheng1 qing1cui4 de0 niao3ming2 sheng1* 'a few clear and crisp chirps,' whereas 片 *pian4* is used to describe a large amount of sound that is given off at the same time. Therefore, different numerals can co-occur with 声 *sheng1*, while only the number 一 *yi1* 'one' can co-occur with 片 *pian4*.

In addition to 片 *pian4*, 点 *dian3* is also used as an approximation measure word for those objects that are small in quantity or in scale by further extending the individual classifier usage of classifying nouns that are viewed as a tiny drop, as in 这点钱 *zhe4 dian3 qian2* 'this small amount of money,' 半点差错 *ban4 dian3 cha 1cuo4* 'a minor mistake,' 一点牛奶 *yi1 dian3 niu2nai3* 'some milk,' and 这点伤 *zhe4 dian3 shang1* 'this tiny injury' (as discussed in section 7.5.1). The suffix - 儿 *er0* can be added to 点 *dian3* to highlight the small quantity, but this tends to co-occur with measure nouns such as beer, as in 喝点儿 酒 *he1 dian3er0 jiu3* 'drink some beer,' and money, as in 花点儿钱 *hua1 dian3er0 qian2* 'spend a little money,' with the exception of people, as in 一点(儿) 人 *yi1 dian3(er0) ren2* 'a few people.'

7.6.3. Standard measure words

Similar to container measure words, standard measure words do not measure the quantity of objects directly. Rather, they measure the objects in terms of a specific standard measurement unit. For example, 五块黄金 *wu3 kuai4 huang2jin1* 'five pieces of gold' and 五两黄金 *wu3 liang3 huang2jin1* '250 grams of gold' are different. 块 *kuai4* is used as an individual classifier indicating five pieces of gold, while 两 *liang3* is used as a standard measure word indicating the weight of gold. One hundred and ten standard measure words are attested in the Sinica Corpus. It is important to note that the list of standard measure words is dependent on a standardized measurement system, not on linguistic conditions.

Table 7.4 List of top ten standard measure words

年	*Nian2*	Year
天	*Tian1*	Day
元	*Yuan2*	Dollar
岁	*Sui4*	Age
分	*Fen1*	Minute
度	*Du4*	Degree
日	*Ri4*	Day
吋	*Cun4*	Inch
公尺	*Gong1 chi3*	Meter
公里	*Gong1 li3*	Kilometer

The ten most frequent standard measure words in the Sinica Corpus are listed in Table 7.4.

7.7. Polysemous classifiers

Classifiers may be polysemous and can have multiple classifier senses. Below are some examples of classifiers with the greatest number of senses.

支 *zhi1* has the greatest number of senses. In total, 支 *zhi1* has eleven senses, of which nine are used as individual classifiers and two are used as standard measure words. As an individual classifier, 支 *zhi1* classifies human organizations, as in 职棒队 *zhi2bang4dui4* 'a baseball team' and 巡逻队 *xun2luo2dui4* 'a patrol team.' This is the most typical usage of 支 *zhi1*. Second, 支 *zhi1* classifies songs and dances, as in 一支歌 *yi1 zhi1 ge1* 'a song,' 这支迷人的舞 *zhe4 zhi1 mi2ren2 de0 wu3* 'a charming dance,' and 一支美妙的舞曲 *yi1 zhi1 mei3miao4 de0 wu3qu3* 'a wonderful dance tune.' Third, 支 *zhi1* can classify different family lineages, for example, 一支旁系 *yi1 zhi1 pang2xi4* 'a collateral line.' Fourth, 支 *zhi1* classifies objects having the typical attributes of long, thin, and cylindrical. 支 *zhi1* thus collocates with 蜡烛 *la4zhu2* 'candles,' 香烟 *xiang1yan1* 'cigarettes,' 银钗 *yin2chai1* 'silver hairpins,' 笛子 *di2zi0* 'flutes,' 注射针筒 *zhu4she4zhen1tong3* 'syringes,' and 电击棒 *dian4ji1bang4* 'stun guns.' Fifth, 支 *zhi1* classifies video products, as in 录影带数千支 *lu4ying3dai4 shu4 qian1 zhi1* 'a few thousand video tapes,' 五百支港片录影带或影碟 *wu3bai3 zhi1 gang3 pian4lu4ying3dai4 huo4 ying3die2* '500 Hong Kong movie videos or discs of Hong Kong movies,' and 这支广告影片 *zhe4 zhi1 guang3gao4 ying3pian4* 'this advertisement.' Sixth, 支 *zhi1* numerates the connection capacity of telephone lines, but not the telephone itself, for example, 两支专线电话 *liang3 zhi1 zhuan1xian4 dian4hua4* 'two hotlines.' When classifying the telephone itself, 部 *bu4*, 具 *zhu4*, and 台 *tai2* may all be used to refer to the telephone machinery. Seventh, 支 *zhi1* classifies how many times the batter hit the baseball, as in 一支两

分全垒打 *yi1 zhi1 liang3 fen1 quan2lei3da3* 'a two-run home run.' Eighth, 支 *zhi1* classifies a record of rewards and punishments, for example, 三支大过 *san1 zhi1 da4 guo4* 'three major demerits' and 两支嘉奖 *liang3 zhi1 jia1jiang3* 'two awards.' Lastly, 支 *zhi1* classifies financial stocks, as in 每支个别股 *mei3 zhi1 ge4bie2 gu3* 'every individual stock.' In the usage of a standard measure word, 支 *zhi1* measures the degree of brightness of lamps and the thinness of cotton yarn, for example, 六十支光灯泡 *liu4shi2 zhi1 guang1 deng1pao4* 'the brightness of the light bulb is equivalent to 60 candles' and 四十五支纯毛纱布 *si4shi2wu3 zhi1 chun2mao2 sha1bu4* '45 thread-count (wool) cloth.'

分 *fen1* contains the second highest number of senses. In total, there are eight senses for 分 *fen1*, in which there are seven standard measure word senses and one sortal classifier sense. First, 分 *fen1* is a unit that measures time. It is the short form of 分钟 *fen1zhong1* 'minutes.' 二小时卅分 *er4 xiao3shi2 sa4 fen1* 'two hours and thirty minutes' and 下午五时五十五分 *xia4wu3 wu3 shi2 wu3shi2wu3 fen1* 'fifty-five minutes after five o'clock in the afternoon' are examples of this. Second, 分 *fen1* measures dollars, as in 一分钱 *yi1 fen1 qian2* 'one cent/very little money' and 一分一文 *yi1 fen1 yi1 wen2* 'each and every penny.' Third, 分 *fen1* quantifies the degree of longitude and latitude, such as 东经一百一十九度四十八分 *dong1jing1 yi1bai3yi1shi2jiu3 du4 si4shi2ba1 fen1* '119°48' East' and 北纬卅六度三十七分 *bei3wei3 nian4liu4 du4 san1shi2qi1 fen1* '26°37' North.' Fourth, 分 *fen1* measures weight such as 五两六分 *wu3 liang3 liu4 fen1* '5 *liang3* and 6 *fen1*' (where 两 *liang3* is a standard Chinese weight unit lower than 斤 *jin1* 'catty' and 分 *fen1* is the weight unit lower than 两 *liang3*). Fifth, 分 *fen1* quantifies area (as a Taiwanese area measure, one 分 *fen1* is one-tenth of a 甲 *jia3*), as in 四甲三分 *si4 jia3 san1 fen1* 'four *jia3* and three *fen1* of land,' 四分田 *si4 fen1 tian2* 'four *fen1* of a paddy field,' and 二分地 *er4fen1di4* 'two *fen1* of land.' Sixth, 分 *fen1* measures marks or points, as in 四十分的积分 *si4shi2 fen1 de0 ji1fen1* 'forty points' and 输赢就在几分之间 *shu1ying2 jiu4 zai4 ji3 fen1 zhi1jian1* 'the boundary between winning and losing will be drawn within a few points.' Lastly, 分 *fen1* is the unit of interest rates, as in 一分四厘 *yi1 fen1 si4 li2* '1.4% interest rate.'

把 *ba3* has seven classifier senses. Of them, three are individual classifiers, three are approximation measure words, and one is a container measure word. For a discussion concerning individual classifier usage, please refer to section 7.3.1. For approximation measure word usage, 把 *ba3* measures three different things. First, 把 *ba3* measures a drop of liquid, as in 一把眼泪 *yi1 ba3 yan3lei4* 'tear,' 一把鼻涕 *yi1 ba3 bi2ti4* 'snot,' and 一把冷汗 *yi1 ba3 leng3han4* 'sweat.' In this sense, 把 *ba3* tends to co-occur only with 一 *yi1* 'one.' Second, 把 *ba3* quantifies age, in particular, describing those who are elderly, for example, 年纪一大把 *nian2ji4 yi1 da4 ba3* and 一把年纪 *yi1 ba3 nian2ji4* 'old.' Third, 把 *ba3* is used in fixed phrases, for example, 洗把脸 *xi3 ba3 lian3* 'wash one's face' and 加把劲儿 *jia1 ba3 jin4er0* 'to make an extra

effort.' Lastly, 把 *ba3* is also regarded as an activity classifier, which is discussed further in Chapter 4, on verbs.

7.8. Sortal classifier coercion of noun senses

Different sortal classifiers can bring out different meanings in a noun, for example, the use of 部 *bu4* and 本 *ben3.* 本 *ben3* refers to individual books, as in 两本笔记 *liang3 ben3 bi3ji4* 'two notebooks,' 两本诗集 *liang3 ben3 shi1ji2* 'two collections of poems,' and 五本小说 *wu3 ben3 xiao3shuo1* 'five novels,' while 部 *bu4* refers to individual books and to the content of individual books, as in 第一部小说《自由女性》 *di4yi1 bu4 xiao3shuo1 zi4you2 nü3xing4* 'the first novel of *Zi you nu xing*' and 中国最早一部诗集《诗经》 *zhong1guo2 zui4zao3 yi1 bu4 shi1ji2 shi1jing1* 'the very first collection of poems in China – *Shi jing*.' Thus, 本 *ben3* can occur with notebooks, poems, and novels, while 部 *bu4* co-occurs only with books. Furthermore, when 部 *bu4* is used, the content of the books referred to is different, which is not necessarily the case with 本 *ben3* (i.e., 十四部武侠小说 *shi2si4 bu4 wu3xia2xiao3shuo1* 'fourteen different swordsman novels' and 十四本武侠小说 *shi2si4 ben3 wu3xia2xiao3shuo1* 'fourteen swordsman novels (without specifying whether they are the same book or not)').

Semantic type-shifting can also occur when what is being referred to is the same object. For example, 具 *ju4* refers to telephones, as in 两具电话 *liang3ju4 dian4hua4* 'two telephones' (i.e., the object sitting on the desk), while 线 *xian4* refers to telephone lines or telephone numbers, as in 两线电话 *liang3 xian4 dian4hua4* 'two lines of a telephone.' Both 具 *ju4* and 线 *xian4* are individual classifiers. However, 具 *ju4* selects machinery, while 线 *xian4* selects a line-like object, including the more abstract meaning of lines of communication.

Another example of semantic type-shifting with the same object can be seen with 花 *hua1* 'flower.' The individual classifier 朵 *duo3* refers to the bud of a plant or flower, as in 一朵花 *yi1 duo3 hua1* 'a flower,' while the individual classifier 株 *zhu1* refers to the plant itself, as in 一株花 *yi1 zhu1 hua1* 'a flower.' This same shifting in instantiated meaning is applicable to all nouns that end in the morpheme 花 *hua1* 'flowers,' such as 兰花 *lan2hua1* 'orchids,' 樱花 *ying1hua1* 'cherry blossoms,' and 荷花 *he2hua1* 'lotuses.'

The semantic coercion of nominal meaning is the result of matching possible meaning represented by the noun and the classifier. Neither the classifier alone nor the noun alone can decide the coerced meaning. In other words, the head noun must have a possible interpretation to allow coercion to happen, as illustrated by the examples discussed in this section.

Thus, sortal classifiers can coerce nouns to have a particular individual reading depending on the information entailed in the classifier itself. In fact, this semantic

type-shifting is not limited to the individual reading of nouns. Classifiers can also type-shift nouns from an individual reading to an event reading. For example, 电话 *dian4hua4* 'telephones' can refer to the telephone itself and the event of a phone call. When using the kind classifier 一具电话 *yi1 ju4 dian4hua4* 'a telephone,' this specifies a particular style or design of the telephone. When using the event classifier 一通电话 *yi1 tong1 dian4hua4*, this refers to the event of a telephone call. Similarly, 火车 *huo3che1* 'train' can co-occur with the individual classifier 列 *lie4*, as in 一列货运火车 *yi1 lie4 huo4yun4huo3che1* 'a train for freight,' or with a kind classifier, as in 这种豪华蒸汽火车 *zhe4 zhong4 hao2hua2 zheng1qi4 huo3che1* 'this kind of luxurious steam train,' or with an event classifier, as in 一班火车 *yi1 ban1 huo3che1* 'a scheduled train.' Thus, the noun can be part of an individuated reading, or a kind reading, or an event reading, depending on the classifier with which it occurs.

8

Nouns and nominal phrases

Dingxu Shi

This chapter is concerned with the structure of nominal phrases and the syntax of the lexical categories that function primarily within that structure: determinatives, numerals, classifiers, and nouns.

8.1. Distinctive properties of nouns and nominal phrases

The category of nouns consists of lexical items that characteristically represent entities, real or imagined, in the concrete or virtual world. The predominant function of nouns is to be the ultimate head of nominal phrases.

8.1.1. Summary of defining properties of nominal phrases

1   Nominal phrases are prototypically capable of functioning as an argument in clause structures, namely, as the subject or the object.
2   A full-fledged nominal phrase characteristically appears in the order of DET(erminer)−NUM(ber)−CL(assifier)−N(oun), as in 那三条鱼 *na4 san1 tiao2 yu2* 'those three fish.' Although the sequential order of DET−NUM−CL−N cannot be altered, nominal phrases with one or more positions not filled with any lexical item are common.

8.1.2. Summary of defining properties of nouns

1   Functions: In addition to being the ultimate head of nominal phrases, nouns sometimes function as dependents of other elements, such as the modifier of another noun, as in 火车站 *huo3che1zhan4* 'train station' and 家具商店 *jia1ju4 shang1dian4* 'furniture store'; the modifier of a verb, as in 枪杀 *qiang1sha1* 'gun-kill, to kill with a gun' and 油炸 *you2zha2* 'oil-fry, to deep fry'; and the object in a compound verb, such as 怀疑 *huai2yi2* 'hold-suspicion, to doubt' and 投资 *tou2zi1* 'put-in money, to invest.'
2   Inflection: There is no overt inflectional marking on nouns for gender, case, or agreement, but pronouns can take the suffix −们 *men0* 'PL' to indicate plurality, as can human nouns sometimes. Other than the suffix −们 for pronouns and human nouns, plurality is represented by relevant numerals and classifiers in a nominal phrase.

3 Structural position: The noun always occupies the final position of a nominal phrase. The modifier always precedes the modified.

8.1.3. Pronouns
Pronouns are treated as a subcategory of nouns, in the sense that they have functions similar to nouns, although they typically stand alone in nominal phrases.

8.1.4. Other functions of nominal phrases
In addition to the function of argument in clauses, nominal phrases can function as the object in preposition phrases, while temporal and/or locative nominal phrases can function as adverbials.

8.2. Overview of noun classes and nominal phrases

8.2.1. Noun classes
Nouns can be classified according to their syntactic behavior, as common nouns like 树 *shu4* 'tree' in [1], proper nouns like 中国 *zhong1guo2* 'China' and 海地 *hai3di4* 'Haiti' in [2], and pronouns like 她 *ta1* 'she' in [3], although there is no orthographic indication to differentiate proper and common nouns. Proper nouns and pronouns behave similarly in clause structures since they can function independently as definite nominal phrases.

[1]   那几棵树都结果了。

na4   ji3   ke1   shu4   dou1   jie2guo3   le0
that   several CL   tree   all   bear_fruit LE
'Those trees have borne fruits.'

[2]   中国将向海地派驻维和警察。

zhong1guo2   jiang1   xiang4   hai3di4   pai4zhu4
China   will   PREP   Haiti   dispatch

wei2he2   jing3cha2
peacekeeping   policeman
'China will send a peacekeeping police force to Haiti.'

[3]   她明天回来。

ta1   ming2tian1   hui2lai2
she   tomorrow   return
'She will be back tomorrow.'

8.2.2. Basic structure of nominal phrases
The most important part of a nominal phrase is the head position, which is always final and is filled with a simple noun or a compound noun. The other important

positions in a nominal phrase are the Determiner (DET), which is filled by a determinative, the Number (NUM), which is filled by a numeral or a quantifier, and the Classifier (CL), which is filled by a classifier.

Various combinations are possible, and the examples in [4] below show the common ones:

[4]   a.   这三头牛 [DET–NUM–CL–N]
          zhe4   san1   tou2   niu2
          this   three   CL   cow
          'these three cows'

     b.   那张桌子 [DET-CL-N]
          na4   zhang1   zhuo1zi0
          that   CL   table
          'that table'

     c.   那地方 [DET-N]
          na4   di4fang0
          that   place
          'that place'

     d.   两只麻雀 [NUM–CL-N]
          liang3   zhi1   ma2que4
          two   CL   sparrow
          'two sparrows'

     e.   新车子 [N]
          xin1   che1zi0
          new   car
          'new car(s)'

     f.   那几件 [DET-NUM–CL]
          na4   ji3   jian4
          that   several   CL
          'those several pieces'

     g.   这块 [DET-CL]
          zhe4   kuai4
          this   CL
          'this piece'

     h.   这 [DET]
          zhe4
          this
          'this'

The modifier of a nominal element can be either a word or a phrase marked with 的 *de0* 'DE.' Three layers of the nominal phrase, beginning with DET, NUM, and N respectively, can be modified by a phrase with the marker 的 *de0* 'DE,' as in [5a], [5b], and [5c], respectively.

[5]   a.   <u>你刚买的</u>那几条小狗
          ni3   gang1   mai3   de0   na4   ji3   tiao2   xiao3   gou3
          you   just   buy   DE   that   several   CL   small   dog
          'these three puppies you just bought'

      b.   <u>树上的</u>两只喜鹊
          shu4   shang4   de0   liang3   zhi1   xi3que4
          tree   on   DE   two   CL   magpie
          '(these) two magpies that are on the tree'

      c.   这些<u>今年录取的</u>新生
          zhe4xie1   jin1nian2   lu4qu3   de0   xin1sheng1
          these   this_year   admit   DE   entrant
          'these new students who were admitted this year'

No case has been found in which a layer beginning with CL is modified by a phrase marked with 的 *de0* 'DE.' When modification by such a phrase is called for, the NUM position is always filled with an actual numeral or quantifier, and the modifier always occurs before NUM, as shown in [6a] and [6b].

[6]   a.   找个学生
          zhao3   ge4   xue2sheng1
          seek   CL   student
          'look for a student'

      b.   i.   *找刚报到的个学生
             zhao3   gang1   bao4dao4   de0   ge4   xue2sheng1
             seek   just   register   DE   CL   student
        ii.   找刚报到的一个学生
             zhao3   gang1   bao4dao4   de0   yi1   ge4   xue2sheng1
             seek   just   register   DE   one   CL   student
             'look for a student who just registered'

The word filling certain positions of a nominal phrase can be modified by another word and the two words form a single unit that functions as one word. The classifier in CL can be modified by a word, regardless of the shape of the nominal phrase, as in [7a] and [7b]. A few cases have been found where the numeral in NUM

is modified by a word, as in [7c]. No case has been found in the corpus where a determinative in DET is modified by a word.

[7]   a.   一<u>长</u>条绳子
            yi1   chang2   tiao2   sheng2zi0
            one   long   CL   rope
            'a long rope'

      b.   这一<u>整</u>箱玩具
            zhe4   yi1   zheng3   xiang1   wan2ju4
            this   one   whole   CL   toy
            'this whole box of toys'

      c.   这里要便宜<u>近</u>一千块钱呢。
            zhe4li3   yao4   pian2yi4   jin4   yi1qian1   kuai4
            here   will   cheap   near one_thousand   CL
            qian2   ne0
            money   NE
            'It is cheaper here by close to a thousand dollars.'

The noun in N can also be modified by a word, as in [8a] and [8b], and the compound word can be further modified by other words, as in [8c] and [8d].

[8]   a.   那两只<u>黑</u>乌鸦
            na4   liang3   zhi1   hei1   wu1ya1
            that   two   CL   black   crow
            'the two black crows'

      b.   五栋刚盖好的<u>高</u>房子
            wu3   dong4   gang1   gai4   hao3   de0   gao1
            five   CL   just   build   complete   DE   tall
            fang2zi0
            house
            'five high-rise buildings newly completed'

      c.   这瓶<u>冰冻德国</u>啤酒
            zhe4   ping2   bing1dong4   de2guo2   pi2jiu3
            this   CL   freeze   Germany   beer
            'the bottle of chilled German beer'

      d.   一点<u>本地新鲜有机</u>蔬菜
            yi1dian3   ben3di4   xin1xian1   you3ji1   shu1cai4
            a_bit   local   fresh   organic   vegetable
            'some local fresh organic vegetables'

A nominal phrase modified by a 的 *de0* 'DE' phrase and a word modified by another word differ in several aspects. A major one is that the latter characteristically has a fixed and sometimes derived meaning. 黄的鱼 *huang2 de0 yu2* means 'a fish that is yellow,' while 黄鱼 *huang2yu2* means 'a species of sea fish (yellow croaker),' even though it could also mean a fish with yellow color. Similarly, 白的菜 *bai2 de0 cai4* 'white vegetable' denotes any type of vegetable of which the color is white, while 白菜 *bai2cai4* means 'a particular species of vegetable,' namely, 'cabbage.'

Another major difference between the two is the structural requirement between the modifier and the modified. When an element in N, CL, or NUM is modified by a word, the two have to stay next to each other; otherwise, the modification relation cannot be established. The word 小 *xiao3* 'small' in [9a] only modifies the noun in N, while that in [9b] only modifies the classifier in CL. The 近 *jin4* 'near' in [9c] does not modify anything other than the numeral in NUM.

[9]   a.   那一百包小饼干
             na4   yi1bai3   bao1   xiao3   bing3gan1
             that   one_hundred   CL   small   cookie
             'those one hundred packs of small biscuits'

       b.   那一百小包饼干
             na4   yi1bai3   xiao3   bao1   bing3gan1
             that   one_hundred   small   CL   cookie
             'those one hundred small packs of biscuits'

       c.   那近一百包饼干
             na4   jin4   yi1bai3   bao1   bing3gan1
             that   near   one_hundred   CL   cookie
             'those slightly fewer than one hundred packs of biscuits'

A 的 *de0* 'DE' phrase has scope over everything on its right within the nominal phrase. The phrasal modifier 雪白的 *xue3bai2 de0* 'which is snow white' in [10a] modifies 床单 *chuang2dan1* 'sheet,' which is adjacent to it, but the same phrase in [10b] and [10c] also modifies 床单 *chuang2dan1* 'sheet,' even though the two are separated. The 的 *de0* 'DE' phrase in these two cases can only modify 床单 *chuang2dan1* 'sheet' because 雪白的 *xue3bai2 de0* 'which is snow white' is semantically not compatible with the other elements in the nominal phrase. The 大的 *da4 de0* 'which is large' in [10d], on the other hand, can be interpreted as modifying either 苹果 *ping2guo3* 'apple' or 堆 *dui1* 'pile,' which produces ambiguity because it is compatible with both.

[10] a. 那一条雪白的床单
　　　na4　yi1　tiao2　xue3bai2　　de0　chuang2dan1
　　　that　one　CL　　snow_white　DE　　sheet
　　　'that white sheet'

　　b. 那雪白的一条床单
　　　na4　xue3bai2　　de0　yi1　tiao2　chuang2dan1
　　　that　snow_white　DE　　one　CL　　sheet
　　　'that white sheet'

　　c. 雪白的那一条床单
　　　xue3bai2　　de0　na4　yi1　tiao2　chuang2dan1
　　　snow_white　DE　　that　one　CL　　sheet
　　　'that white sheet'

　　d. 大的那一堆苹果
　　　da4　de0　na4　yi1　dui1　ping2guo3
　　　big　DE　　that　one　CL　　apple
　　　'that pile of large apples/that large pile of apples'

To sum up, of all the major positions in a nominal phrase, N, CL, and, to a limited extent, NUM can be filled with elements that are modified by a word. The sequence beginning with DET, NUM, and N can be modified by a phrase marked with 的 *de0* 'DE.' From a grammatical point of view, a word modifies a word while a phrase modifies a phrase. This entails that a nominal phrase consists of three layers, a DETP with DET as the head, a NUM−CLP with NUM−CL as the head, and an NP with N as the head. Each phrase can be modified by a 的 *de0* phrase, while the head word of each phrase can be modified by a word. Each member in the NUM−CL compound can be modified by a word, as is the compound as a whole. DET cannot be modified by a word for semantic reasons.

[11] a. [DET-[NUM-CL]-N]
　　b. [DETP-[NUM-CLP [NP]]]

8.2.3. Elements excluded from the nominal phrase category

Argument positions are sometimes filled by a clause, a verb phrase, or an adjective phrase, as in [12], [13], and [14], respectively. They bear some resemblance to nominal phrases but are excluded from the nominal phrase category, since they have other properties that nominal phrases do not share.

[12]　a.　<u>列车发生故障</u>有点出乎意料。

　　　　lie4che1　fa1sheng1　gu4zhang4　you3dian3
　　　　train　　happen　　breakdown　some

　　　　chu1hu1yi4liao4
　　　　unexpected
　　　　'It is a little surprising that the train broke down.'

　　b.　美国媒体不关心<u>谁会胜出</u>。

　　　　mei3guo2　　　　　mei2ti3　bu4　guan1xin1
　　　　the_United_States　media　　NEG　be_concerned_about

　　　　shui2　hui4　sheng4chu1
　　　　who　　will　win
　　　　'The American media did not care who would win.'

[13]　a.　<u>用清水冲洗伤口</u>可以减轻痛楚。

　　　　yong4　qing1shui3　chong1xi3　shang1kou3　ke3yi3
　　　　PREP　clear_water　wash　　　wound　　　may

　　　　jian3qing1　tong4chu3
　　　　ease　　　　pain
　　　　'To wash the wound with clean water could ease the pain.'

　　b.　地方政府反对<u>修筑拦水坝</u>。

　　　　di4fang1　zheng4fu3　fan3dui4　xiu1zhu4　lan2shui3ba4
　　　　local　　government　oppose　build　　　dam
　　　　'The local government opposed constructing the dam.'

[14]　a.　<u>高高兴兴</u>才符合要求。

　　　　gao1gao1xing4xing4　cai2　fu2he2　　　yao1qiu2
　　　　happy　　　　　　　just　conform_to　requirement
　　　　'To be happy is a must in order to meet the requirement.'

　　b.　老板喜欢<u>干净</u>。

　　　　lao3ban3　xi3huan1　gan1jing4
　　　　boss　　　like　　　clean
　　　　'The boss likes cleanliness.'

8.3. The function of DET

DetP is the outmost layer of a nominal phrase and its head position DET is occupied by a determinative, which establishes the relationship between the nominal phrase and the discourse or the immediate environment; namely, it determines the definite or indefinite status of the nominal phrase.

Four types of elements can appear in the DET position: basic determinatives, universal quantifier determinatives, existential quantifier determinatives, and interrogative determinatives.

8.3.1. Basic determinatives

8.3.1.1. Demonstratives

The most common basic determinatives are proximal demonstrative 这 *zhe4* 'this' and distal demonstrative 那 *na4* 'that,' as shown in [15]. By using a demonstrative, the speaker assumes that the listener is able to identify the set of entities being represented by the nominal phrase. Demonstratives thus give a definite reading to nominal phrases. They also bring spatial deixis to the nominal phrase in that 这 *zhe4* 'this' indicates the relative closeness between the set being discussed and the speaker, while 那 *na4* 'that' indicates the relatively large distance between the two.

[15]   a.   <u>这几件</u>陶器是最近出土的。[proximal]
            zhe4   ji3   jian4 tao2qi4 shi4 zui4jin4
            this   several CL   pottery be   recently

            chu1tu3   de0
            excavate DE
            'These porcelain vessels were unearthed recently.'

    b.   市议会正在审议<u>那个</u>提案。[distal]
            shi4yi4hui4   zheng4zai4   shen3yi4
            city_council ZAI   examine_and_discuss

            na4   ge4 ti2an4
            that CL   motion
            'The City Council is debating that legislation.'

Several Classical Chinese demonstratives are still used occasionally, especially in formal written genres. They include proximal 此 *ci3* 'this,' distal 彼 *bi3* 'that,' deictic proximal 本 *ben3* 'the' (which refers to the speaker or an entity closely related to the speaker in the discourse), and pure definite 该 *gai1* 'the' (which refers to an entity already mentioned in the discourse), examples of which are illustrated in [16] below. These demonstratives have partially retained their Classical Chinese properties and prototypically appear with no lexical element in NUM or no lexical element in both NUM and CL.

[16]   a.   此件送总裁办公室。[proximal]
　　　　　ci3   jian4   song4   zong3cai2   ban4gong1shi4
　　　　　this   CL   send   president   office
　　　　　'This document should be sent to the President's office.'

　　　b.   已经到达彼岸。[distal]
　　　　　yi3jing1   dao4da2   bi3   an4
　　　　　already   arrive   that   bank
　　　　　'(It) already arrived at the other side of the river.'

　　　c.   本次列车由上海开往南京。[deictic proximal]
　　　　　ben3   ci4   lie4che1   you2   shang4hai3   kai1wang3
　　　　　this   CL   train   PREP   SHANGHAI   leave_for

　　　　　nan2jing1
　　　　　NANJING
　　　　　'This train travels from Shanghai to Nanjing.'

　　　d.   该生在校期间表现突出。[pure definite]
　　　　　gai1   sheng1   zai4   xiao4   qi1jian1   biao3xian4
　　　　　the   student   PREP   school   period   perform

　　　　　tu1chu1
　　　　　outstanding
　　　　　'The student had an outstanding performance at the school.'

8.3.1.2. Indefinite determinatives

There are no indefinite determinatives in contemporary Chinese. In the rare cases where such a word is needed, the Classical Chinese 某 *mou3* '(a) certain' is used, as in [17]. A nominal phrase with 某 in DET is the predominant choice when the speaker does not want to identify the set of entities being discussed; in other words, an indefinite nominal phrase represents a set that cannot be identified.

[17]   a.   某(一位)老师有不同意见。
　　　　　mou3   yi1   wei4   lao3shi1   you3   bu4tong2   yi4jian4
　　　　　certain   one   CL   teacher   have   different   opinion
　　　　　'A certain teacher has a different opinion.'

　　　b.   某些人总是妒忌别人的成功。
　　　　　mou3xie1   ren2   zong3shi4   du4ji4   bie2ren2   de0
　　　　　some   people   always   jealous   others   DE

　　　　　cheng2gong1
　　　　　success
　　　　　'Certain people are always jealous of others' success.'

8.3.1.3. Alternative-additive determinatives

Alternative-additive determinatives are usually chosen in cases where the speaker has already talked about some entity or entities and continues to introduce some other ones. 另 *ling4* '(an)other' or 另外 *ling4wai4* '(an)other' is used largely to introduce an additional set of entities similar to the set under discussion, as in [18]. When a set of entities has been identified and a subset has been discussed, a nominal phrase with 其他 *qi2ta1* 'the other(s)' or 其余 *qi2yu2* 'the rest' in DET can be used to introduce the other subset, as in [18b] and [18c]. The nominal phrase marked with 其他 cannot stand for a singleton set.

[18]   a.   另一张桌子上坐着几个女工。[additive]

         ling4   yi1   zhang1   zhuo1zi0   shang4   zuo4   zhe0
         another one   CL   table   on   sit   ZHE

         ji3   ge4   nü3gong1
         several   CL   woman_worker
         'Sitting at another table were some female workers.'

     b.   小提琴独奏很好, 其他三个节目也不错。[alternative]

         xiao3ti2qin2 du2zou4 hen3   hao3   qi2ta1   san1   ge4
         violin   solo   very   good   other   three   CL

         jie2mu4   ye3   bu4   cuo4
         show   also   NEG   bad
         'The violin solo is great and the other three performances are
         also good.'

     c.   我只认识汪经理, 其余几位陌生得很。[exclusive-alternative]

         wo3   zhi3   ren4shi2   wang1   jing1li3   qi2yu2   ji3
         I   only   know   WANG   manager   the_rest   several

         wei4   mo4sheng1   de0   hen3
         CL   strange   DE   very
         '(Of all the people involved) I only know Manager Wang and the rest
         are strangers to me.'

8.3.2. Universal quantifier determinatives

Several universal quantifiers can function as determinatives. When the distributive universal quantifier 每 *mei3* 'every' occupies DET, the nominal phrase represents each and every subset of a set that has been mentioned in the discourse or is identifiable in the environment. Sentence [19] thus means that each and every student, likely those under the speaker's supervision, should be prepared.

[19]   每(一)个同学都必须做好充分准备。
    mei3   yi1   ge4   tong2xue2   dou1   bi4xu1   zuo4
    every   one   CL   classmate   all   must   make

    hao3   chong1fen4   zhun3bei4
    complete   adequate   preparation
    'Every student must be well prepared.'

The 各 *ge4* 'every, each' in [20a] means that the request of signing up goes to individual parents on the spot, namely, a set identifiable in the environment. The emphasis of [20a] is on the distribution of the request to individual subsets and exceptions are allowed. If 每 *mei3* 'every' replaced 各 in [20a], the request would apply to each and every subset without exception. Another difference between the two is that 每 is compatible with any numeral in NUM so that phrases like 每三辆卡车 *mei3 san1 liang4 ka3che1* 'every three trucks' and 每十只羊 *mei3 shi2 zhi1 yang2* 'every ten sheep' are possible. 各, on the other hand, is only compatible with the numeral 一 *yi1* 'one,' which actually does not appear overtly, and the size of each set is represented by the classifier. The nominal phrase in [20a] represents singleton subsets because of 位 *wei4* 'respectful individual' and the one in [20b] represents subsets with at least two members because of 组 *zu3* 'group.'

[20]   a.   各位家长请先来这里签到。
        ge4wei4   jia1zhang3   qing3   xian1   lai2   zhe4li3
        each   parent   please   first   come   here

        qian1dao4
        sign_in
        'Each parent please come here to sign up.'

    b.   各组同学分头行动。
        ge4   zu3   tong2xue2   fen1tou2   xing2dong4
        each   group   classmate   separately   act
        'Each group of students acts separately.'

8.3.3. Existential quantifier determinatives

When the existential quantifier 任何 *ren4he2* 'any' appears in DET, the nominal phrase either represents a free choice or yields the reading of a negatively oriented polarity-sensitive item in a non-affirmative context.

A free choice 任何 *ren4he2* 'any' indicates that an arbitrary subset can be selected from a known set and the predicate applies to that subset. The NUM position of such a phrase is typically filled with 一 *yi1* 'one,' as in [21a], but it could be filled with any numeral, such as in [21b]. Sometimes both NUM and CL are left open

without any lexical element, as in [21c], and the most natural interpretation for such a nominal phrase is that its NUM position is filled with 一 *yi1* 'one,' while the CL is position filled with a classifier compatible with the element in N. This means that the subset represented by 任何人 *ren4he2 ren2* 'any person' may vary in size, depending on the covert classifier. A non-affirmative 任何 *ren4he2* 'any' characteristically appears in the scope of negation, as in [21d], which means the prohibition against leaving should apply to any chosen subset of the students taking the exam.

[21]   a.   付款后顾客可以拿走<u>任何</u>一筐鱼。

fu4kuan3   hou4   gu4ke4   ke3yi3   na2zou3
pay_a_sum_of_money   after   customer   may   take_away
ren4he2   yi1   kuang1   yu2
any   one   CL   fish
'The customer can take away any basket of fish after he has paid the money.'

b.   世界<u>上任何</u>两个人之间, 最多只隔着六个人。

shi4jie4   shang4   ren4he2   liang3   ge4   ren2   zhi1jian1
world   on   any   two   CL   people   between
zui4duo1   zhi3   ge2   zhe0   liu4   ge4   ren2
at_most   only   separate   ZHE   six   CL   people
'Between any two persons in the world, there are at most six other persons.'

c.   <u>任何</u>人都有权力表达自己的意见。

ren4he2   ren2   dou1   you3   quan2li4   biao3da2   zi4ji3
any   people   all   YOU   right   express   self
de0   yi4jian4
DE   opinion
'Anybody would have the right to present his opinion.'

d.   考试期间不准<u>任何</u>学生离开。

kao3shi4   qi1jian1   bu4zhun3   ren4he2   xue2sheng1
test   period   forbid   any   student
li2kai1
leave
'Do not let any student leave during the exam period.'

8.3.4. Interrogative determinatives

When its DET position is filled with the interrogative determinative 哪 *na3* 'which,' the nominal phrase represents a subset to be identified from a known set.

哪 can appear in the sequence DET–NUM–CL–N, such as 哪两个学生 *na3 liang3 ge4 xue2sheng1* 'which two students.' It can also appear in the sequence of DET-CL-N, such as 哪位老师 *na3 wei4 lao3shi1* 'which teacher.' 哪 occasionally appears in the sequence DET-N, with the noun in N denoting a calendar unit or a location, as in 哪天 *na3 tian1* 'which day,' 哪月 *na3 yue4* 'which month,' 哪年 *na3 nian2* 'which year,' 哪里 *na3li3* /哪儿 *na3er0* 'which place,' and 哪站 *na3 zhan4* 'which station.'

   A nominal phrase with a 哪 in DET potentially has two distinctive readings. One is that of an existential quantifier similar to a phrase with 任何 *ren4he2* 'any' in DET, which could be a free choice, available when the phrase appears in a yes–no question or falls under the scope of the inclusive adverb 都 *dou1* 'all,' as in [22a] and [22b], or a negatively oriented polarity-sensitive one, available when the phrase appears in a non-affirmative context, as in [22c]. The other reading is that of an interrogative phrase. In sentences like [22d], the speaker has in mind a set of books and uses 哪几本书 *na3 ji3 ben3 shu1* 'which books' to ask for the identity of a subset.

[22]   a.   您要见<u>哪位老师</u>吗?

         nin2   yao4   jian4   na3   wei4   lao3shi1   ma0
         you   want   see   which   CL   teacher   MA
         'Do you want to see any teacher?'

        b.   她<u>哪种裙子</u>都敢穿。

         ta1   na3   zhong3   qun2zi0   dou1   gan3   chuan1
         she   which   CL   skirt   all   dare   wear
         'She dares to wear any kind of skirt.'

        c.   不管你去<u>哪里</u>, 都不能忘了我。

         bu4guan3   ni3   qu4   na3li3   dou1   bu4neng2   wang4
         no_matter   you   go   where   all   cannot   forget

         le0   wo3
         LE   I
         'No matter where you go, don't forget me.'

        d.   你借了<u>哪几本书</u>?

         ni3   jie4   le0   na3   ji3   ben3   shu1
         you   borrow   LE   which   several   CL   book
         'Which books did you borrow?'

8.4. The function of NUM–CL

The middle layer of a nominal phrase is NUM–CLP. The head position of NUM–CL is filled with a numeral–classifier compound. The element in NUM is a numeral

or a quantifier, while that in CL is a classifier, and the two words form a single unit with the latter as the head.

8.4.1. Elements in the NUM position

The NUM position is the locus for numbers. Except for pronouns and some nouns representing human beings, the element in N of most nominal phrases does not have an inflectional marking for numbers and the relevant information is mainly provided by the numeral in NUM.

8.4.1.1. Cardinal numerals

The NUM position is prototypically filled with a cardinal numeral. Cardinal numerals are built with the basic digits 一 *yi1* 'one,' 二 *er4* 'two,' 三 *san1* 'three,' 四 *si4* 'four,' 五 *wu3* 'five,' 六 *liu4* 'six,' 七 *qi1* 'seven,' 八 *ba1* 'eight,' and 九 *jiu3* 'nine'; counting units 十 *shi2* 'ten,' 百 *bai3* 'hundred,' 千 *qian1* 'thousand,' 万 *wan4* 'ten thousand,' and 亿 *yi4* 'hundred million'; and the place holder 零 *ling2* 'zero.'

   The numeral expressing a number below 10 is simply a basic digit. A numeral expressing a number between 10 and 9,999 is a sequence of counting units 千 *qian1* 'thousand,' 百 *bai3* 'hundred,' and 十 *shi2* 'ten,' each preceded by a basic digit as the multiplier, and then a basic digit. The value of such a number is the sum of the basic digit and the product of each multiplier and its counting unit. If the multiplier for 十 *shi2* 'ten' is 一 *yi1* 'one,' it is prototypically omitted when the number is smaller than 20 and is often omitted when the number is larger than 100. If the multiplier of a counting unit is zero, a 零 *ling2* 'zero' is inserted to hold the place. Only one 零 *ling2* 'zero' is needed when two or more neighboring counting units have a zero multiplier, and no 零 *ling2* 'zero' is needed if the basic digital and its neighboring counting units are all zero, as in [23e].

[23]　a.　(一)十八
　　　　yi1　shi2　ba1
　　　　one　ten　eight
　　　　'eighteen'

　　　b.　四百五十六
　　　　si4　bai3　　wu3　shi2　liu4
　　　　four　hundred　five　ten　six
　　　　'four hundred and fifty-six'

　　　c.　三千六百九十九
　　　　san1　qian1　　liu4　bai3　　jiu3　shi2　jiu3
　　　　three　thousand　six　hundred　nine　ten　nine
　　　　'three thousand six hundred and ninety-nine'

    d.   八千零七
        ba1   qian1   ling2   qi1
        eight   thousand   zero   seven
        'eight thousand and seven'

    e.   六千
        liu4   qian1
        six   thousand
        'six thousand'

The sequence expressing a number smaller than 10,000 is the base for larger numbers. A numeral expressing a number between 10,000 and 99,999,999 consists of two sequences: a base sequence and another one that is the product of a base sequence and the counting unit 万 *wan4* 'ten thousand.' The value of the numeral is the sum of the two sequences, as in [24a] and [24b]. A numeral expressing 100,000,000 or above consists of three sequences: a base sequence, a second sequence with 万 *wan4* 'ten thousand' as the counting unit, and a third one with 亿 *yi4* 'hundred million' as the counting unit. The value of the number is the sum of the three sequences, as in [24c].

[24]   a.   三万五千零八
        san1   wan4   wu3 qian1   ling2   ba1
        three ten_thousand five thousand zero   eight
        'thirty-five thousand and eight'

    b.   三千六百五十二万七千九百(一)十一
        san1   qian1   liu4 bai3   wu3shi2er4   wan4
        three thousand six hundred fifty-two   ten_thousand

        qi1   qian1   jiu3 bai3   yi1   shi2yi1
        seven thousand nine hundred one   eleven
        'thirty-six million five hundred and twenty-seven thousand nine hundred and eleven'

    c.   三十三亿九千六百八十五万四千八百八十八
        san1shi2san1   yi4   jiu3 qian1   liu4
        thirty-three   hundred_million nine thousand six

        bai3   ba1shi2wu3 wan4   si4   qian1
        hundred eighty-five ten_thousand four   thousand

        ba1   bai3   ba1shi2ba1
        eight hundred eighty-eight
        'three billion three hundred and ninety-six million eight hundred and fifty-four thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight'

A nominal phrase with a cardinal numeral in NUM represents an exact number of entities with the classifier in CL as the measurement unit, as in [25].

[25] a. 那三瓶啤酒
        na4   san1   ping2 pi2jiu3
        that   three CL   beer
        'those three bottles of beer'

     b. 六千五百七十九块砖头
        liu4qian1   wu3bai3   qi1shi2jiu3   kuai4
        six_thousand five_hundred seventy-nine CL
        zhuan1tou0
        brick
        '6,579 bricks'

8.4.1.2. Approximate numbers

The NUM position is at times filled with the combination of a cardinal numeral and a hedge word to indicate an approximate number. The hedge word can replace the end portion of a sequence of digits, as in [26]. It can also modify a numeral to produce an approximate compound. Some such hedge words can only modify a numeral with just one counting unit, as in [27a], [27b], and [27c], while some other hedge words can modify any numeral as long as it has a zero as the basic digit, as in [27d] and [27e].

[26] a. 那二十多杯茶
        na4   er4shi2   duo1   bei1   cha 2
        that   twenty   more CL   tea
        'those over twenty (between 21 and 29) cups of tea'

     b. 十来部电脑
        shi2   lai2   bu4   dian4nao3
        ten   some CL   computer
        'over ten (between 11 and 19) computers'

     c. 百把只鸡
        bai3   ba3   zhi1 ji1
        hundred some CL   chicken
        'about one hundred (usually between 90 and 110) chickens'

[27] a. 那上千亩土地
        na4 *shang4* *qian1*   *mu3* *tu3di4*
        that   up_to thousand acre   land
        'those close to one thousand (approximately between 900 and 999) acres of land'

b. <u>成千头野牛</u>
cheng2qian1   tou2   ye3niu2
thousands_of   CL   bison
'thousands of buffalo'

c. <u>近五亿元</u>
jin4   wu3yi4   yuan2
near   five_hundred_million   yuan
'close to five hundred million (a little below 500 million) yuan'

d. <u>约三百五十名士兵</u>
yue1   san1bai3   wu3shi2   ming2   shi4bing1
about   three_hundred   fifty   CL   soldier
'about three hundred and fifty soldiers'

e. <u>约九千多吨</u>
yue1   jiu3qian1   duo1   dun1
about   nine_thousand   many   ton
'about a little over nine thousand tons'

Another way to express an approximate number is to fill the NUM position with two consecutive basic digits, as in [28a] and [28b], or to use two consecutive basic digits as the multiplier for one counting unit, as in [29].

[28]   a. <u>七八张桌子</u>
qi1ba1   zhang1   zhuo1zi0
seven_or_eight   CL   desk
'a few (roughly seven or eight) tables'

b. <u>八九船沙子</u>
ba1jiu3   chuan2   sha1zi0
eight_or_nine   CL   sand
'a few (roughly eight or nine) shiploads of sand'

[29]   <u>这二三百个学生</u>
zhe4   er4san1bai3   ge4   xue2sheng1
this   two_or_three_hundred   CL   student
'these few hundred (roughly 200 to 300) students'

A third way to express an approximate number is to use the quantifier 数 *shu4* 'several' or 几 *ji3* 'several' as the multiplier of a counting unit, as in [30]. The quantifier 几 *ji3* 'several' can also replace the rightmost digit of a sequence, as in [31].

[30]   a.   有<u>数十</u>名矿工正在井下作业。

        you3   shu4shi2   ming2   kuang4gong1   zheng4zai4   jing3
        YOU   several_ten   CL   miner   ZAI   well

        xia4   zuo4ye4
        under   work
        'Several dozen miners were working in the tunnels.'

      b.   广场上聚集了<u>几百</u>只鸽子。

        guang3chang3   shang4   ju4ji2   le0   ji3bai3
        square   on   gather   LE   several_hundred

        zhi1   ge1zi0
        CL   pigeon
        'Several hundred pigeons gathered at the square.'

[31]   a.   他拿了十<u>几</u>张纸。

        ta1   na2   le0   shi2ji3   zhang1   zhi3
        he   hold   LE   ten_several   CL   paper
        'He took over ten pieces of paper.'

      b.   这三千零<u>几</u>台拖拉机已经订出去了。

        zhe4   san1qian1ling2ji3   tai2   tuo1la1ji1   yi3jing1
        this   three_thousand_zero_some   CL   tractor   already

        ding4   chu1qu4   le0
        order   out   LE
        'The three thousand something tractors have been ordered.'

8.4.1.3. Ordinal numerals

The NUM position is at times filled with an ordinal numeral, which is formed by adding the prefix 第 *di4* '-th' to a cardinal numeral. A nominal phrase with an ordinal number in NUM represents a chosen member in a known set of entities, which are ordered as a numerical sequence with the ordinal number indicating the chosen one's position. Given the meaning of such nominal phrases, it is expected that their DET position is predominantly not filled with any lexical item, as in [32a] and [32b], although an overt demonstrative is occasionally found there, as in [32c].

[32]   a.   <u>第一</u>个学生

        di4   yi1   ge4   xue2sheng1
        ORDINAL   one   CL   student
        'the first student'

b. <u>第三亿九千五百六十七万零四十八名</u>新生婴儿
    di4   san1yi4   jiu3qian1
    ORDINAL   three_hundred_million   nine_thousand

    wu3bai3   liu4shi2qi1wan4   ling2   si4shi2ba1
    five_hundred   sixty-seven ten_thousand   zero   forty-eight

    ming2   xin1sheng1   ying1er2
    CL   newly_born   baby
    'the 395670048th newly born baby'

c. 这<u>第二</u>间教室现在空着。
    zhe4   di4   er4   jian1   jiao4shi4   xian4zai4   kong1
    this   ORDINAL   two   CL   classroom   now   empty

    zhe0
    ZHE
    'The second classroom is now empty.'

8.4.1.4. Quantifiers

The NUM position is occasionally filled with a quantifier to indicate a vague or approximate number. It can be a paucal quantifier, as in [33], or a multal quantifier, as in [34]. [33c] is unique in that it is ambiguous between an accurate reading and a vague reading, since 两 *liang3* 'two' is a cardinal numeral in most cases but sometimes has a quantifier reading for a vague small number.

[33]   a. 那<u>几</u>条船
           na4   ji3   tiao2   chuan2
           that   several   CL   ship
           'those few ships'

       b. <u>数</u>块大石头
           shu4   kuai4   da4   shi2tou0
           several   CL   big   stone
           'several big stones'

       c. 过<u>两</u>天我去看你。
           guo4   liang3   tian1   wo3   qu4   kan4   ni3
           GUO   two   day   I   go   see   you
           'I will visit you in two days/I will visit you in a few days.'

[34]   a. 那<u>无数</u>个冤魂
           na4   wu2shu4   ge4   yuan1hun2
           that   innumerable   CL   ghost_of_wrongly_accused
           'those ghosts of numerous victims'

b. 多个村庄
duo1　ge4　cun1zhuang1
many　CL　village
'many villages'

8.4.1.5. Interrogative quantifiers

The NUM position is sometimes filled with the interrogative quantifier 几 *ji3* 'how many' or 多少 *duo1shao3* 'how many.' 几 predominantly represents a number smaller than ten. Although 多少 can represent any number, it is seldom used to represent a number smaller than ten. Such a phrase appears mainly in a variable question to represent a number to be determined, as in [35]. The same phrase will have the reading of an existential quantifier when it falls under the scope of negation or appears in a yes–no question, as in [36]. A nominal phrase with an interrogative quantifier in NUM predominantly has no lexical determinative in DET.

[35]　a.　他偷了几辆车呢?
　　　　ta1　tou1　le0　ji3　　　　liang4　che1　ne0
　　　　he　steal　LE　how_many　CL　　car　NE
　　　　'How many cars did he steal?'

　　　b.　你还剩多少钱?
　　　　ni3　hai2　sheng4　duo1shao3　qian2
　　　　you　yet　remain　how_many　money
　　　　'How much money is left with you?'

[36]　a.　我们没有喝多少酒。
　　　　wo3men0　mei2you3　he1　duo1shao3　jiu3
　　　　we　　　　NEG　　　drink　many　　　wine
　　　　'We did not drink too much.'

　　　b.　你想买几条鱼吗?
　　　　ni3　xiang3　mai3　ji3　　tiao2　yu2　ma0
　　　　you　think　buy　several　CL　fish　MA
　　　　'Do you want to buy some fish?'

8.4.1.6. Non-lexical numeral

The NUM position can at times be left open with no lexical numeral. Such a nominal phrase should be interpreted as the NUM position filled with the numeral 一 *yi1* 'one.' 这本书 *zhe4 ben3 shu1* thus has the same meaning as 这一本书 *zhe4 yi1 ben3 shu1* 'this copy of book' does, while 那些花 *na4xie1 hua1* has the same reading as 那一些花 *na4 yi1xie1 hua1* 'those flowers.'

8.4.2. Classifiers in the CL position

The CL position is filled with a classifier or a compound classifier. Under certain circumstances, CL can be left open with no lexical classifier. A detailed discussion of classifiers is provided in Chapter 7.

The classifier represents the unit with which the entities denoted by N are being counted. The unit may or may not coincide with the natural partition of the entities since it is the unit the speaker chooses for counting. If the unit signifies an individualized entity and the numeral in NUM is one, as in [37a], the nominal phrase will have a singular reading in the usual sense. If the unit signifies a collection of entities and the numeral in NUM is one, the nominal phrase will still be considered singular, but it actually represents a collection of entities, as in [37b].

[37] a. 请给我一本红楼梦。
          qing3 gei3 wo3 yi1 ben3 hong2lou2meng4
          please give I   one CL   Dream_of_the_Red_Chamber
          'Please give me a copy of *Dream in the Red Chamber*.'

      b. 又买回来一堆没用的书。
          you4 mai3 hui2lai2 yi1 dui1 mei2yong4 de0 shu1
          again buy   return   one CL   useless   DE   book
          '(You) bought a pile of useless books again!'

8.4.2.1. Compound classifiers

Classifiers may occasionally be modified by an adjective or a noun. Such a compound functions as a normal classifier in that it occupies the CL position as a unit for counting, but it also provides some additional information about certain aspects of the unit, as in [38].

[38] a. 小贩又切了一<u>薄片</u>火腿。
          xiao3 fan4   you4 qie1 le0 yi1 bao2 pian4
          small vendor again cut   LE   one thin CL
          huo3tui3
          ham
          'The vendor cut off another thin slice of ham.'

      b. 那一<u>大藤</u>箱时装杂志都是她的。
          na4   yi1 da4 teng2 xiang1 shi2zhuang1 za2zhi4
          that one big cane   CL   fashion   magazine

dou1   shi4   ta1   de0
all   be   she DE
'All the fashion magazines in the big rattan box are hers.'

8.4.2.2. Duplicated classifiers

The CL position of a nominal phrase is at times occupied by a duplicated classifier, while the NUM position is filled with the numeral 一 *yi1* 'one,' lexically or non-lexically. When a speaker chooses such a nominal phrase, he is typically considering all members of a known set one by one. The speaker of sentence [39a] is saying that 挺立在天地之间 *ting3li4 zai4 tian1di4 zhi1jian1* 'stand straight between the sky and the earth' is true to each of the mountains he sees, while the speaker in [39b] is saying that if you look at the tables one by one, each of them is occupied without exception.

[39]   a.   那<u>一座座</u>山峰挺立在天地之间。

         na4   yi1   zuo4   zuo4   shan1feng1   ting3li4   zai4
         that one CL   CL   mountain   stand_upright PREP

         tian1di4   zhi1jian1
         sky_and_earth   between
         'Those peaks stand between the sky and the earth.'

        b.   <u>张张</u>桌子都有人。

         zhang 1   zhang1   zhuo1zi0   dou1   you3   ren2
                  CL   desk   all   YOU   people
         'All the tables are occupied.'

8.4.2.3. Non-lexical classifiers

The CL position is at times left open without a lexical classifier, commonly appearing without a lexical numeral but with a lexical determinative, as in 这人 *zhe4 ren2* 'this person' and 那房子 *na4 fang2zi0* 'that house.' A nominal phrase with a non-lexical classifier but with a lexical numeral, which is predominantly 一 *yi1* 'one,' is rare and is usually found in semi-Classical expressions like that in [40a], in casual speech like that in [40b], or in paired expressions like that in [40c].

[40]   a.   一票难求。

         yi1   piao4   nan2   qiu2
         one   ticket   hard   request
         'It is hard to get even one ticket.'

b.　树上坐一小孩。
　　shu4　　shang4　　zuo4　　yi1　　xiao3hai2
　　tree　　on　　　　sit　　　one　　child
　　'A child is sitting on the tree.'

c.　一家住一头。
　　yi1　　jia1　　zhu4　　yi1　　tou2
　　one　　home　　live　　one　　end
　　'Each family lives at one end.'

8.4.3. Bare NUM–CLP

The DET position in a nominal phrase is sometimes left open without any lexical determinative when the NUM–CL and N positions are filled with lexical elements to form a bare NUM–CLP.

　　The function of determinatives is to establish the definite or indefinite status of the nominal phrase, and such a function is still present even when the DET position is not filled with a lexical determinative. The only indefinite determinative (i.e., 某 *mou3* 'a certain') in contemporary Chinese comes from Classical Chinese and has very limited distribution. When the need arises for a nominal phrase to represent something new in the current discourse, such as in the existential sentences in [41a] and [41b], a bare NUM–CLP prototypically becomes the only choice. Such an NUM–CL phrase occasionally appears in the subject position marked with the semantically almost void existential verb 有 *you3* 'there be,' as in [41c], to indicate that it represents something new in the discourse.

[41]　a.　系里最近来了一位女老师。
　　　　xi4　　　　　　li3　　　zui4jin4　　lai2　　le0　　yi1　　wei4
　　　　department　inside　recently　come　LE　one　CL

　　　　nü3　　　lao3shi1
　　　　female　teacher
　　　　'A female teacher joined our department recently.'

b.　桌子上摊着一些剪报。
　　zhuo1zi0　　shang4　　tan1　　zhe0　　yi1xie1　　jian3bao4
　　desk　　　　on　　　　lay　　　ZHE　　some　　　clipping
　　'On the table lay some newspaper clips.'

c.　有两家服装厂倒闭了。
　　you3　　liang3　　jia1　　fu2zhuang1　　chang3　　dao3bi4　　　le0
　　YOU　　two　　　CL　　clothing　　　　factory　　go_bankrupt　LE
　　'Two garment factories went under.'

When the DET position is without a lexical determinative, the NUM position is at times filled with a non-lexical numeral as well, especially in colloquial speech. The non-lexical numeral is always 一 *yi1* 'one.'

[42]　来杯冰啤酒。
　　　lai2　　bei1　　bing1　　pi2jiu3
　　　come　CL　　ice　　　beer
　　　'Give me a glass of chilled beer.'

When there is a clear context to indicate the definite status of a nominal phrase, a bare NUM−CLP can have a definite reading, namely, having a non-lexical demonstrative in DET. The 三束花 *san1 shu4 hua1* 'three bouquets of flowers' phrase in [43] appears in the topic position to represent things that have been mentioned in the previous discourse, and the bare NUM−CLP is definite. Definite bare NUM−CLPs can be found in either the subject or the object positions, but indefinite NUM−CLPs are characteristically found in the object position of unaccusative verbs.

[43]　三束花我都要。
　　　san1　　shu4　　hua1　　wo3　　dou1　　yao4
　　　three　CL　　flower　I　　all　　want
　　　'I want all these three bouquets of flowers.'

8.5. Nouns and the N position

NP is the inner layer in a nominal phrase and its head is the locus for the essential information of the whole phrase. The N position is predominantly filled with a simple noun or a compound noun but it can sometimes be left open without a lexical noun. The noun represents a type of entity, which is its denotation, while the nominal phrase prototypically represents an entity or a set of entities, which is called its referent, and the relationship between the nominal phrase and its referent is known as reference.

8.5.1. Simple nouns and compound nouns

A simple noun consists of a single morpheme. Simple nouns usually have just one syllable, such as 猫 *mao1* 'cat,' 狗 *gou3* 'dog,' 水 *shui3* 'water,' 油 *you2* 'oil,' and so on. They sometimes have two syllables, such as 蟋蟀 *xi1shuai4* 'cricket,' 葫芦 *hu2lu2* 'gourd,' 芙蓉 *fu2rong2* 'lotus,' 琥珀 *hu3po4* 'amber,' 鹌鹑 *an1chun2* 'quail,' and so on. Simple nouns with three or more syllables do exist, but they are predominantly loanwords from other languages, such as 俱乐部 *ju4le4bu4* 'club' and 可口可乐 *ke3kou3ke3le4* 'Coca-Cola' from English.

A compound noun consists of two or more morphemes. The components of a compound noun can be free or bound morphemes. The relationship between

morphemes in most compound nouns can be described in terms of syntactic structure, regardless of whether the components are free or bound. One of the structural relations is coordination, in that the morphemes have equal status and make an equal contribution to the compound's meaning. The meaning of 朋友 *peng2you3* 'friend' is directly derived from 朋 *peng2* and 友 *you3*, both of which mean 'friend,' while that of 衣帽 *yi1mao4* 'apparel' is derived as a simple sum of 衣 *yi1* 'clothes' and 帽 *mao4* 'caps.' The meaning of 骨肉 *gu3rou4* 'kindred' is metaphorically derived from 骨 *gu3* 'bone' and 肉 *rou4* 'flesh,' while the meaning of 矛盾 *mao2dun4* 'contradiction' is related to that of 矛 *mao2* 'spear' and 盾 *dun4* 'shield' via a fable in which spears and shields are the key elements in two contradictory statements.

The morphemes in a compound noun can have a modification relation as well, with a nominal morpheme as the head in the final position. The meaning of some such compounds is directly derivable from their components, as in the case of 午饭 *wu3fan4* 'lunch,' which is directly related to 午 *wu3* 'noon' and 饭 *fan4* 'meal.' The meaning of other such compounds is indirectly related to their components, as in 大腕 *da4wan4* 'big shots,' which literally means 'big wrist' but metaphorically stands for powerful persons.

Some compound nouns are derived from compound verbs or adjectives. 管家 *guan3jia1* 'steward' literally means to 管 *guan3* 'manage' 家 *jia1* 'home,' but it is commonly used to mean the person who manages the home. 孤寡 *gu1gua3* 'orphans and widows' is the conjunction of the two adjectives 孤 *gu1* 'orphaned' and 寡 *gua3* 'widowed,' but it is commonly used as a noun meaning orphans and widows, a social group that is most vulnerable.

A compound noun can conjoin with other nouns or be modified by other words to produce a larger compound, as in the case of 奶油巧克力生日蛋糕 *nai3you2 qiao3ke4li4 sheng1ri4 dan4gao1* 'butter chocolate birthday cake.' Theoretically, a compound noun can be infinitely long, although practically, a noun will not be too long.

8.5.2. Elements in N

N is the ultimate head position of a nominal phrase and is prototypically filled with a noun, either a simple noun, as in [44a], or a compound noun, as in [44b]. On rare occasions a pronoun can appear in N with overt elements in DET, NUM, or CL. The 你 *ni3* 'you' in [45a] represents a person to whom the speaker is talking while day-dreaming. The 他 *ta1* 'he' in [45b] is neither deictic nor anaphoric. The listener always refers to her boyfriend as 他 *ta1* 'he' without prior context and the speaker is making fun of her by using 他 *ta1* 'he' in the same way. 他 *ta1* 'he' in this case represents 你的男朋友 *ni3 de0 nan2peng2you3* 'your boyfriend' and is not a pronoun per se.

[44] a. 这两头猪都摔伤了。

    zhe4 liang3 tou2 zhu1 dou1 shuai1shang1   le0

    this two CL pig all stumble_and_hurt LE

    'The two pigs were hurt.'

b. 前面开过来一辆重型扫雪车。

    qian2mian4 kai1 guo4lai2 yi1 liang4 zhong4xing2

    front   drive come one CL heavy

    sao3xue3che1

    snow_sweeper

    'Here comes a heavy-duty snow sweeper.'

[45] a. 我这才想起了那个同桌的你。

    wo3 zhe4 cai2 xiang3qi3 le0 na4 ge4

    I   thus just think_of LE that CL

    tong1zhuo1   de0 ni3

    sit_at_same_table DE you

    'Only now I recalled you who used to sit next to me.'

b. 什么时候也让我见见你的那个他。

    shen2me0 shi2hou0 ye3 rang4 wo3 jian4jian4 ni3

    what   time   also let I see   you

    de0 na4 ge4 ta1

    DE that CL he

    'Let me see that "he" of yours some time.'

Unlike pronouns, a noun in N characteristically carries no overt marker for number, but in rare cases a noun representing human beings can take the plural marker -们 *men0* 'PL' to express the speaker's sentiment, either fondness, as in [46a], or hatred, as in [46b].

[46] a. 同学们都夸我能干。

    tong2xue2 men0 dou1 kua1 wo3 neng2gan4

    classmate PL all praise I able

    'All classmates were saying good words about my ability.'

b. 让那些贪官们来看看！

    rang4 na4xie1 tan1guan1   men0 lai2 kan4kan4

    let   those corrupt_officials PL   come see

    'Let these greedy officials see this!'

8.5.3. Nominal phrases without a lexical noun

The N position of a nominal phrase is at times not filled with any lexical noun. Although such a phrase does not have a lexical head to provide denotation and consequently has no lexical base for establishing reference, it nonetheless represents an entity or a set of entities that has been mentioned in the discourse or is identifiable in the environment. The phrase thus behaves like a complex pronominal with a non-lexical pronoun as its head, which depends on an antecedent for reference similar to the English pronoun "one."

The non-lexical pronoun after 这几块 *zhe4 ji3 kuai4* 'these few pieces' in [47a] is most likely to take 砖头 *zhuan1tou0* 'brick' in the previous clause as its antecedent. The non-lexical pronoun after 两只 *liang3 zhi1* 'two counts' in [47b] is most likely to take 蜜蜂 *mi4feng1* 'bee' in the context as its antecedent. Sometimes the antecedent of the non-lexical pronoun in N is far away in the discourse or has to be inferred from the environment. The non-lexical pronoun after 一口 *yi1 kou3* 'one take' in [47c] has no clear antecedent in the immediate discourse and its referent has to be inferred from the utterance itself, which is part of a confession by a cocaine addict. The non-lexical pronoun is most likely to refer to the theme of the narrative, namely, cocaine. Sentence [47d] is taken from a conversation in a store where a customer utters it while pointing at a coat. The non-lexical pronoun after 这一件 *zhe4 yi1 jian4* 'this piece' is deictic and refers to the coat.

[47]   a.   那三块砖头都碎了, 这几块也不能用了。

na4   san1   kuai4   zhuan1tou0   dou1   sui4   le0
that   three   CL   brick   all   smash   LE

zhe4   ji3   kuai4   ye3   bu4neng2   yong4   le0
this   several   CL   also   cannot   use   LE
'The three bricks are broken and those (ones) are useless.'

b.   飞来了一群蜜蜂, 有两只停在了白花上。

fei1   lai2   le0   yi1   qun2   mi4feng1   you3   liang3
fly   come   LE   one   CL   bee   YOU   two

zhi1   ting2   zai4   le0   bai2   hua1   shang4
CL   stop   PREP   LE   white   flower   on
'A swarm of bees flew in and two of them came down to the white flower.'

c.   我已经上瘾了, 没多久就想抽上一口。

wo3   yi3jing1   shang4yin3   le0   mei2   duo1jiu3   jiu4
I   already   be_addicted   LE   NEG   long   thus

xiang3   chou1shang4   yi1kou3
think   smoke   one_sip
'I became addicted and would crave one after a short while.'

   d.   我要<u>这一件</u>。

        wo3   yao4   zhe4   yi1   jian4
        I   want   this   one   CL
        'I want this one.'

A nominal phrase with a non-lexical pronoun in N can have NUM, CL, or both left open without any lexical element. The non-lexical pronoun after 这扇 *zhe4 shan4* 'this leaf' in [48a] is most likely to take 门 *men2* 'door' as the antecedent. The subject phrase in the second clause of [48b] has a demonstrative 那 *na4* 'that' in DET, no lexical numeral in NUM, no lexical classifier in CL, and a non-lexical pronoun in N that takes 山水画 *shan1shui3hua4* 'painting of mountains and rivers' as its antecedent.

[48]   a.   堂屋的两扇门都换过了，<u>这扇</u>也该换了。

          tang2wu1   de0   liang3   shan4   men2   dou1   huan4
          main_hall   DE   two   CL   door   all   change

          guo4   le0   zhe4   shan4   ye3   gai1   huan4   le0
          GUO   LE   this   CL   also   should   change   LE
          'The two doors of the hall have been replaced and this one should be replaced as well.'

     b.   墙上挂着一幅山水画，<u>那</u>还是爷爷的。

          qiang2   shang4   gua4   zhe0   yi1   fu2   shan1shui3
          wall   on   hang   ZHE   one   CL   landscape

          hua4   na4   hai2shi4   ye2ye0   de0
          painting   that   still   Grandpa   DE
          'On the wall was a painting of scenery. That was Grandpa's.'

8.5.4. Bare NP

The DET, NUM, and CL positions in a nominal phrase are sometimes all left open without any lexical element, while the N position is filled with a lexical noun. Such a bare NP can have either a definite or an indefinite reading. Which meaning is actually realized depends on the speaker's intention and, consequently, the structural position the speaker assigns to the bare NP. The bare NP in [49a] is in the topic position of the sentence and is therefore definite, while the bare NP in [49b] appears in the post-verbal position of an existential sentence and is indefinite. A bare NP can represent either a single entity or a set of entities, depending on

the context. The 衣服 *yi1fu2* 'clothes' in [49a] is plural since it falls under the scope of the collective adverb 都 *dou1* 'all,' while the 客人 *ke4ren2* 'guest' in [49b] can be singular or plural since there is no clear context.

[49]   a.   衣服我都拿来了, 你穿吧。
               yi1fu2   wo3   dou1   na2lai2   le0   ni3   chuan1   ba0
               clothes   I   all   bring   LE   you   wear   BA
               'All the clothes are here. Put them on.'

      b.   来客人了, 赶快去招呼。
               lai2   ke4ren2   le0   gan3kuai4   qu4   zhao1hu1
               come   guest   LE   hastily   go   greet
               'Here comes a guest/guests. Hurry up and take care of him/them.'

8.6. Pronouns

Pronouns form a close class that is prototypically used anaphorically or deictically; in other words, they represent an entity or a set of entities that has been mentioned in the previous discourse or can be identified in the environment. A pronoun occupies the N position in a nominal phrase and such a phrase prototypically appears as a bare NP. Pronouns are usually classified as personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, and interrogative pronouns.

8.6.1. Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns form the largest category of pronouns and can be subdivided into core and peripheral members.

8.6.1.1. Core members

Core personal pronouns are classified according to the deictic category of persons, in the sense that the first-person pronoun 我 *wo3* 'I' refers to the speaker and the second-person pronoun 你 *ni3* 'you' refers to the listener. The third-person pronoun can be deictic in that it represents some person(s) other than the speaker and the listener; it can also be anaphoric in that it refers to a nominal phrase mentioned in the discourse. Third-person pronouns are represented by three different orthographic forms – 他 *ta1* 'he,' 她 *ta1* 'she,' and 它 *ta1* 'it' – but all three actually have the same pronunciation and should be considered one and the same morpheme. The different orthographic forms are inventions of the early twentieth century, together with two seldom used forms – 祂 *ta1* 'He' for God and 牠 *ta1* 'it' for animal. The same thing happened to the second-person pronoun, which has a rarely used female form 妳 *ni3* 'you' and a divinity form 祢 *ni3* 'thou' (in Classical Chinese, this is actually an old form for a father who has passed away).

The second-person pronoun has a polite form 您 *nin2* 'you,' with which a speaker addresses people who have higher social status or are deemed to be worthy of respect.

The plural form of all personal pronouns is constructed in the same way, by adding the plural suffix −们 *men0* 'PL' to the personal pronouns to produce 我们 *wo3men0* 'we,' 你们 *ni3men0* 'you,' 他们 *ta1men0* 'they,' 她们 *ta1men0* 'they (female),' and 它们 *ta1men0* 'they (non-human).' The second-person polite form 您 *nin2* 'thou' does not have a morphologically marked plural counterpart. In cases where a polite form is needed for a second-person plural pronoun, a complex form like 您三位 *nin2 san1 wei4* 'your honorable three' will be used.

The first-person plural pronoun 我们 has an inclusive counterpart 咱们 *zan2men0* 'we.' The difference between the two lies in the fact that when a speaker uses 咱们, he includes the listener in his group or on his side, while the speaker does not make such a categorization if he chooses 我们. 咱们 is used characteristically in colloquial speech, especially in that by Northern people.

咱们 has a singular variation 咱 *zan2* 'I,' which sometimes appears in casual speech but does not necessarily express a singular meaning. The 咱 in [50] can be interpreted either as 'I' or as 'we,' and such a 咱 carries some vulgar flavor.

[50]   登台表演? 哪有咱的份啊?
        deng1tai2   biao3yan3   na3   you3   zan2   de0
        get_on_stage   perform   which   YOU   I_or_we   DE
        fen4   a1
        share   A
        'To perform on the stage? Do I/we have such luck?'

An accepted way of showing one's modesty is using 我们 in places where 我 is normally used, as in [51]. The opposite is also true under some other circumstances. In official written documents, the first-person singular 我 typically replaces the plural 我们 to create expressions like 我校 *wo3 xiao4* 'our school,' 我厂 *wo3 chang3* 'our factory,' and 我公司 *wo3 gong1si1* 'our company.' Similarly, in official documents the second-person singular 你 sometimes replaces the plural 你们 to create expressions like 你单位 *ni3 dan1wei4* 'your unit' and 你站 *ni3 zhan4* 'your station.'

[51]   今天我们讲第三课。
        jin1tian1   wo3men0   jiang3   di4san1   ke4
        today   we   teach   the_third   lesson
        'Today I will lecture on Lesson Three.'

Unlike other pronouns, the non-human third-person 它 *ta1* 'it' characteristically does not appear in lexical form, but it must be lexical when it functions as the object of a preposition.

8.6.1.2. Peripheral members

Peripheral personal pronouns characteristically appear in a specific context and have limited distribution. The third-person 其 *qi2* 'he/she/it' inherited from Classical Chinese is used largely in formal genres. It is predominantly anaphoric and is seldom used deictically. 其 represents the third-person of all numbers, persons, genders, and cases. When 其 represents the possessor of a nominal phrase, the marker 的 *de0* 'DE' never appears. Expressions like 其财产 *qi2 cai2chan3* 'his/her properties' and 其后果 *qi2 hou4guo3* 'its consequence' are anaphoric in the sense that the 其 refers to a nominal phrase mentioned in the discourse. The same can be said about the 其 in fixed expressions like 其中 *qi2zhong1* 'among them,' 其余 *qi2yu2* 'the rest of them,' and 其间 *qi2jian1* '(during) that time.'

Other peripheral personal pronouns include third-person unspecified 人家 *ren2jia1* 'other person(s),' 别人 *bie2ren2* 'other person(s),' and 旁人 *pang2ren2* 'other person(s),' which represent either singular or plural pronouns, as well as plural 大家 *da4jia1* 'all persons' and 大伙儿 *da4huo3er0* 'all persons.' 人家, 别人, and 旁人 are both deictic and anaphoric. The difference lies in the fact that 人家 and 别人 are typically used in colloquial speech, while 旁人 is mostly used in writing. 人家 or 别人 is sometimes used by girls as a first-person singular pronoun to show their charming side or to seek attention.

大家 *da4jia1* 'all persons' or 大伙儿 *da4huo3er0* 'all persons' represents a group of people present in the environment or mentioned before in the discourse. 大家 and 大伙儿 typically refer to people other than the speaker and the listener. However, when the speaker wants to show his solidarity with the listener, especially in imperative sentences, he can use 大家 or 大伙儿 as an inclusive plural pronoun. The 大家 in [52] actually represents everybody on the spot, including the speaker, the listener, and all the other people.

[52]   大家一起唱。
       da4jia1   yi1qi3   chang4
       everyone   together sing
       'Let's sing together.'

8.6.2. Reflexive pronouns

A reflexive pronoun predominantly depends on an antecedent nominal phrase for reference and the two prototypically appear in the same clause or sentence. There are two types of reflexive pronouns: the basic form 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' and the derived

form, such as 我自己 *wo3 zi4ji3* 'myself' or 他们自己 *ta1men0 zi4ji3* 'themselves,' which consists of a core pronoun and the basic reflexive pronoun.

The basic form 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' can have an antecedent of any person and number, as shown in [53]. Another characteristic of 自己 is that it can appear in the subject position, as in [53a], or in the object position, as in [53b]. It can also appear in other positions, such as inside a relative clause as in [51c]. 自己 can sometimes appear in a clause other than the one containing its antecedent, as in [53d] and [53e], and the dependency relation between the two is often referred to as long-distance anaphora.

[53] a. 作者相信<u>自己</u>可以解释这一现象。

zuo4zhe3 xiang1xin4 zi4ji3 ke3yi3 jie3shi4 zhe4
author   believe   self   may   explain   this

yi   xian4xiang4
one   phenomenon

'The author believes that he can explain the phenomenon.'

  b. 你们要照顾好<u>自己</u>。

ni3men0 yao4 zhao4gu4 hao4 zi4ji3
you   will care_for good self

'You should take good care of yourselves.'

  c. 我把<u>自己</u>做的视频上传到新浪网。

wo3 ba3 zi4ji3 zuo4 de0 shi4pin2 shang4chuan2
I   BA   self   make DE   video   upload

dao4 xin1lang4 wang3
PREP Sina   net

'I uploaded the video clip I made to Sina.com.'

  d. 乡民们以为神明会保佑<u>自己</u>，纷纷去上香。

xiang1min2 men0 yi3wei2 shen2ming2 hui4 bao3you4
villager   PL   think   gods   will bless

zi4ji3 fen1fen1   qu4 shang4xiang1
self   one_after_another go   offer_incense

'The villagers thought the god would bless them and went to offer incense.'

  e. 老板交代秘书到<u>自己</u>家里去取钱。

lao3ban3 jiao1dai4 mi4shu1   dao4 zi4ji3 jia1   li3
boss   tell   secretary PREP self   home   in

qu4 qu3 qian2
go   get money

'The boss asked his secretary to go to his home to get some money.'

A derived reflexive pronoun predominantly appears in the same clause with its antecedent. It is typical for the derived reflexive pronoun and its antecedent to occupy the object and the subject positions, respectively, as in [54] below:

[54]   a.   我要对老婆说：“我要改变我自己”。

wo3   yao4   dui4   lao3po0   shuo1   wo3   yao4   gai3bian4
I   want   PREP   wife   talk   I   want   change

wo3   zi4ji3
I   self
'I will tell my wife: "I will change myself."'

b.   她只不过是自私的, 她只爱她自己。

ta1   zhi3bu4guo4   shi4   zi4si1   de0   ta1   zhi3   ai4
she   only   be   selfish   DE   she   only   love

ta1   zi4ji3
she   self
'She is just selfish. She only loves herself.'

A reflexive pronoun can sometimes be found in a non-argument position. The 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' in [55] does not form a derived reflexive pronoun with 他 *ta1* 'he' but rather is in the adverbial position of the clause following 银行账号 *yin2hang2 zhang4hao4* 'bank account.' This emphasizes that it is the subject 他 *ta1* 'he' who is using the bank account for his own benefit.

[55]   老总拿我的身份证开银行账号他自己用, 怎么办?

lao3zong3   na2   wo3   de0   shen1fen4zheng4   kai1
manager   hold   I   DE   id_card   open

yin2hang2   zhang4hao4   ta1   zi4ji3   yong4   zen3me0
bank   account_number   he   self   use   how

ban4
do
'The boss took my ID to open a bank account for himself. What should I do?'

The basic reflexive 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' has two colloquial counterparts – 自个儿 *zi4ger0* 'self,' which is characteristically used by northerners, and 自家 *zi4jia1* 'self,' which is used by southerners.

8.6.3. Interrogative pronouns

An interrogative pronoun predominantly represents an entity or a set of entities to be identified, namely, for new information to be provided. Of these, 谁 *shui2* 'who' represents human beings and 什么 *shen2me0* 'what' represents non-human

entities. An interrogative pronoun can function as the modifier of certain nouns to form compounds like 谁家 *shui2 jia1* 'whose home,' 什么地方 *shen2me0 di4fang0* 'what place, where,' 什么时候 *shen2me0 shi2hou0* 'what time, when,' 什么原因 *shen2me0 yuan2yin1* 'what reason,' and 什么书 *shen2me0 shu1* 'what book.' The interrogative morpheme 怎 *zen3* 'how' does not appear independently but can form compounds like 怎么 *zen3me0* 'how,' 怎样 *zen3yang4* '(in) what way, how,' and 怎么样 *zen3me0yang4* '(in) what way, how.'

An interrogative pronoun or compound typically functions as the variable in a question in which the speaker wants to learn the identity of something. The 谁 *shui2* 'who,' 什么 *shen2me0* 'what,' and 什么地方 *shen2me0 di4fang0* 'what place, where' in [56a], [56b], and [56c], respectively, are all to be replaced in the answer by nominal phrases representing an appropriate entity or a set of entities.

[56] a. 你在跟谁说话啊?

    ni3 zai4 gen1 shui2 shuo1hua4 a1

    you ZAI PREP who talk   A

    'Who are you talking to?'

  b. 你说咱们吃什么呢?

    ni3 shuo1 zan2men0 chi1 shen2me0 ne0

    you talk we   eat what   NE

    'What do you say we should eat?'

  c. 什么地方出产的莲子最好吃?

    shen2me0 di4fang0 chu1chan3 de0 lian2zi3 zui4

    what   place   produce DE lotus_seeds most

    hao3chi1

    delicious

    'Which place produces the best lotus seeds?'

Interrogative pronouns or compounds in variable questions behave like nominal phrases in that they stay in the position where nominal phrases are typically called for. The speaker of [56b] uses 什么 *shen2me0* 'what' to inquire about the proper food and, in spite of its position inside an embedded clause, 什么 *shen2me0* 'what' has scope over the entire sentence. The compound 什么地方 *shen2me0 di4fang0* 'what place, where' in [56c] also has scope over the whole sentence, in spite of its position inside a relative clause.

An interrogative pronoun or a compound sometimes functions as the adverbial in a sentence, such as the temporal adverbial 什么时候 *shen2me0 shi2hou0* 'what time, when' in [57a] and the manner adverbial 怎样 *zen3yang4* '(in) what way, how' in [57b].

[57]   a.   飞机<u>什么时候</u>起飞?
         fei1ji1   shen2me0   shi2hou0   qi3fei1
         airplane   what   time   take_off
         'When will the plane take off?'

       b.   您要我们<u>怎样</u>处理呢?
         nin2   yao4   wo3men0   zen3yang4   chu3li3   ne0
         you   want   we   how   handle   NE
         'In what way do you want us to handle it?'

In some rare cases, an interrogative pronoun does not stay in its usual position, such as the 什么 *shen2me0* 'what' in the topic position of [58a]. Although it requires an answer, [58a] is actually an echo question. When the speaker hears a topic–comment construction like [58b] and is not sure whether he has heard it right, he could utter [58a] to confirm the identity of the topic.

[58]   a.   <u>什么</u>你不要了?
         shen2me0   ni3   bu4   yao4   le0
         what   you   NEG   want   LE
         'What do you not want?'

       b.   房子我不要了。
         fang2zi0   wo3   bu4   yao4   le0
         house   I   NEG   want   LE
         'The house, I do not want it anymore.'

Interrogative pronouns or compounds can have a non-interrogative interpretation when they appear in certain environments. The 什么 *shen2me0* 'what' in [59a] appears in a yes–no question and should be interpreted as an existential quantifier. The 谁 *shui2* 'who' in [59b] falls under the scope of the inclusive adverb 都 *dou1* 'all' and should also be interpreted as an existential quantifier. The 什么 *shen2me0* 'what' in [59c] falls under the scope of the negative morpheme 没 *mei2* 'not' and has the interpretation of a negatively oriented polarity-sensitive item. 什么好看的衣服 *shen2me0 hao3kan4 de0 yi1fu2* therefore means '(not) any attractive clothes.' The two 什么 *shen2me0* 'what' in the conditional sentence [59d] form a discontinuous unit with a fixed non-interrogative paired reading. The 什么 *shen2me0* 'what' in the adverbial clause should be interpreted as an existential quantifier, while the one in the main clause should be understood as a third-person pronoun referring back to the first 什么. The speaker uses 什么 *shen2me0* 'what' in [59e] not because he wants to know the identity of the book but because he has forgotten the name of the book. [59e] is not a variable question, nor does 什么 *shen2me0* 'what' need an answer.

[59]   a.   想买点什么吗?

xiang3   mai3   dian3   shen2me0   ma0
think   buy   some   what   MA
'Do you want to buy anything?'

b.   谁给钱都说得过去。

shui2   gei3qian2   dou1   shuo1de2guo4qu4
who   pay   all   be_justifiable
'It does not matter who pays for it.'

c.   昨天没见到什么好看的衣服。

zuo2tian1   mei2   jian4dao4   shen2me0   hao3kan4   de0
yesterday   NEG   see   what   beautiful   DE

yi1fu2
clothes
'We did not see any attractive clothes yesterday.'

d.   这几个家伙疯了, 看见什么拿什么。

zhe4   ji3   ge4   jia1huo0   feng1   le0   kan4jian4
this   several   CL   guy   mad   LE   see

shen2me0   na2   shen2me0
what   take   what
'These guys were crazy. If they saw something, they would take it.'

e.   你昨天说的那本什么书来了没有?

ni3   zuo2tian1   shuo1   de0   na4   ben3   shen2me0   shu1
you   yesterday   talk   DE   that   CL   what   book

lai2   le0   mei2you3
come   LE   NEG
'Has the book you talked about yesterday arrived?'

8.6.4. Zero pronouns

A pronoun generally functions alone as a nominal phrase. It sometimes appears as a zero form, which is either anaphoric or deictic. The subject position of the embedded clause in [60a] is filled with a zero pronoun, which is most likely to refer to the matrix subject 老爸 *lao3ba4* 'Daddy.' However, it would refer to the cleaning lady if [60a] was uttered as an answer to the question in [60b]. The zero pronouns in both cases are anaphoric. The zero pronoun in [60c], on the other hand, is deictic, and refers to something present in the environment.

[60]   a.   老爸说 Ø 今天不来了。

        lao3ba4   shuo1   Ø   jin1tian1   bu4   lai2   le0

        daddy   talk   Ø   today   NEG   come   LE

        'Daddy said he would not come today.'

    b.   钟点工怎么还没来?

        zhong1dian3gong1   zen3me0   hai2   mei2   lai2

        hourly_worker   why   yet   NEG   come

        'Why hasn't the cleaning lady come?'

    c.   拿过来吧。

        na2   guo4lai2   ba0

        hold   come   BA

        'Bring it over.'

8.6.5. Pronouns and possessive relation

Possessive pronouns are not an independent category, and possessive relation is predominantly represented by a construction consisting of a possessor phrase marked with 的 *de0* 'DE' and a possessed phrase. The possessor phrase is either a pronoun, as in 我的家乡 *wo3 de0 jia1xiang1* 'my hometown,' 咱们的老板 *zan2men0 de0 lao3ban3* 'our boss,' 她的弟弟 *ta1 de0 di4di0* 'her younger brother,' 人家的一块地 *ren2jia1 de0 yi1 kuai4 di4* 'somebody's land,' 自己的那一家公司 *zi4ji3 de0 na4 yi1 jia1 gong1si1* 'one's own company,' and 谁的孩子 *shui2 de0 hai2zi0* 'whose child,' or a nominal phrase, as in 爸爸的鞋 *ba4ba0 de0 xie2* 'father's shoes,' 楼上邻居的狗 *lou2shang4 lin2ju1 de0 gou3* 'upstairs neighbor's dog,' and 那幢房子的后墙 *na4 zhuang4 fang2zi0 de0 hou4 qiang2* 'that house's rear wall.'

    Since the possessor phrase has the same morphological configuration as a modifier phrase, a phrase like 他的书 *ta1 de0 shu1* 'his book, a book about him' can represent not only a possessive relation but also a modification relation. This means that such a nominal phrase can have quite a number of readings. Some of the possible readings of 他的书 *ta1 de0 shu1* 'his book, a book about him' are listed in [61], and the possessive reading is the most prominent one.

[61]   a.   他拥有的书

        ta1   yong1you3   de0   shu1

        he   own   DE   book

        'the books that he owns'

    b.   他写的书

        ta1   xie3   de0   shu1

        he   write   DE   book

        'the books he wrote'

c. 他装帧的书

ta1 zhuang1 zhen1 de0 shu1

he bind lay_out DE book

'the books he decorated'

d. 他背着的书

ta1 bei1 zhe0 de0 shu1

he carry ZHE DE book

'the books he is carrying'

e. 他卖的书

ta1 mai4 de0 shu1

he sell DE book

'the books he is selling'

f. 他负责编辑的书

ta1 fu4ze2 bian1ji2 de0 shu1

he be_in_charge edit DE book

'the books he edited'

When the possessed is represented by a nominal phrase with a demonstrative in DET, the marker 的 *de0* 'DE' of the possessor phrase can sometimes be left out, as in [62].

[62] a. 我家那房子的天然气初装费要 2800。

wo3 jia1 na4 fang2zi0 de0 tian1ran2qi4 chu1

I home that house DE natural_gas first

zhuang1 fei4 yao4 2800

install fee need 2800

'The natural gas installation fee for our house is 2,800 dollars.'

b. 我这表妹野着呢。

wo3 zhe4 biao3mei4 ye3 zhe0 ne0

I this younger_female_cousin wild ZHE NE

'This cousin of mine is really wild.'

When the possessed is a kinship term or represents inalienable possession such as body parts, the possessed phrase will be definite. The 的 *de0* 'DE' in such a possessive phrase could also be left out, even though there is no lexical demonstrative in the DET position of the possessed phrase. The subject in [63a] and [63b] thus has the same structure as a possessive construction marked with 的 *de0* 'DE.'

[63]   a.   你弟弟又喝醉了。
            ni3   di4di0   you4   he1zui4   le0
            you   younger_brother   again   drink_drunk   LE
            'Your brother got drunk again.'

       b.   她眼睛里只有儿子。
            ta1   yan3jing1   li3   zhi3you3   er2zi0
            she   eye   inside   only   son
            'There is only her son in her eyes.'

8.7. Apposition

An appositive modifier is one which when substituted for the whole nominal phrase in a declarative sentence always yields a sentence that is an entailment of the original, as shown by 刘翔 *liu2xiang2* 'Liu Xiang' in [64] below:

[64]   a.   刘翔这位冠军来自上海。
            liu2xiang2   zhe4   wei4   guan4jun1   lai2zi4
            LIU_XIANG   this   CL   champion   come_from

            shang4hai3
            SHANGHAI
            'Liu Xiang the champion came from Shanghai.'

       b.   刘翔来自上海。
            liu2xiang2   lai2zi4   shang4hai3
            LIU_XIANG   come_from   SHANGHAI
            'Liu Xiang came from Shanghai.'

8.7.1. Appositives

A prominent property of appositive nominal phrases is that the modifier and the modified can appear as the variable and value in a specifying copular sentence and the order can be reversed, as in [65b] and [65c].

[65]   a.   刘翔这位冠军。
            liu2xiang2   zhe4   wei4   guan4jun1
            LIU_XIANG   this   CL   champion
            'Liu Xiang the champion.'

       b.   这位冠军是刘翔。
            zhe4   wei4   guan4jun1   shi4   liu2xiang2
            this   CL   champion   be   LIU_XIANG
            'The champion is Liu Xiang.'

c.　刘翔是这位冠军。

　　liu2xiang2　shi4　zhe4　wei4　guan4jun1
　　LIU_XIANG　be　this　CL　champion
　　'Liu Xiang is the champion.'

Appositive modifiers are often proper names, but it is possible for a proper name to be the modified and a definite nominal phrase to be the modifier, as in [66].

[66]　结果只好买这唯一的国货品牌李宁。

　　jie2guo3　　zhi3hao3　mai3　zhe4　wei2yi1　de0
　　as_a_result　have_to　buy　this　only　DE

　　guo2huo4　　　pin3pai2　　li3ning2
　　domestic_goods　trademark　LI_NING
　　'By the end, I had to pick the only domestic brand LI Ning.'

The appositive modifier can be a pronoun as well, as in [67] below.

[67]　a.　你怎么就看上了我这个穷小子?

　　　　ni3　zen3me0　jiu4　kan4shang4　le0　wo3　zhe4　ge4
　　　　you　why　　thus　favor　　　LE　I　this　CL

　　　　qiong2　xiao3zi0
　　　　poor　　boy
　　　　'How come you fell in love with a poor chap like me?'

　　b.　他们那几个混混根本不值得一提。

　　　　ta1men0　na4　ji3　　ge4　hun4hun0　gen1ben3　bu4
　　　　they　　that　several　CL　punks　　at_all　　NEG

　　　　zhi2de2　yi1　ti2
　　　　worth　　one　mention
　　　　'They, the punks, are not worth mentioning at all.'

8.7.2. Appositive versus non-appositive modifiers

The defining feature of an appositive modifier is that the modifier and modified stand for the same set of entities. This distinguishes it from other modifiers with similar linear order like that in [68a]. The proper noun 王总 *wang2 zong3* 'CEO Wang' and the pronoun 他们 *ta1men0* 'they' also form a modification relation, but 王总 *wang2 zong3* 'CEO Wang' and 他们 *ta1men0* 'they' refer to different people, even though the former is a subset of the latter. This phrase should be interpreted as 'the guys with CEO Wang as the representative.' The same can be said about the two elements in 李勇他们 *li3yong3 ta1men0* 'the people of whom Li Yong is the representative' in [68b]. On the other hand, 李勇他们 *li3yong3 ta1men0* 'the people of whom Li Yong is the representative' and 这几个废物 *zhe4 ji3 ge4 fei4wu4* 'these

good-for-nothing' refer to the same group of people, and they can function as the variable and value in a specifying copular sentence. Thus, these two form an appositive relation.

[68] a. <u>王总他们在里面开会。</u>
        wang2zong3   ta1men0   zai4   li3mian4   kai1hui4
        CEO_WANG   they   PREP   inside   have_a_meeting
        'CEO WANG and his people are holding a meeting inside.'

     b. <u>李勇他们这几个废物!</u>
        li3yong3   ta1men0   zhe4   ji3   ge4   fei4wu4
        LI_YONG   they   this   several   CL   good_for_nothing
        'They are a good-for-nothing bunch, Li Yong and his cohorts!'

8.7.3. Appositive versus complement modifiers

The appositive relation is unique in that the marker 的 *de0* 'DE' never appears when an appositive phrase modifies a nominal phrase. Another uniqueness of an appositive modifier is that it can substitute the whole nominal phrase in a declarative sentence to yield a reading that is an entailment of the original. This distinguishes appositive modifiers from complement clauses marked with 的 *de0* 'DE' like the one in [69a], because the latter does not necessarily yield the entailment. Although 那篇报导 *na4 pian1 bao4dao3* 'that news report' is indeed 玉树发生 7.1 级地震 *yu4shu4 fa1sheng1 7.1 ji2 di4zhen4* 'a 7.1 earthquake occurred in Yushu,' the latter cannot substitute the whole nominal phrase to yield an entailment. Thus, [69b] has a reading different from that of [69a].

[69] a. <u>玉树发生 7.1 级地震的那篇报导来得很及时。</u>
        yu4shu4   fa1sheng1   7.1   ji2   di4zhen4   de0   na4
        Yushu   happen   7.1   level   earthquake   DE   that

        pian1   bao4dao3   lai2   de2   hen3   ji2shi2
        CL   news_report   come   DE   very   in_time
        'The news report that a 7.1 earthquake happened in Yushu came in time.'

     b. <u>玉树发生 7.1 级地震来得很及时。</u>
        yu4shu4   fa1sheng1   7.1   ji2   di4zhen4   lai2   de2
        Yushu   happen   7.1   level   earthquake   come   DE

        hen3   ji2shi2
        very   in_time
        'That a 7.1 earthquake happened in Yushu came in time.'

8.8. Referential and non-referential use of nominal phrases

8.8.1. Referentiality and denotation

Nouns and nominal phrases represent entities in the real world or some fictional world. Nominal phrases are mostly referential in the sense that, by using one in a given occasion, a speaker intends it to pick out an entity or a set of entities as its referent, which is independently distinguishable by properties other than those inherent in the meaning of the phrase itself. This means that the reference relation between a nominal phrase and its referent is typically context-dependent. The 这种手机 *zhe4 zhong3 shou3ji1* 'this kind of mobile phone' in [70] represents inherently a set of entities of a particular type, and can be used on different occasions to refer to many distinct sets. In this particular sentence, it refers to the set that has been mentioned in the previous discourse or is present in the environment, and is therefore referential and definite.

[70]   这种手机最近不怎么好卖。
       zhe4   zhong3   shou3ji1   zui4jin4   bu4   zen3me0   hao3
       this   CL   cell_phone   recently   NEG   very   good
       mai4
       sell
       'These cell phones do not sell well recently.'

Nouns are not themselves referential. Although 这种手机 *zhe4 zhong3 shou3ji1* 'this kind of mobile phone' in [70] is referential, the 手机 *shou3ji1* 'mobile phone' in its N position is not, since 手机 *shou3ji1* 'mobile phone' only refers to a type of entity. The semantic relation between the type and the noun 手机 *shou3ji1* 'mobile phone' is termed "denotation" and the type is also known as denotation.

8.8.2. Referential and non-referential nominal phrases

Nouns themselves have denotation but do not have reference. By contrast, nominal phrases, including bare NPs that look like nouns, are mostly referential but some of them are used non-referentially at times.

8.8.2.1. Co-referential pronouns as a test for referentiality

In straightforward cases like that in [71], the difference between referential and non-referential nominal phrases can be brought out by testing whether a co-referential personal pronoun can be added in a separate clause:

[71]   a.   老板ᵢ 出钱, 他ᵢ 当然要得好处。
        lao3ban3   chu1qian2   ta1   dang1ran2   yao4   de2
        boss   pay_out   he   of_course   want   gain

        hao3chu4
        benefit
        'The boss pays the money, and he of course wants the benefit.'

    b.   i.   *谁ᵢ 出钱, 他ᵢ 当然要得好处。
           shui2   chu1qian2   ta1   dang1ran2   yao4   de2   hao3chu4
           who   pay_out   he   of_course   want   gain   benefit

       ii.   谁ᵢ 出钱, 谁ᵢ 当然要得好处。
           shui2   chu1qian2   shui2   dang1ran2   yao4   de2
           who   pay_out   who   of_course   want   gain
           hao3chu4
           benefit
           'He who pays expects to get something back.'

The 老板 *lao3ban3* 'boss' in [71a] refers to a particular person and is definite. The pronoun 他 *ta1* 'he' in the following clause is most likely referring to the same person, namely, co-referential with 老板 *lao3ban3* 'boss.' The 谁 *shui2* 'anyone' in [71b] denotes people but does not refer to any independently distinguishable person or set of persons. It is used non-referentially and the pronoun 他 *ta1* 'he' in the following clause cannot be co-referential with it. The only way to have a nominal element co-referential with such a 谁 *shui2* 'anyone' is to use another 谁 in the following clause, as in [71c], to produce a pair reading in which the second 谁 *shui2* 'anyone' actually means 'that person.'

8.8.2.2. Nominal phrases that are inherently non-referential

Some nominal phrases are predominantly not independently distinguishable and are therefore non-referential. An interrogative phrase like the 什么地方 *shen2me0 di4fang0* 'where' in [72a] is not referential since it cannot be identified with any entity or set of entities. A free choice existential quantifier can be non-referential under certain circumstances. The 任何生物 *ren4he2 sheng1wu4* 'any living thing' in [72b] falls under this category. The most prominent reading of [72b] is that the predicate 都必须进行呼吸 *dou1 bi4xu1 jin4xing2 hu1xi1* 'all must breathe' applies to any arbitrary subset of the types of entities denoted by 生物 *sheng1wu4* 'living thing.' The nominal phrase 任何生物 *ren4he2 sheng1wu4* 'any living thing' is not identifiable with any particular set of entities and is therefore non-referential.

[72] a. <u>什么地方</u>可以买到冬笋呢?

shen2me0   di4fang0   ke3yi3   mai3dao4

what   place   may   buy

dong1sun3   ne0

winter_bamboo_shoots   NE

'Where could one buy winter bamboo shoots?'

      b. <u>任何生物</u>都必须进行呼吸。

ren4he2   sheng1wu4   dou1   bi4xu1   jin4xing2   hu1xi1

any   sentient_being   all   must   proceed   breathe

'Any sentient being must breathe.'

8.8.2.3. Nominal phrases expressing pure quantity

A bare NUM−CLP can at times be found in sentences describing a pure quantitative relationship, in the sense that the speaker is using the denotation of the noun and the quantity represented by the numeral-classifier without picking out any set of entities as the referent of the phrase. Both 五斤面粉 *wu3 jin1 mian4fen3* 'five half-kilo of flour' and 四十个馒头 *si4shi2 ge4 man2tou0* 'forty buns' in [73a] are used here to describe the amount of flour needed for making a certain number of buns, but not to identify any particular flour or buns. The relationship between 一张床 *yi1 zhang1 chuang2* 'one bed' and 三个人 *san1 ge4 ren2* 'three persons' in [73b] is also that of pure quantity.

[73] a. 五斤面粉可以做四十个馒头。

wu3   jin1   mian4fen3   ke3yi3   zuo4   si4shi2

five   half-kilogram flour   may   make   forty

ge4   man2tou0

CL   steamed_bun

'Five half-kilos of flour is enough to make forty buns.'

      b. 一张床睡三个人。

yi1   zhang1   chuang2   shui4   san1   ge4   ren2

one   CL   bed   sleep   three   CL   people

'One bed is enough for three persons to sleep on.'

8.8.2.4. Nominal phrases related to activities

Bare NPs are occasionally found in verb phrases describing types of activities, such as the 读书 *du2shu1* 'read book' in [74]. The bare NP 书 *shu1* 'book' in this case does not represent any particular set of books, neither does it represent books as a type of entity. 书 *shu1* 'book' is part of an activity verb phrase that means

'going to school' and cannot serve as the antecedent of any pronominal. Thus, it is non-referential.

[74]   我要读书。
      wo3   yao4   du2shu1
      I   want   read
      'I want to go to school.'

8.8.3. Definiteness and genericity

The reference of a nominal phrase is characteristically context-dependent. When the speaker expects the listener to be able to identify the referent of a nominal phrase, he will use a definite phrase, namely, one with a demonstrative in DET. When the speaker does not expect the speaker to be able to identify anything, he will use an indefinite nominal phrase, which predominantly has no lexical indefinite determinative in DET.

A nominal phrase will have a generic reading when it is in the scope of an expression denoting unlimited states, namely, a situation type that potentially holds for all times. A nominal phrase with a generic reading prototypically appears as a bare NP and it characteristically refers to a type of entity. The 宠物 *chong3wu4* 'pets' in [75a] refers to pets as a type of animal and the neighbor's love for them seems to hold for as long as she lives. The 蘑菇 *mo2gu1* 'mushrooms' in [75b] refers to a type of living thing and the statement 是一种真菌 *shi4 yi1 zhong3 zhen1jun4* 'be a type of fungi' holds for all time. These two bare NPs have a generic reading.

[75]   a.   邻居喜欢养宠物。
          lin2ju1   xi3huan1   yang3   chong3wu4
          neighbor   like   raise   pet
          'Our neighbor loves to keep pets.'
    b.   蘑菇是一种真菌。
          mo2gu1   shi4   yi1   zhong3   zhen1jun1
          mushroom   be   one   CL   fungus
          'Mushrooms are a type of fungi.'

8.9. Proper names, proper nouns, and vocatives

8.9.1. Proper names and proper nouns

Proper names are expressions that have been conventionally adopted as the name of a particular entity or a set of entities, while proper nouns are those that are specialized in the function of heading proper names. Although proper names and proper nouns have distinctive properties, they are not represented with distinctive orthographic shapes.

The most common proper names are personal names like 李白 *li3bai2* 'LI Bai' and 司马迁 *si1ma3qian1* 'SIMA Qian,' in which the first part is the family name while the second part is the given name. Other proper names include place names, such 咸阳市 *xian2yang2 shi4* 'City of Xianyang' and 吉林省 *ji2lin2 sheng3* 'Jilin Province,' and names for ethnic groups, such as 苗族 *miao2zu2* 'Miao, Mhong' and 瑶族 *yao2zu2* 'Yao.'

Proper names sometimes have a proper noun as the head, such as 小李 *xiao3 li3* 'Little Li,' 黑彝 *hei1 yi2* 'Black Yi,' and 北疆 *bei3 jiang1* 'Northern Xinjiang,' while they at other times have a common noun as the head, such as 北京大学 *bei3jing1 da4xue2* 'Peking University,' 安徽中心 *an1hui1 zhong1xin1* 'Anhui Center,' and 鲁迅文学奖 *lu3xun4 wen2xue2 jiang3* 'the LU Xun Literature Prize.'

8.9.2. Vocatives

Nominal phrases sometimes serve as terms of address, namely, as vocatives. Common vocatives include proper names, as in [76a], occupational terms, as in [76b], kinship terms, as in [76c], official titles, as in [76d], status terms, as in [76e], general terms, as in [76f], and derogative terms, as in [76g].

[76] a. 毛晓铭, 请你到后台来。
          mao2xiao3ming2 qing3 ni3 dao4 hou4tai2 lai2
          MAO_XIAOMING please you PREP backstage come
          'MAO Xiaoming, please come to the back stage.'

      b. 大夫, 我能不能不打针?
          dai4fu0 wo3 neng2bu4neng2 bu4 da3zhen1
          doctor I can_not_can NEG shoot
          'Doctor, could I not have the shot?'

      c. 舅妈, 给点水喝。
          jiu4ma1 gei3 dian3 shui3 he1
          aunt give some water drink
          'Auntie, [please] give me some water to drink.'

      d. 刘校长, 请进。
          liu2 xiao4zhang3 qing3 jin4
          LIU president please enter
          'President LIU, please come in.'

      e. 大人, 饶命。
          da4ren2 rao2ming4
          your_highness spare_one's_life
          'Your Majesty, please spare my life.'

f. 老乡, 你听我说。

    lao3xiang1   ni3   ting1 wo3   shuo1

    fellow_villager you listen I   talk

    'Buddy, please listen to me.'

g. 混蛋, ! 这也是你能坐的吗?

    hun2dan4 zhe4 ye3 shi4 ni3 neng2 zuo4 de0

    bastard   this   also be   you can   sit   DE

    ma0

    MA

    'You bastard! Is this what you can sit on?'

8.10. Nominal phrases as propositions, predicates, or sentences

Declarative sentences are mainly used to assert propositions, which have truth values, but a phrase or a combination of phrases may also at times assert propositions.

8.10.1. Propositional nominal phrases

Phrases that can assert propositions independently include verb phrases, adjective phrases, and nominal phrases.

8.10.1.1. Proposition-asserting verb phrases

A verb phrase asserting a proposition typically represents an action that normally requires some participant(s) in addition to the verb. The 跑了 *pao3 le0* 'have run away' in [77a] requires an agent that is typically animate. It can assert a proposition only when it appears in a discourse where some entity capable of running has been mentioned or is identifiable in the environment. If the entity has not run away, the proposition is false. The four verb phrases 毕业 *bi4ye4* 'graduate,' 留校任教 *liu2xiao4 ren4jiao4* 'stay at the same school to teach,' 结婚 *jie2hun1* 'get married,' and 生孩子 *sheng1 hai2zi0* 'have kids' in [77b] all require an agent in order to assert propositions and its identity has to be recoverable from the context.

[77]   a. 跑了。

        pao3   le0

        run   LE

        '(It/he/she/they) has run away.'

     b. 后来就比较简单了。毕业, 留校任教, 结婚, 生孩子。

        hou4lai2 jiu4 bi3jiao4   jian3dan1 le0 bi4ye4

        later   thus   relatively simple   LE graduate

liu2xiao4	ren4jiao4	jie2hun1	sheng1	hai2zi0
stay_in_school	teach	marry	give_birth	child

'It became simpler after that: graduating, becoming a teacher at his school, getting married, and having kids.'

8.10.1.2. Proposition-asserting adjective phrases

An adjective phrase asserting a proposition typically describes the property of an entity or a set of entities. The exclamative sentence in [78a] consists of just 漂亮 *piao4liang0* 'beautiful' but nevertheless asserts a complete proposition with a truth value. The proposition makes sense only when a set of entities with the property of 漂亮 *piao4liang0* 'beautiful' is identifiable in the environment or in the relevant discourse. If the set does not have that property, the proposition is false. The 很硬 *hen3 ying4* 'very hard,' 很凉 *hen3 liang2* 'very cold,' and 很不舒服 *hen3 bu4 shu1fu0* 'very uncomfortable' in [78b] all describe properties of an entity, most likely the 地板 *di4ban3* 'floor' in the previous clause. Each property asserts a proposition that would be false if the 地板 *di4ban3* 'floor' did not have that property.

[78]   a.   漂亮!
           piao4liang0
           beautiful
           Beautiful!

       b.   她躺在地板上。很硬。很凉。很不舒服。

ta1	tang3	zai4	di4ban3	shang4	hen3	ying4	hen3
she	lie	PREP	floor	on	very	hard	very

liang2	hen3	bu4	shu1fu0
cold	very	NEG	comfortable

'She was lying on the floor. (It was) hard. (It was) cold. (It was) uncomfortable.'

8.10.1.3. Proposition-asserting nominal phrases

The most prominent feature of proposition-asserting nominal phrases is that they can assume different roles in the proposition. The exclamative sentence in [79a] represents the speaker's admiration for a particular dog identifiable in the immediate environment, while 好聪明的小狗 *hao3 cong1ming2 de0 xiao3 gou3* 'a smart little dog' denotes a subset of dogs. The proposition of [79a] is true if the dog in question has the relevant properties and belongs to that subset. Sentence [79b] is part of a conversation in a business transaction. The proposition asserted by 三千块 *san1qian1 kuai4* 'three thousand (dollars)' is true if the exact amount of money changes hands but is false if the amount is not correct or no transaction

takes place. [79c] is also an exclamative sentence and the proposition is true if there is a fire in the immediate environment. The two nominal phrases in [79d] appear at the beginning of a novel to assert two separate propositions, which are falsifiable depending on whether the story happens in a suffocating summer and whether there is a burning sun. The first six nominal phrases in [79e] form a list of things to be worried about in life. Each of them asserts a proposition that will become false if it is not a 烦恼 *fan2nao3* 'worry.'

[79] a. 好聪明的小狗!

hao3	cong1ming0	de0	xiao3	gou3
so	smart	DE	small	dog

'What a smart puppy!'

   b. 三千块。

san1qian1	kuai4
three_thousand	CL

'Three thousand dollars.'

   c. 火!起火了!

huo3	qi3huo3	le0
fire	fire	LE

'Fire! There is a fire!'

   d. 炎夏, 如火的骄阳。

yan2xia4	ru2	huo3	de0	jiao1yang2
hot_summer	as	fire	DE	blazing_sun

'Hot summer. The burning sun.'

   e. 工作。工资。房子。房价。孩子。学校。无穷无尽的烦恼。

gong1zuo4	gong1zi1	fang2zi0	fang2jia4	hai2zi0
job	salary	house	housing_price	child

xue2xiao4	wu2qiong2wu2jin4	de0	fan2nao3
school	endless	DE	worry

'Job. Salary. House. Housing price. Kids. School. Endless worries.'

Another way for a nominal phrase to assert a proposition is for it to appear as the simple answer to a variable question. Such a nominal phrase asserts a proposition that is the equivalent of a complete answer to the question, as in [80].

[80] a. A: 您找谁?

nin2	zhao3	shui2
thou	seek	who

'Who are you looking for?'

B: 张教授。
ZHANG1   jiao4shou4
Zhang   professor
'(I am looking for) Prof. Zhang.'

b.　A: 几点开车?
ji3   dian3   kai1che1
which   hour   depart
'When will the train leave?'

B: 八点。
ba1dian3
eight_o'clock
'(It will leave at) eight o'clock.'

c.　A: 晚上在什么地方等你?
wan3shang0   zai4   shen2me0   di4fang0   deng3   ni3
evening   PREP   what   place   wait   you
'Where should I wait for you tonight?'

B: 王府井地铁站A 出口。
wang2fu3jing3   di4tie3   zhan4   A   chu1kou3
Wangfujing   subway   station   A   exit
'Exit A of the Wangfujing Subway Station.'

8.10.2. Nominal predicates

Two nominal phrases occasionally work together to assert a proposition, usually playing the roles of subject and predicate. The way in which the proposition is asserted differs from case to case.

8.10.2.1. Nominal predicates with a conventionalized interpretation

Sentences with a nominal phrase as the predicate appear predominantly in informal speech or in genres that mimic casual speech. It is quite common for such a sentence to bear a reading that fits conventions in daily life. Sentence [81a] asserts a proposition that is true if the speaker's sister-in-law is from Hunan. This is the most prominent relation between a person and a birthplace, which is the meaning of 湖南人 *hu2nan2 ren2* 'a person (born) in Hunan.' Sentence [81b] asserts a proposition that will be true if Han Han is twenty-seven years old. This is the typical relation between a person and an age. Given the conventions of society, the most typical relation between 今天 *jin1tian1* 'today' and 星期三 *xing1qi2san1* 'Wednesday' in [81c] is that the two describe the same point of time, namely, the day when the sentence is uttered is a Wednesday.

[81]   a.   我嫂子湖南人。

        wo3   sao3zi0   hu2nan2   ren2

        I   sister_in_law   Hunan_province   people

        'My sister-in-law is from Hunan Province.'

     b.   韩寒才二十七岁。

        han2han2   cai2   er4shi2qi1   sui4

        HAN_HAN   just   twenty-seven   year

        'HAN Han is just twenty-seven years old.'

     c.   今天星期三。

        jin1tian1   xing1qi1san1

        today   Wednesday

        'Today is Wednesday.'

The proposition asserted by [81a] is true if the speaker's sister-in-law is from Hunan. If a proposition with an opposite truth condition is to be asserted, a copular 是 *shi4* 'be' is needed to support 不 *bu4* 'not,' as in [82a]. Similarly, [82b] and [81b] have opposite truth conditions. [82c] and [81c] also have opposite truth conditions.

[82]   a.   我嫂子不是湖南人。

        wo3   sao3zi0   bu4   shi4   hu2nan2   ren2

        I   sister_in_law   NEG   be   Hunan_province   people

        'My sister-in-law is not from Hunan Province.'

     b.   韩寒不是才二十七岁。

        han2han2   bu4   shi4   cai2   er4shi2qi1   sui4

        HAN_HAN   NEG   be   just   twenty-seven   year

        'HAN Han is not just twenty-seven years old.'

     c.   今天不是星期三。

        jin1tian1   bu4   shi4   xing1qi1san1

        today   NEG   be   Wednesday

        'Today is not Wednesday.'

Sentence [83] also asserts a proposition based on conventions. The prototypical relation between a location and an entity is that of existence and [83] is true if the peanut shells are on the table. In order to assert a proposition with an opposite truth condition, an existential verb 有 *you3* 'there be' is needed to support 没 *mei2* 'not,' as in sentence [84].

[83] 桌子上一堆花生壳。

    zhuo1zi0   shang4   yi1   dui1   hua1sheng1   ke2

    desk   on   one CL   peanut   shell

    'There is a pile of peanut shells on the table.'

[84] 桌子上没有[一堆]花生壳。

    zhuo1zi0   shang4   mei2you3   yi1   dui1   hua1sheng1

    desk   on   NEG   one CL   peanut

    ke2

    shell

    'There is no peanut shell on the table.'

8.10.2.2. Nominal predicates with a context-dependent interpretation

A sentence with a nominal phrase as the predicate may occasionally have the potential of asserting a number of propositions and which one is actually asserted depends on the context. If the clause 你一条腿 *ni3 yi1 tiao2 tui3* 'you one leg' in [85a] appears in isolation, the most likely proposition it asserts would be that the listener has just one leg. In the story from which [85a] is extracted, the hero got some extra pay and treated his buddies to some chicken. This clear context coerces the clause to assert a proposition that is true if some of his buddies ate a chicken leg, and forces 他一块胸脯 *ta1 yi1 kuai4 xiong1pu2* 'he one breast' to assert a proposition that is true if some other buddies ate a piece of chicken breast. The clause 助理工程师二室一厅 *zhu4li3 gong1cheng2shi1 er4 shi4 yi1 ting1* 'assistant engineers two-bedroom' in [85b] is coordinated with 工程师住三室一厅 *gong1cheng2shi1 zhu4 san1 shi4 yi1 ting1* 'engineers live in three-bedroom' and it is natural for the two to assert parallel propositions. The two propositions are true if engineers live in three-bedroom apartments while assistant engineers live in two-bedroom apartments. The two clauses in [85c] could assert quite a number of propositions, but in the context of a meeting on literature research, it is most logical for them to assert propositions about topics. 你们都莎士比亚 *ni3men0 dou1 sha1shi4bi3ya4* 'you all Shakespeare' is true when all researchers other than the speaker are planning to study Shakespeare, while 我就乔叟 *wo3 jiu4 qiao2sou3* 'I then Chaucer' is true when the speaker is planning to study Chaucer.

[85]   a.   他买了四只鸡, 大伙儿你一条腿, 他一块胸脯, 真过瘾。

                 ta1   mai3   le0   si4   zhi1   ji1   da4huo3er0   ni3

                 he   buy   LE   four CL   chicken everyone   you

yi1   tiao2   tui3   ta1   yi1   kuai4   xiong1pu2   zhen1
one   CL   leg   he   one   CL   chest   really

guo4ying3
satisfy

'He bought four (pieces of) chicken. Somebody ate a leg, and somebody else ate a piece of breast. It was great.'

b. 住房分配上规定: 工程师住三室一厅, <u>助理工程师二室一厅</u>。

zhu4fang2   fen1pei4   shang4   gui1ding4   gong1cheng2shi1
housing   allot   on   stipulate   engineer

zhu4   san1   shi4   yi1   ting1   zhu4li3
live   three   room   one   living_room   assistant

gong1cheng2shi1   er4   shi4   yi1   ting1
engineer   two   room   one   living_room

'In terms of housing arrangement, an engineer gets a three-bedroom apartment and an assistant engineer gets a two-bedroom one.'

c. 你们都莎士比亚, 我就乔叟。

ni3men0   dou1   sha1shi4bi3ya4   wo3   jiu4   qiao2sou3
you   all   Shakespeare   I   thus   Chaucer

'You all want to study Shakespeare. I will therefore study Chaucer.'

8.10.2.3. Nominal predicates with shifted meaning

In some rare cases, a nominal phrase undergoes a semantic shift when it asserts a proposition. Such a shift is predominantly a one-off effort to achieve a certain rhetorical effect, but the shift may sometimes settle down to create a new word.

The 绅士 *shen1shi4* 'gentleman' in [86a] does not denote a type of male human being but instead represents a type of action, namely, to act like gentlemen. The new meaning of 绅士 *shen1shi4* 'gentleman' brings in some syntactic properties that were not available before the shift in meaning, such as being modified by the adverbial 就 *jiu4* 'then.' The 高山流水 *gao1shan1liu2shui3* 'high mountains and running water' in [86b] represent both real entities and a famous classic music piece. In this context, they represent properties of the music produced by a 古筝 *gu3zheng1* 'guzheng,' a string instrument. Because of the shift in meaning, 高山流水 *gao1shan1liu2shui3* 'high mountains and running water' behave like adjectives and are modified by a degree adverbial 非常 *fei1chang2* 'extremely.' 林黛玉 *lin2dai4yu4* 'LIN Daiyu' in [86c] is a heroine in the classic novel 红楼梦 *hong2lou2meng4* 'Dream of the Red Chamber' and is well known for her delicate feeling toward everything. In this particular sentence, 林黛玉 *lin2dai4yu4* 'LIN Daiyu' embodies the properties represented by this fictional character, namely,

very tender and often crying over fallen flowers. It is therefore modified by a degree adverbial 那么 *na4me0* 'so.'

[86]   a.   好, 我们就绅士一次, 帮帮小姐。

            hao4   wo3men0   jiu4   shen1shi4   yi1   ci4   bang1bang1

            good   we   thus   gentleman   one   CL   aid

            xiao3jie3

            lady

            'OK. Let's act as gentlemen for once and help the lady.'

      b.   我喜欢古筝, 非常古典, 非常高山流水。

            wo3   xi3huan1   gu3zheng1   fei1chang2   gu3dian3

            I   like   guzheng   very   classical

            fei1chang2   gao1shan1liu2shui3

            very   high_mountains_and_running_water

            'I like guzheng. It sounds very classical and is very vivid.'

      c.   花开花落都是天命, 现代社会不再那么林黛玉。

            hua1   kai1   hua1   luo4   dou1   shi4   tian1ming4

            flower   open   flower   fall   all   be   fate

            xian4dai4   she4hui4   bu2zai4   na4me0   lin2dai4yu4

            modern   society   no_more   that   LIN_DAIYU

            'It is fate that flowers blossom or shed. Modern society is no longer that fragile.'

The 阳光 *yang2guang1* 'sunshine' in [87] has been a typical noun up until the end of the twentieth century, representing a type of entity. It then appeared in a popular song to represent the typical properties of modern teenage boys and girls, such as being bright, cheerful, and energetic. The shift in meaning went further when the same word started to appear in formal genres to mean being transparent, clean, and open in politics and government operations. The ad hoc usage of 阳光 *yang2guang1* 'sunshine' has now settled down and 阳光 has become an adjective, while remaining a noun with a different meaning.

[87]   她是一个非常开朗非常阳光、很聪明很上进的女孩。

      ta1   shi4   yi1   ge4   fei1chang2   kai1lang3   fei1chang2

      she   be   one   CL   very   cheerful   very

      yang2guang1   hen3   cong1ming0   hen3   shang4jin4   de0

      sunshine   very   smart   very   diligent   DE

      nü3hai2

      girl

      'She is an extremely cheerful, extremely bright, very smart, and very diligent girl.'

8.10.3. Combination of nominal phrases and sentence-final particles

A nominal phrase can at times be combined with a sentence-final particle to form a sentence. The particle not only gives a sentential status to the combination but also marks the sentence type, while the nominal phrase represents the core information of the sentence. In sentence [88a], 明天 *ming2tian1* 'tomorrow' represents the new information added to the current discourse and the particle 呢 *ne0* 'NE' indicates that this is a variable question or an A-not-A question. A possible scenario for using this question is that several friends were discussing activities for that day and one of them wanted to know the activities for the next day. Another possible scenario is that they went hiking that day and someone wanted to know whether they would do the same the next day. The former is a variable question while the latter is an A-not-A question. The same range of readings is available for [88b] and [88c], but [88c] can also be used to inquire about things in the immediate environment. A typical scenario is that a mother asked her son the whereabouts of her husband when she did not see him.

[88]   a.   明天呢?
         ming2tian1   ne0
         tomorrow   NE
         i. 'What are we going to do tomorrow?'
         ii. 'Will we do the same tomorrow?'

     b.   你呢?
         ni3   ne0
         you   NE
         'Where will you go?'
         'Will you do it?'

     c.   你爸爸呢?
         ni3   ba4ba0   ne0
         you   father   NE
         'Where is your father?'

The question in [89] consists of 中文系 *zhong1wen2xi4* 'Department of Chinese,' which represents information newly introduced to the discourse, and the particle 吗 *ma0* 'MA,' which is associated with a yes–no question. The question has many possible readings. One of them is that the speaker is asking whether the Department of Chinese is the destination of a letter, in the context that several clerks are talking about outgoing mail. Such a question can be used to inquire about things in the immediate environment as well, such as a person at the door of an office asking about the identity of the department.

[89] 中文系吗?

    zhong1wen2xi4   ma0

    department_of_Chinese   MA

    'Is this the Department of Chinese?'

The nominal phrase 妈 *ma1* 'mother' in [90] is referential, referring to the speaker's mother, and the sentence-final particle 呀 *ya1* 'YA' marks an exclamative sentence. The combination represents the speaker's surprise, fear, or joy, very much like the English expression "Oh my God!"

[90] 妈呀

    ma1   ya0

    mother   YA

    'Oh my Mother!'

One of the functions of sentence-final particles is to bear the special intonation pattern associated with a particular sentence type. The particle 吗 *ma0* 'MA' in [89] bears a rising intonation in normal speech. If 吗 *ma0* 'MA' is taken out of [89] and the rising intonation falls on the last syllable of the nominal phrase 中文系 *zhong1wen2xi4* 'Department of Chinese,' the sentence will remain a yes–no question. The sentence-final particle 呀 *ya0* 'YA' in [90] bears a falling intonation. If the particle is taken out, the syllable 妈 *ma1* 'mother' can be prolonged to bear the falling intonation. However, a prolonged 妈 *ma1* 'mother' with a falling intonation represents several interpretations, such as an exclamative for grumbling, charming, or arguing. Thus, the surprise reading actually becomes less prominent.

9

Relative constructions

Stephen Matthews and Virginia Yip

This chapter deals with the modification of nouns by relative clauses. A relative clause is a clause (containing minimally a verb) that specifies the reference of a noun phrase. The types of relative clauses discussed in this chapter are shown in Figure 9.1.

Relative clauses share the same position as other modifiers, as shown in Figure 9.2. The prenominal position leads to two characteristics of Chinese relative clauses, the first of which is the lack of relative pronouns (such as who, which, and that) or relative adverbs (such as when, where, why, and how). The syntactic and semantic functions of these pronouns are fulfilled by the head noun. Hence, instead of relative adverbs, we find general nouns denoting time, location, cause, manners, etc., frequently used as head nouns in a relative clause to indicate the relation between the relative clause and the head noun (e.g., 时候 *shi2hou0* 'time,' 地方 *di4fang1* 'place,' 原因 *yuan2yin1* 'reason,' and 样子 *yang4zi0* 'way'). The second characteristic of Chinese relative clauses is the relation between the relative clause and the head noun, which is restrictive. The restrictive relation between the relative clause and the head noun is typically based on the event described by the relative clause. When the head noun serves a grammatical function of the relative clause, the relative clause can be classified as a subject relative clause,
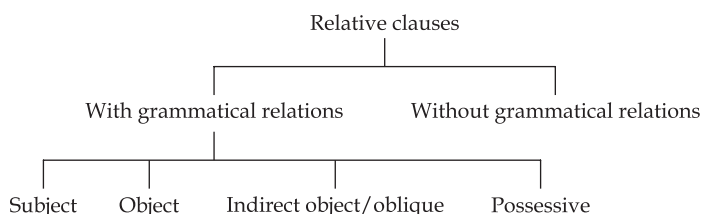
Figure 9.1 Classification of noun-modifying constructions

[[[MODIFYING PHRASE] 的 *de0* 'DE'] Noun]

Figure 9.2 Template for noun-modifying phrases

an object relative clause, etc. (see section 9.2.). If there is no explicit grammatical function for the head noun, the head noun typically refers explicitly to its eventive relation with the relative clause (see section 9.3.).

9.1. Basic properties of relative clauses

Modifiers in Chinese consistently precede the noun (see Chapter 8) and this generalization also applies to relative clauses and other clauses that modify a noun. The prenominal placement of the relative clause has a number of properties, based on the fact that relative clauses are relatively long or are "heavy" constituents.

A summary of basic properties of relative clauses is as follows:

1 It is rare for more than one clause to modify a noun, especially in spoken language.
2 Noun phrases modified by heavy relative clauses tend to be placed at the beginning of the sentence through topicalization (see section 9.4.2.).
3 Relative clauses in spoken Chinese are essentially restrictive in function, whereas those in European languages may be either restrictive or nonrestrictive.
4 A relative clause may consist of a phonetically null verb, whose overt recovery is crucially determined by the event relation held between the modifying noun and the modified noun, as exemplified in [1a]–[1e].

[1] a. (穿) 红衣服的女孩
   chuan1 hong2 yi1fu2 de0 nü3hai2
   wear red clothes DE girl
   'girls who wear a red coat'

  b. 木头(做) 的桌子
   mu4tou0 zuo4 de0 zhuo1zi0
   wood make DE desk
   'tables made of wood'

  c. 剑桥出版社(出) 的书
   jian4qiao2 chu1ban3she4 chu1 de0 shu1
   Cambridge publisher publish DE book
   'books published by Cambridge University Press'

  d. 诚品(卖) 的书
   cheng2pin3 mai4 de0 shu1
   Eslite   sell DE book
   'books sold by Eslite Bookstore'

e. 鲁迅(写) 的书

lu3xun4 xie3 de0 shu1
LU_XUN write DE book
'books written by LU Xun'

9.1.1. DE as a marker of modification

Relative clauses are part of a general pattern of noun modification where modifying phrases precede the noun and are linked to it by the particle 的 *de0* 'DE' (see Chapter 8, section 8.2.2.). In example [2], the clause 以前住在台北 *yi3qian2 zhu4 zai4 tai2bei3* 'used to live in Taipei' modifies 日本人 *ri4ben3ren2* 'Japanese people.'

[2] 以前住在台北的日本人

yi3qian2 zhu4 zai4 tai2bei3 de0 ri4ben3ren2
before live PREP Taipei DE Japanese
'Japanese people who used to live in Taipei'

The modifying phrase ending with 的 *de0* 'DE' may be a clause, as in [2], or another constituent, such as a noun phrase or a preposition phrase. In example [3], the head noun 女孩 *nü3hai2* 'girl' is modified by the noun phrase 长头发 (的) *chang2 tou2fa4 (de0)* '(with) long hair,' while in [4] it is modified by the clause 头发 很长 *tou2fa0 hen3 chang2* 'whose hair is very long,' with a similar meaning in each case.

[3] 为什么男生都喜欢长头发的女孩?

wei4shen2me0 nan2sheng1 dou1 xi3huan1 chang2
why boy all like long

tou2fa4 de0 nü3hai2
hair DE girl
'Why do boys like girls with long hair?'

[4] 守护甜心里面黄色头发很长的那个女孩是谁?

shou3hu4 tian2xin1 li3mian4 huang2se4 tou2fa4
guard sweetheart inside yellow hair

hen3 chang2 de0 na4 ge4 nü3hai2 shi4 shui2
very long DE that CL girl be who
'Who is the girl whose golden hair is very long in *Guardian Angel Sweetheart*?'

In the written language, the particle 之 *zhi1* is used as a literary variant of 的 *de0* 'DE.' In relative clauses, therefore, 之 *zhi1* may appear in the same position as 的 *de0* 'DE,' as shown in [5].

[5]　「八十三年元月份环境监测结果」所做之建议
　　　ba1shi2san1nian2　　yuan2yue4fen4　huan2jing4　　jian1ce4
　　　83　　　　　　　　　January　　　　environment　inspection

　　　jie2guo3　suo3　zuo4　zhi1　jian4yi4
　　　result　　SUO　make　DE　　suggestion
　　　'The proposal which was made based on the results of an environmental
　　　inspection in January 1994 (i.e., the 83rd year since the establishment of
　　　the Republic of China in 1911)'

Note here that the use of the particle 所 *suo3* 'SUO,' like 之 *zhi1* 'ZHI,' belongs to a formal register and appears most commonly in object relative clauses (see section 9.2.2).

9.1.2. Word order variations in relative constructions

When a noun phrase includes a demonstrative and/or a numeral as well as a relative clause, alternative orderings are possible. In each case the classifier immediately follows the demonstrative/numeral as usual (see Chapter 7), giving two main alternative orders with different information structures but without meaning changes:

[i]　[[[RELATIVE CLAUSE] 的 *de0* 'DE'] [(Demonstrative) Number Classifier Noun]]

[6]　嫁给你的一百个理由
　　　jia4gei3　ni3　de0　yi1bai3　　　　　ge4　li3you2
　　　marry　　you　DE　one_hundred　CL　reason
　　　'a hundred reasons for marrying you'

[7]　我希望大家继续讨论今天提到的一些问题。
　　　wo3　xi1wang4　da4jia1　　ji4xu4　　　tao3lun4　jin1tian1
　　　I　　hope　　　　everyone　continue　discuss　　today

　　　ti2dao4　de0　yi1xie1　wen4ti2
　　　mention　DE　some　　question
　　　'I hope everybody will continue to discuss certain questions which we
　　　mentioned today.'

[ii]　[(Demonstrative) Number Classifier [[RELATIVE CLAUSE] 的 *de0* 'DE'] Noun]

[8]　一千个伤心的理由
　　　yi1qian1　　　　ge4　shang1xin1　de0　li3you2
　　　one_thousand　CL　grief　　　　　DE　reason
　　　'A Thousand Reasons for Being Sad' [title of a song]

[9]   中研院是 一部载客的飞机。
       zhong1yan2yuan4   shi4   yi1   bu4   zai4ke4   de0
       Academia_Sinica   be   one   CL   carry_passengers DE

       fei1ji1
       airplane
       'Academia Sinica is a passenger-carrying airplane.'

When a relative clause and an adjective modify the same noun, the relative clause generally comes first and the adjective occurs immediately before the noun. In [10], the adjective 微弱 *wei1ruo4* 'weak' follows a relative clause and both modify the head noun 声音 *sheng1yin1* 'sound.' Similarly for [11], the adjective 严重 *yan2zhong4* 'serious' follows a relative clause and both modify the head noun 问题 *wen4ti2* 'problem.'

[10]   在人类灵魂深处呼唤着的微弱声音
       zai4   ren2lei4   ling2hun2   shen1chu4   hu1huan4
       PREP   human_beings   soul   depths   call

       zhe0   de0   wei1ruo4   sheng1yin1
       ZHE   DE   weak   sound
       'the weak sound summoned up from deep within the human spirit'

[11]   全球面对的严重问题
       quan2qiu2   mian4dui4   de0   yan2zhong4   wen4ti2
       whole_world   face   DE   serious   problem
       'the serious problems that the whole world faces'

9.1.3. Relative clauses as restrictive modifiers

In terms of semantics, relative clauses in Chinese are all restrictive. There are three cases. First, a relative clause can serve to restrict the reference of the head noun, as shown in [12].

[12]   (成果)应归于曾栽培过他的老师。
       cheng2guo3   ying1   gui1yu2   ceng2   zai1pei2   guo4
       result   should   attribute_to   ever   nurture   GUO

       ta1   de0   lao3shi1
       he   DE   teacher
       '(The result) should be attributed to the teachers who have nurtured him.'

Here the relative clause 曾栽培过他 *ceng2 zai1pei2 guo4 ta1* 'have nurtured him' specifies that only those teachers who were involved in nurturing the scholar concerned deserve credit for the result.

Second, a relative clause can be used to restrict the situation type represented by the head noun in terms of time, location, cause, content of cognition, etc., as in [13]. A relative clause of this type typically entertains no grammatical relations with respect to the head noun (see section 9.3).

[13] a. 她写论文的日子
          ta1   xie3   lun4wen2   de0   ri4zi0
          she   write   thesis   DE   day
          'the days of her writing the thesis'

      b. 我家宝贝长高的原因
          wo3   jia1   bao3bei4   zhang3gao1   de0   yuan2yin1
          I   home   baby   grow_tall   DE   reason
          'the reason my baby has grown taller'

      c. 我唱歌的声音
          wo3   chang4ge1   de0   sheng1yin1
          I   sing   DE   sound
          'the voice of my singing'

Here the head nouns 日子 *ri4zi0* 'days,' 原因 *yuan2yin1* 'cause,' and 声音 *sheng1yin1* 'voice' are restricted by the relative clauses 她写论文 *ta1 xie3 lun4wen2* 'she wrote the thesis,' 我家宝贝长高 *wo3 jia1 bao3bei4 zhang3gao1* 'my baby has grown taller,' and 我唱歌 *wo3 chang4ge1* 'I sing,' respectively, with these clauses providing specifying information or indicating the topic of the day, cause, and voice concerned in context.

Third, a relative clause can serve to restrictively modify the head noun by means of specifying the situation type that is associated with the referent denoted by the head noun. This typically includes examples where the modifyee is a definite expression, a proper name, or a pronoun, as shown in [14a]–[14c], respectively.

[14] a. 戴眼镜的那个男生很高。
          dai4   yan3jing4   de0   na4   ge4   nan2sheng1   hen3   gao1
          wear   glasses   DE   that CL   boy   very   tall
          'That boy who wears glasses is very tall.'

      b. 跌倒的刘翔依然是中国的骄傲。
          die1dao3   de0   liu2xiang2   yi1ran2   shi4   zhong1guo2
          fall_down   DE   LIU_XIANG   still   be   China
          de0   jiao1ao4
          DE   pride
          'The LIU Xiang that fell down is still the pride of China.'

c. 未满十八岁的她看起来很羞涩。

wei4man3   shi2ba1   sui4   de0   ta1   kan4qi3lai2
have_not_yet_been   18   year   DE   she   look

hen3   xiu1se4
very   shy
'She that is not yet 18 looks quite shy.'

Here the relative clauses perform two functions: to mark that the referent of the modifyee needs to be understood as being subcategorized, and to help identify the referent that is contextually concerned. To illustrate, [14a] is uttered most naturally in the context where the demonstrative does not suffice to pick out a unique referent, such as when there is more than one boy in the scene that might be referred to as 那个男生 *na4 ge4 nan2sheng1* 'that boy,' while 戴眼镜 *dai4 yan3jing4* 'wears glasses' can indicate which referent the speaker intends to refer to. 跌倒 *die1dao3* 'fell down' in [14b] divides the referent of LIU Xiang in terms of the event that LIU Xiang participated in, along which line we may have the LIU Xiang who fell down in contrast with, for example, the LIU Xiang who won the medal. 未满十八岁 *wei4man3 shi2ba1 sui4* 'is not yet 18' in [14c] restricts 她 *ta1* 'she' in terms of the particular life stage she is currently in, with 她 *ta1* 'she' in different life stages being taken as different referents.

9.1.4. Headed and headless clauses

In the examples presented so far, the modified noun is the head of the noun phrase. The head noun can also be omitted, resulting in a "headless" relative clause. There are several circumstances in which a relative clause without a head noun is used:

1 When the reference of the missing noun is generic, as in "anyone who" or "anything that … " exemplified by [15] and [16].

[15]   不会得奖的是谁?
bu4hui4   de2jiang3   de0   shi4   shui2
NEG_will   win_a_prize   DE   be   who
'Who is it that will not win a prize?'

[16]   一个私家基金所能做到的, 国家当然也可以做到。
yi1   ge4   si1jia1   ji1jin1   suo3   neng2   zuo4dao4   de0
one   CL   private   fund   SUO   can   achieve   DE

guo2jia1   dang1ran2   ye3   ke3yi3   zuo4dao4
country   of_course   also   may   achieve
'What a private fund or an individual can do, a country can naturally do too.'

2   In the subject position of emphatic constructions with the copula 是 *shi4* 'SHI,' as shown in [17]–[19].

[17]   令人难以相信的是研究院内竟然处处脏乱不堪。
    ling4   ren2   nan2yi3   xiang1xin4   de0   shi4
    make   people   difficult   believe   DE   be

    yan2jiu1yuan4   nei4   jing4ran2   chu4chu4
    research_center   inside   unexpectedly   everywhere

    zang1luan4   bu4kan1
    dirty   unbearably
    'What people find hard to believe is that inside the research center it is so dirty and untidy everywhere.'

[18]   也许他在拖地时, 脑子里想的是尘螨与生态环境平衡的关系哩!
    ye3xu3   ta1   zai4   tuo1di4   shi2   nao3zi0
    maybe   he   PREP   mop_the_floor   when   head

    li3   xiang3   de0   shi4   chen2man2   yu3
    inside   think   DE   be   dust_mite   and

    sheng1tai4huan2jing4   ping2heng2   de0   guan1xi4   li0
    ecology   balance   DE   relationship   LI
    'Perhaps when he is mopping the floor, what is in his mind is the relation between dust mites and ecological balance!'

[19]   陪伴高楼大厦的是交通的阻塞与环境的污染。
    pei2ban4   gao1lou2da4sha4   de0   shi4
    accompany   high_buildings_and_large_mansions   DE   be

    jiao1tong1   de0   zu3se4   yu3   huan2jing4   de0   wu1ran3
    traffic   DE   jam   and   environment   DE   pollution
    'What comes with skyscrapers are traffic jams and environmental pollution.'

Headless relative clauses also play a role in the 是…的 *shi4…de0* 'SHI…DE' construction (see Chapter 17).

9.2. Grammatical relations in relative clauses

In a typical relative clause, the modified noun is understood as playing a particular grammatical role in the modifying clause. Based on the role of the modified noun, a number of subtypes of relative clause may be distinguished, such as subject relative clauses (see section 9.2.1.) and object relative clauses (see section 9.2.2.). In Chinese, as in other languages, subject and object relative clauses are much more frequent than other subtypes of relative clauses. In addition to the relative

clauses defined by grammatical relations between the noun and the modifying clause, other frequently used relative clauses rely on inherent eventive relation, such as time, location, and cause, with respect to the head noun (see section 9.3.).

The unusual combination of V–O order and prenominal relative clauses in Chinese (see section 9.1.) has implications for subject and object relative clauses. In particular, the word order in object relative clauses matches that of a main clause:

$$\text{Main clause:} \quad \begin{array}{ccc} \text{NP} & \text{V} & \text{NP} \\ \text{(Subject)} & & \text{(Object)} \end{array}$$

Moreover, if we assume a gap within the relative clause (see section 9.2.1), the head noun is closer to the gap in the object relative clause than that in the subject relative clause:

Subject relative clause: [Ø V NP 的 *de* 'DE'] N (Subject)
Object relative clause: [NP V Ø 的 *de* 'DE'] N (Object)

Since processing a relative clause involves linking the gap and the head noun that is understood as filling the gap, the shorter distance makes object relative clauses relatively easy to construct and interpret. These factors are thought to facilitate the construction and processing of relative clauses in Chinese. Whereas in English, subject relative clauses are simpler and more easily processed than object relative clauses, object relative clauses in Chinese are relatively easy to construct and to acquire.

9.2.1. Subject relative clauses

In a subject relative clause, the modified noun is understood as the subject of the modifying clause. The gap in the relative clause may be indicated by a zero (Ø), as in [20] and [21].

[20]   Ø 已开始作业 的 新研究所
Ø   yi3   kai1shi3   zuo4ye4   de0   xin1   yan2jiu1suo3
Ø   already   start   work   DE   new   research_center
'the new research center which has already started running'

[21]   阅读史料的时候发现了一些 Ø 使我大吃一惊的 事实。
yue4du2   shi3liao4   de0   shi2hou0   fa1xian4   le0
read   historical_materials   DE   time   find   LE

yi1xie1   Ø   shi3   wo3   da4chi1yi1jing1   de0   shi4shi2
some   Ø   cause   I   be_greatly_shocked   DE   fact
'When reading through the historical text I discovered some facts that shocked me.'

In [20], 新研究所 *xin1 yan2jiu1suo3* 'the new research center' is understood as the subject of the modifying clause 已开始作业 *yi3 kai1shi3 zuo4ye4* 'has started running.' In [21], 事实 *shi4shi2* 'facts' is understood as the subject of the predicate 使我大吃一惊 *shi3 wo3 da4chi1yi1jing1* 'made me shocked.'

9.2.2. Object relative clauses
In object relative clauses the modified noun is understood as the direct object of the modifying clause. This may be indicated by a zero in the object position of the modifying clause, as shown in [22].

[22]　路上行人闻到 Ø的味道
　　　lu4　　shang4　xing2ren2　wen2dao4　　Ø　de0　wei4dao4
　　　road　on　　　pedestrian　smell　　　Ø　DE　smell
　　　'the smells that people walking on the street smell'

Here the head noun 味道 *wei4dao4* 'smells' is understood as the object of the verb 闻到 *wen2dao4* 'smell.' Similarly, this can be seen in [23] and [24].

[23]　中研院和每一个学术机构都要认真寻找 Ø的策略
　　　zhong1yan2yuan4　he2　mei3　yi1　ge4　xue2shu4
　　　Academia_Sinica　　and　every　one　CL　academic

　　　ji1gou4　　dou1　yao4　ren4zhen1　xun2zhao3　Ø　de0
　　　institute　all　　will　earnest　　seek　　　　Ø　DE

　　　ce4lue4
　　　strategy
　　　'a strategy which Academia Sinica and every academic institution needs to seriously pursue'

[24]　况且学术研究本身与它获得 Ø 的成果往往又是那么深奥难懂。
　　　kuang4qie3　xue2shu4　yan2jiu1　ben3shen1　yu3　ta1
　　　besides　　　academic　research　per_se　　　and　it

　　　huo4de2　Ø　de0　cheng2guo3　wang3wang3　you4shi4
　　　gain　　　Ø　DE　result　　　　often　　　　also

　　　na4me0　　shen1ao4　nan2dong3
　　　that　　　abstruse　hard_to_understand
　　　'Moreover, the academic institution itself and the results it obtains are always so complex and difficult to understand.'

The head noun can also serve as the direct object in a double-object construction such as the one with the verb 告诉 *gao4su4* 'tell' in [25].

[25]   西医不会告诉你 Ø 的事实

      xi1yi1   bu4hui4   gao4su4   ni3   Ø   de0

      Western_medical_doctor   NEG_will   tell   you   Ø   DE

      shi4shi2

      fact

      'the facts that a Western doctor won't tell you'

The particle 所 *suo3* 'SUO' appears most commonly in object relative clauses in formal registers. It immediately precedes the verb in the relative clause, as in [26].

[26]   有违一个[有文化的国度所应具有的]美学标准

      you3wei2   yi1   ge4   you3   wen2hua4   de0   guo2du4

      against   one   CL   YOU   culture   DE   state

      suo3   ying1   ju4you3   de0   mei3xue2   biao1zhun3

      SUO   should   have   DE   aesthetics   standard

      'going against the aesthetic standards that a civilized nation should possess'

所 *suo3* 'SUO' is associated with literary language and other formal registers. It matches the aesthetic content of its use, hence, the omission of 所 *suo3* 'SUO' in object relative clauses will change the style but will not affect the meaning. 所 *suo3* 'SUO' is commonly used in Bible translations, as illustrated in [27].

[27]   因为知道我所信的是谁, 也深信他能保全我所交付他的 (提摩太后书 1:12)。

      yin1wei4   zhi1dao4   wo3   suo3   xin4   de0   shi4   shui2

      because   know   I   SUO   believe   DE   SHI   who

      ye3   shen1xin4   ta1   neng2   bao3quan2   wo3   suo3

      also   firmly_believe   he   can   maintain   I   SUO

      jiao1fu4   ta1   de0   ti2mo2tai4   hou4shu1   1:12

      pay   he   DE   Timothy   second_book   1:12

      'For I know whom I have believed and I am convinced that he is able to guard what I have entrusted to him until that day.' (2 Timothy 1:12)

所 *suo3* 'SUO' also occurs in some set expressions, such as 所有的 *suo3you3 de0* 'all (that exist)' and 我所说的 *wo3 suo3 shuo1 de0* 'what I am saying.'

9.2.3. Indirect object and oblique relatives

The head noun in the following relative clauses is understood as the indirect object of the modifying clause, as shown in [28] and [29].

[28]   卖印花给她的那个客人在找我。
    mai4   yin4hua1   gei3   ta1   de0   na4   ge4   ke4ren2
    sell   stamp   PREP   she   DE   that   CL   guest
    zai4   zhao3   wo3
    ZAI   seek   I
    'The customer to whom I sold the stamps came looking for me again.'

[29]   是之前拜托你帮我写情书给她的那个女生喔!
    shi4   zhi1qian2   bai4tuo1   ni3   bang1   wo3   xie3
    be   before   request_a_favor   you   help   I   write
    qing2shu1   gei3   ta1   de0   na4   ge4   nü3sheng1   o1
    love_letter   PREP   she   DE   that   CL   girl   O
    'It's the woman who I previously requested you to write the love letter to!'

Note the use of a "resumptive" pronoun; here the feminine form 她 *ta1* 'she' refers forward to the head noun, as 客人 *ke4ren2* 'customer' in [28] and as 女生 *nü3sheng1* 'woman' in [29]. In these examples the pronoun is required to serve as the object of the preposition 给 *gei3* 'to.' Similarly, comitative ("with") and benefactive ("for") relationships between the noun and the modifying clause can be expressed using a preposition and a resumptive pronoun to spell out the grammatical relation involved, as illustrated in [30] and [31].

[30]   找到那个可以对他撒娇使性子的人
    zhao3dao4   na4   ge4   ke3yi3   dui4   ta1   sa1jiao1
    find   that   CL   may   PREP   he   act_coquettishly
    shi3xing4zi0   de0   ren2
    let_out_one's_feelings   DE   person
    'to find that person with whom one can be coy and let out one's feelings'

[31]   妈妈买了一台笔记型电脑给她的那个女生。
    ma1ma0   mai3   le0   yi1   tai2   bi3ji4xing2dian4nao3
    mother   buy   LE   one   CL   notebook computer
    gei3   ta1   de0   na4   ge4   nü3sheng1
    PREP   she   DE   that   CL   girl
    'the girl for whom her mother purchased a laptop computer'

Note that this option arises only where the head noun is animate, allowing the personal pronoun 他 *ta1* 'he' or 她 *ta1* 'she' to be used (see Chapter 8, section 8.6.1).

An exceptional type of oblique relative clause involves the phrase 用 . . . 来 *yong4 . . . lai2* 'use . . . to,' where the object of 用 *yong4* 'use' can be made the head noun without the need for a resumptive pronoun, as shown in [32].

[32]   不会是用 Ø 来玩游戏的那台电脑。
    bu4hui4   shi4   yong4   Ø   lai2   wan2   you2xi4   de0
    NEG_will   SHI   use   Ø   come   play   game   DE
    na4   tai2   dian4nao3
    that   CL   computer
    'It will not be the computer which one uses to play video games.'

Here the head noun 电脑 *dian4nao3* 'computer' is understood as the object of
用 . . . 来 *yong4 . . . lai2* 'use . . . to,' as indicated by the symbol Ø.

9.2.4. Possessive relative clauses

Possessive relative clauses arise where the speaker wishes to use a relative clause
to modify a noun that has the role of possessor within that clause, as in "the boy
whose mother called." The construction of such clauses depends on the grammati-
cal relation of the possessed noun phrase with respect to other elements within
the modifying clause. If the possessed NP is the subject of the clause, a gap is left
where the subject would be, as in [33].

[33]   Ø 孩子得诗人奖的虎妈
    Ø   hai2zi0   de2   shi1ren2   jiang3   de0   hu3   ma1
    Ø   child   get   poet   prize   DE   tiger   mother
    'the tiger mother whose child got the poet's award'

Here 虎妈 *hu3 ma1* 'the tiger mother' is the possessor of 孩子 *hai2zi0* 'the child,'
which is in turn the subject of the clause 得奖 *de2jiang3* 'got the award.' Similarly in
[34], the head noun 飞机 *fei1ji1* 'airplane' is the possessor of 机身 *ji1shen1* 'fuselage.'

[34]   五年计画时是打算建造一部 Ø 机身重三十吨的大飞机。
    wu3nian2   ji4hua4   shi2   shi4   da3suan4   jian4zao4   yi1
    5_year   plan   when   SHI   plan   build   one
    bu4   Ø   ji1shen1   zhong4   san1shi2   dun1   de0   da4
    CL   Ø   fuselage   weigh   30   ton   DE   big
    fei1ji1
    airplane
    'The 5-year plan envisages building a big airplane with a fuselage
    weighing 30 tons.'

9.2.5. Embedded relative clauses

It is possible to form a relative clause with a complex clause with multiple embed-
ding, such as an object of the clausal object of the relative clause. In such cases,

whether a "resumptive" pronoun is required depends on the grammatical relation of the head noun in the embedded clause (see also section 9.2.3). In [35], the head noun 消防员 *xiao1fang2yuan2* 'fireman' has the subject role in the embedded clausal object of the matrix verb of the relative clause 报导 *bao4dao3* 'to report'; hence, no resumptive pronoun is needed. In [36], the head noun 男人 *nan2ren2* 'man' is understood as the possessor of the object of 在 *zai4* 'PREP' within the relative clause; hence, a resumptive pronoun is needed.

[35]　你就是报纸报导 Ø 昨天在火场救了三个小孩的消防员。

　　ni3　jiu4shi4　bao4zhi3　　bao4dao3　Ø　zuo2tian1　zai4
　　you　exactly　newspaper　report　　　Ø　yesterday　PREP

　　huo3chang3　jiu4　le0　san1　ge4　xiao3hai2　de0
　　fire_scene　help　LE　three　CL　child　　　DE

　　xiao1fang2yuan2
　　fireman

　　'You are the fireman who was reported by the newspaper to have saved three kids from the fire yesterday.'

[36]　老公是 . . . (你)舍得在他身上花钱而居然不肉痛的男人。

　　lao3gong1　shi4　ni3　she3de2　　　zai4　ta1　shen1
　　husband　　be　　you　be_willing_to　PREP　he　body

　　shang4　hua1qian2　　er2　ju1ran2　　bu4　rou4
　　on　　　spend_money　but　unexpectedly　NEG　flesh

　　tong4　de0　nan2ren2
　　pain　DE　men

　　'A husband is . . . the man that you are willing to spend money on without finding it painful [literally, the man on whose body you are willing to spend money without finding it painful].'

9.3. Relative clauses without a grammatical relation

In the constructions described in section 9.2 the modified noun is understood as playing a particular grammatical function in the modifying clause; that is, the noun is understood as the subject, object, etc. of the relative clause. This is not always the case, however. Many Chinese relative clauses, similar to their counterparts in English but without the relative adverbs, lack such grammatical relation links. Instead, the noun is related to the relative clause by a relation in the event structure of the relative clause that is not grammaticalized but can be easily identified. For example, the clause may express the purpose to which the modifier noun is put, as in [37] and [38].

[37]   我想买部打游戏的电脑。
   wo3   xiang3   mai3   bu4   da3   you2xi4   de0   dian4nao3
   I   think   buy   CL   play   game   DE   computer
   'I want to buy a computer for playing games.'

[38]   了解中医整个理论的枢纽
   liao3jie3   zhong1yi1   zheng3ge4   li3lun4   de0
   understand   Chinese_medicine   whole   theory   DE
   shu1niu3
   hub
   '(It is) a key to understanding the entire theoretical system of Chinese medicine'

Here it is not 枢纽 *shu1niu3* 'the hub' itself that understands the system of Chinese medicine: the modifying clause is therefore not a subject relative clause. Instead, "the hub" is one within which the whole system of Chinese medicine can be understood. The relationship between the clause and the head noun is not unlike the relation between topic and comment (see Chapter 17). For example, the head noun represents the general event type of a framework, while the relative clause elaborates the actual framework, as shown in [39].

[39]   在总经费每年增长约百分之十的架构下
   zai4   zong3   jing1fei4   mei3   nian2   zeng1zhang3   yue1
   PREP   total   fund   every   year   grow   about
   bai3fen1zhi1shi2   de0   jia4gou4   xia4
   10%   DE   framework   under
   'within the framework of total expenditure growing by about 10% each year'

Here the modifying clause "total expenditure growing by about 10% each year" is a full clause in its own right, in which the head noun 架构 *jia4gou4* 'the framework' does not play a grammatical role, nor is there any apparent gap in the modifying clause. Relative clauses of this kind are often described as "gapless relative clauses" and are treated as an extension of the prototypical relative clause with a gap, as described in sections 9.2.1.–9.2.2. Note that the restrictive function is retained in such cases: the clause still serves as a clue to identify the reference of the following noun. [40] exemplifies this concept.

[40]   这也是芝加哥大学能成为世界名校的创校理念。
   zhe4   ye3   shi4   zhi1jia1ge1   da4xue2   neng2
   this   also   be   Chicago   university   can

cheng2wei2 shi4jie4 ming2xiao4   de0 chuang4
become   world   famous_school DE   found

xiao4   li3nian4
school idea
'This is the founding vision on the basis of which the University of
Chicago became world famous.'

A variety of semantic relations may hold between the modifying clause and the
head noun, as described in the following sections.

9.3.1. Relative clauses specifying time, location, and event type

The association between a noun and a relative clause may be one of time, location,
or event type, all of which are often treated as inherent roles in any event. Hence,
these relative clauses are very frequently used in Chinese, especially with the
general nouns 时间 *shi2jian1* 'time' and 地点 *di4dian3* 'place,' as in [41].

[41]   不然我们便会看到政治干扰学术的不幸场面。
bu4ran2   wo3men0 bian4 hui4 kan4dao4 zheng4zhi4
otherwise we   then   will   see   politics

gan1rao3 xue2shu4 de0 bu4xing4   chang3mian4
intervene academic DE unfortunate scene
'Otherwise, we will see an unfortunate scenario in which politics
intervenes in academic affairs.'

Here the head noun 不幸场面 *bu4xing4 chang3mian4* 'unfortunate scenario' is the
setting in which the situation 政治干扰学术 *zheng4zhi4 gan1rao3 xue2shu4* 'politics
intervenes in academic affairs' arises. Similarly, in [42] through [44] the clause
modifies the time expression 日子 *ri4zi0* 'days.'

[42]   怀念写信的日子。
huai2nian4 xie3xin4   de0 ri4zi0
think_of   write_a_letter DE day
'(I'm) missing the days of writing letters.'

[43]   在我就任院长后的头两个星期…
zai4   wo3 jiu4ren4   yuan4zhang3 hou4 de0
PREP   I   take_up_a_post dean   after DE

tou2 liang3 ge4 xing1qi1
first two   CL week
'In the first two weeks after I took up the position of Dean…'

[44]   每个学术机关的经费都不能成长的今天
    mei3 ge4 xue2shu4 ji1guan1 de0 jing1fei4 dou1
    every CL academic institution DE fund all

    bu4neng2 cheng2zhang3 de0 jin1tian1
    cannot grow DE today
    'today when every academic institution's funding is unable to grow'

The relative clause may restrict the general event type represented by the head noun, similar to restricting the referents of a personal noun, as in [45] and [46].

[45]   你离开的事实
    ni3 li2kai1 de0 shi4shi2
    you leave DE fact
    'the fact that you are leaving'

[46]   周先生希望自己在植物相生相克作用的研究受到国际肯定 . . .
    zhou1 xian1sheng0 xi1wang4 zi4ji3 zai4 zhi2wu4
    Zhou Mr. hope self PREP plant

    xiang1sheng1xiang1ke4 zuo4yong4 de0 yan2jiu1
    mutual_promotion_and_restraint effect DE research

    shou4dao4 guo2ji4 ken3ding4
    receive international recognition
    'Mr. Zhou hopes his research on how plants constrain each other can gain global recognition . . .'

Here the general event type specified by the head noun 研究 *yan2jiu1* 'research' is further restricted by 在植物相生相克作用 *zai4 zhi2wu4 xiang1sheng1xiang1ke4 zuo4yong4* 'on how plants constrain each other,' which spells out the topic of the research. Similarly, a clause may specify the general event types of a talk or a rumor, as in [47] and [48].

[47]   学习毛主席哲学着作的辅导报告
    xue2xi2 mao2 zhu3xi2 zhe2xue2 zhu4zuo4 de0
    learn MAO chair philosophy writings DE

    fu3dao3 bao4gao4
    tutor report
    'a seminar lecture on studying Chairman Mao's philosophical works'

[48]   要把他卖掉的谣言也正在散播。
    yao4 ba3 ta1 mai4diao4 de0 yao2yan2 ye3
    will BA he sell DE rumors also

zheng4zai4   san4bo1
ZAI   spread
'Rumors about him [a football player] being sold are also being spread.'

9.3.2. Relative clauses specifying cause

The relationship between a relative clause and a noun may be one of the causes of the event described by the relative clause. Nouns commonly used in this way include 原因 *yuan2yin1* 'reason' and 理由 *li3you2* 'reason,' as shown in [49]−[52].

[49]   也许我家宝贝长高的原因是 . . .
ye3xu3   wo3   jia1   bao3bei4   zhang3gao1   de0
maybe   I   home   baby   grow_tall   DE
yuan2yin1   shi4
reason   be
'Maybe the reason (why) my baby has grown taller is . . .'

[50]   爱上加拿大大不列颠哥伦比亚的十个理由
ai4shang4   jia1na2da4   da4bu4lie4dian1   ge1lun2bi3ya4
fall_in_love_with   Canada   Great_Britain   Colombia
de0   shi2   ge4   li3you2
DE   ten   CL   reason
'ten reasons for falling in love with Canada's British Columbia'

[51]   形成黑斑的最大原因
xing2cheng2   hei1ban1   de0   zui4   da4   yuan2yin1
form   dark_spot DE   most   big   reason
'the major reason for forming dark spots'

[52]   反倒是水质污染、垃圾公害等环境恶化才是水鸟消失的元凶。
fan3dao4   shi4   shui3zhi4   wu1ran3   la1ji1
on_the_contrary   be   water_quality pollution garbage
gong1hai4   deng3   huan2jing4   e4hua4   cai2
public_nuisance   etc.   environment deterioration just
shi4   shui3niao3   xiao1shi1   de0   yuan2xiong1
be   aquatic_bird   vanish   DE   chief_culprit
'On the contrary, deterioration of the environment such as water pollution and rubbish is the prime culprit for the disappearance of waterbirds.'

9.3.3. Relative clauses specifying content of cognition

Another frequently used event-oriented relative clause explicates the content of cognition. For example, the cognition noun 声音 *sheng1yin1* 'sound' can be

preceded by a relative clause elaborating the nature of the sound, as in [53] and [54].

[53] 她听到了鸟儿扑翅的声音。

ta1   ting1dao4 le0   niao3er0   pu1   chi4   de0
she   hear   LE   bird   flap wing   DE

sheng1yin1
sound
'She heard the sound of a bird fluttering its wings.'

[54] 同一首曲子, 每个人唱出来的味道都不一样。

tong2 yi1   shou3 qu3zi0 mei3 ge4 ren2   chang4
same   one   CL   song   every CL   person sing

chu1lai2 de0   wei4dao4 dou1 bu4   yi1yang4
out   DE   taste   all   NEG   same
'(Even) with the same song, the flavor of each person singing is different.'

9.4. Relative clauses and topicalization

Relative clauses interact with topicalization in a number of ways. Elements within a relative clause may be topicalized (see section 9.4.1.). In addition, noun phrases containing relative clauses are especially prone to topicalization (see section 9.4.2.).

9.4.1. Topicalization out of a relative clause

A constituent contained inside a relative clause may undergo topicalization (see Chapter 17). Thus, given a relative clause of the form in [55a], the object can be topicalized, as in [55b].

[55] a. 读这本书的人不多。

du2   zhe4 ben3 shu1 de0   ren2   bu4   duo1
read   this CL   book DE   people NEG   many
'Those who read this book are few.'

b. 这本书读的人不多。

zhe4 ben3 shu1 du2   de0   ren2   bu4   duo1
this CL   book read DE   people NEG   many
'Those who read this book are few.'

9.4.2. Object noun phrases modified by relative clauses

An object preceded by a noun-modifying clause is a potentially "heavy" and clumsy constituent. When such an object follows the verb, the noun itself is separated

from the verb by the intervening relative clause. In [56], the object 钥匙 *yao4shi0* 'keys' is separated from the verb by the noun-modifying clause 开实验室的 *kai1 shi2yan4shi4 de0* 'for opening the laboratory.'

[56]　你带来了 开实验室的钥匙 没有?
　　　ni3　dai4lai2　le0　kai1　shi2yan4shi4　de0　yao4shi0
　　　you　bring　　LE　open　lab　　　　　DE　key

　　　mei2you3
　　　NEG
　　　'Have you brought the keys to open the laboratory?'

In practice, this configuration is often avoided by reformulating the sentence. One option is to apply topicalization, placing the object 开实验室的钥匙 *kai1 shi2yan4shi4 de0 yao4shi0* 'the keys to open the laboratory' first and creating an OSV sentence, as in [57]:

[57]　开实验室的钥匙, 你带来了没有?
　　　kai1　shi2yan4shi4　de0　yao4shi0　ni3　dai4lai2　le0
　　　open　lab　　　　　DE　key　　　you　bring　　LE

　　　mei2you3
　　　NEG
　　　'Have you brought the keys to open the laboratory?'

The weight of noun phrases, such as those modified by a relative clause, can therefore be one of the motivations for topicalization of the object of the sentence (see Chapter 17).

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Adjectives and adjective phrases

Shi-Zhe Huang, Jing Jin, and Dingxu Shi

The category of adjectives consists of lexical items that characteristically represent properties of entities such as dimension, age, color, speed, etc. A full-fledged adjective phrase is typically composed of an adverb and an adjective. This chapter mainly deals with the modifying function of adjectives and adjective phrases.

10.1. Defining properties of adjectives

The properties that adjectives characteristically represent include the following:

1 Dimension (e.g., 长 *chang2* 'long,' 宽 *kuan1* 'wide,' 高 *gao1* 'tall').
2 Age (e.g., 老 *lao3* 'old,' 小 *xiao3* 'young/small,' 年轻 *nian2qing1* 'young').
3 Color (e.g., 红 *hong2* 'red,' 白 *bai2* 'white,' 绿 *lü4* 'green').
4 Speed (e.g., 快 *kuai4* 'fast, quick,' 慢 *man4* 'slow').
5 Quantity (e.g., 多 *duo1* 'many/more,' 少 *shao3* 'little/less,' 足够 *zu2gou4* 'enough').
6 Value/quality (e.g., 好 *hao3* 'good,' 坏 *huai4* 'bad,' 真 *zhen1* 'true,' 假 *jia3* 'false/fake,' 奇怪 *qi2guai4* 'strange,' 重要 *zhong4yao4* 'important,' 困难 *kun4nan2* 'difficult,' 简单 *jian3dan1* 'simple').
7 Personality (e.g., 大方 *da4fang1* 'generous,' 小气 *xiao3qi4* 'miserly,' 豪爽 *hao2shuang3* 'forthright,' 阴险 *yin1xian3* 'sinister').
8 Emotional, mental, psychological, physical, and physiological states (e.g., 高兴 *gao1xing4* 'glad,' 恐惧 *kong3ju4* 'scared,' 糊涂 *hu2tu0* 'confused,' 冷 *leng3* 'cold,' 热 *re4* 'hot,' 疲倦 *pi2juan4* 'fatigued,' 粗糙 *cu1cao1* 'coarse').

The predominant function of adjectives is to serve as a prenominal modifier or as the head of a predicate in clauses. The defining properties of adjectives include the following:

1 Adjectives have no morphological markings for gender, number, case, tense, or any other functional features. The main morphological derivation that adjectives undergo is partial or total reduplication, which results not in new word classes but in more vivid, intensified, and mitigated meanings and different syntactic functions (see section 10.3.2.).

2 When performing a modifying function, adjectives and adjective phrases always appear before nouns. Derived adjectives, namely those formed via derivational processes such as reduplication and affixation (see section 10.3.2.), typically work as part of a 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker) phrase that modifies nouns, for example, 圆圆的脸 *yuan2yuan2 de0 lian3* 'roundish face' and 干巴巴的饼干 *gan1ba1ba1 de0 bing3gan1* 'dreadfully dry biscuit.' Non-derived adjectives are of two categories, each with distinct syntactic properties. Compound adjectives with an adverbial modifier generally require a 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker) when modifying nouns, such as those in 雪白的衬衫 *xue3bai2 de0 chen4shan1* 'snow-white shirt' and 崭新的 玩具 *zhan3xin1 de0 wan2ju4* 'brand-new toy.' Simple adjectives or coordinate compound adjectives may in general modify nouns with or without the marker 的 *de0* 'DE,' such as those in 新(的)书 *xin1 (de0) shu1* 'new book,' 脏(的)衣服 *zang1 (de0) yi1fu2* 'dirty clothes,' and 聪明(的)孩子 *cong1ming2 (de0) hai2zi0* 'smart child.'

3 Adjective phrases can function as the predicate of a clause. As shown in [1], a predicative adjective phrase typically has some dependent element, including a degree adverbial like 很 *hen3* 'very' and a negator like 不 *bu4* 'not.' It can also undergo some morphological changes, such as taking an A-not-A form or taking the suffix 的 *de0* 'DE,' which is a homophone of the attributive marker 的 *de0* 'DE.'

[1]   a. 他很聪明。

          ta1   hen3   cong1ming0
          he   very   smart
          'He is very smart.'

    b. 他不高。

          ta1   bu4   gao1
          he   NEG   tall
          'He is not tall.'

    c. 这家店小小的。

          zhe4 jia1 dian4 xiao3xiao3 de0
          this   CL   store   small   DE
          'This store is very small.'

    d. 他帅不帅?

          ta1   shuai4   bu4   shuai4
          he   handsome NEG   handsome
          'Is he handsome?'

4 Some adjectives become adverbs without undergoing morphological changes. Derived adverbs alter, clarify, or adjust the meaning contributions of the verbs

or verb phrases that follow them. A small number of monosyllabic derived adverbs can directly modify verbal roots to form compound verbs, such as those in [2]. The adverbial marker 地 *de0* 'DE' cannot appear between the adverb and the verb in such compounds.

[2]   a.   紧跟 *jin3gen1/tight_follow* 'to follow closely'

       b.   慢跑 *man4pao3/slow_run* 'to run slowly, jog'

       c.   高举 *gao1ju3/high_hold* 'to hold high'

Derived adverbs that are formed via reduplication can assume the modifying function with or without 地 *de0* 'DE' (adverb marker), as shown in [3]:

[3]   a.   慢慢(地)跑向厨房
          man4man4   *(de0)*   *pao3*   *xiang4*   *chu2fang2*
          slowly   DE   run   PREP   kitchen
          'to run to the kitchen slowly'

       b.   糊里糊涂(地)结了婚
          hu2li3hu2tu2   *(de0)*   *jie2*   *le0*   *hun1*
          muddle-headedly   DE   get   LE   marriage
          'got married in a muddle-headed manner'

5   Adjectives in Chinese are typically polysemous in that the exact interpretation of an adjective crucially depends on the noun it modifies or the nominal phrase of which it is a predicate. The 快 *kuai4* 'fast' in 快马 *kuai4ma3* 'fast horse' is different from the same adjective in 快件 *kuai4jian4* 'express delivery package,' although the two interpretations have the same origin and are connected. Such polysemous adjectives may differ with regard to gradability. When 方 *fang1* 'square' is associated with 桌子 *zhuo1zi0* 'table,' it is non-gradable and cannot be modified by 很 *hen3* 'very.' When it is associated with 脸 *lian3* 'face,' 方 *fang1* 'square' is gradable and 脸很方 *lian3hen3fang1* 'the face is very square' is acceptable. Even typical non-gradable adjectives may become gradable when they are associated with certain nouns, like the 圆 *yuan2* 'round' in 月亮很圆 *yue4liang hen3 yuan2* 'the moon was very round.'

10.2. Two major subclasses of adjectives in Chinese: non-derived adjectives and derived adjectives

Adjectives can undergo certain morphological processes and become derived ones.

10.2.1. Non-derived adjectives

Non-derived adjectives are those which have not undergone derivational processes, such as reduplication or affixation. They typically appear in monosyllabic

or disyllabic forms, while a few have more than two syllables. They can be divided into several subgroups based on the way they modify a nominal element, as listed in Table 10.1. Note that 的 *de0* 'DE' in the table is the attributive marker and the nominal phrase is an NP, a CL-NUMP, or a DP (see Chapter 8), while degree adverbs are those like 很 *hen3* 'very,' 挺 *ting3* 'quite,' and 非常 *fei1chang2* 'extremely' (see Chapter 12).

Regular gradable adjectives, either monosyllabic or polysyllabic, can modify a nominal element in all three patterns, namely, [NDA+N], [NDA+ 的 + NP] and [Degree Adverb + NDA + 的 + NP]. Regular gradable adjectives are the most versatile members of the adjective class. In contrast, the monosyllabic and polysyllabic non-derived adjectives in the other two subgroups behave quite diversely in terms of adnominal modification patterns.

Special gradable adjectives are traditionally called non-adnominal adjectives (非定形容词) in that they cannot modify a noun directly. Absolute adjectives are traditionally called non-predicative adjectives (非谓形容词) in that they do not function as the predicate in a clause. Special absolute adjectives are formed based on gradable adjectives by adding a morpheme that specifies a fixed point on the property scale. As the lexical meaning of special absolute adjectives already encodes a particular degree, similar to absolute adjectives, special absolute adjectives cannot be modified by degree adverbs. Special absolute adjectives differ from absolute adjectives in that they can serve as the predicate on their own, as shown in [4].

[4] a. 大门外石头冰凉。
         da4 men2 wai4   shi2tou0 bing1liang2
         big door outside stone   cold
         'The stone outside the front gate is very cold.'

     b. 花朵极大, 中心鲜红, 边缘雪白。
         hua1duo3 ji2   da4 zhong1xin1 xian1hong2
         flower   extremely   big center   bright_red

         bian1yuan2   xue3bai2
         edge   snow_white
         'The flowers are big; they are bright red in the center and snow white on the rim of the petal.'

10.2.2. Derived adjectives

Derived adjectives are formed via derivational processes such as reduplication and affixation. Derived adjectives are of two subtypes. One type is derived from regular gradable adjectives and the other is derived from non-adjective morphemes.

Table 10.1 Non-derived adjectives (NDAs) and their adnominal modification patterns (V: yes; X: no)

Non-derived adjectives (NDAs)	Examples	NDA + N	NDA + 的 + Nominal Phrase	Degree Adverb + NDA + 的 + Nominal Phrase
Monosyllabic regular gradable	高 *gao1* 'tall,' 红 *hong2* 'red,' 好 *hao3* 'good,' 脏 *zang1* 'dirty,' 冷 *leng3* 'cold,' 慢 *man4* 'slow,' 湿 *shi1* 'wet,' 软 *ruan3* 'soft,' 新 *xin1* 'new'	V	V	V
Monosyllabic special gradable	松 *song1* 'loose,' 紧 *jin3* 'tight,' 稳 *wen3* 'steady,' 累 *lei4* 'tired'	X	X	V
Monosyllabic absolute	竖 *shu4* 'vertical,' 横 *heng2* 'horizontal'	V	V	X
Polysyllabic regular gradable	漂亮 *piao4liang0* 'pretty,' 干净 *gan1jing4* 'clean,' 简单 *jian3dan1* 'simple,' 糊涂 *hu2tu0* 'muddle-headed,' 普通 *pu3tong1* 'common,' 具体 *ju4ti3* 'concrete,' 贫穷 *pin2qiong2* 'poor,' 谦虚 *qian1xu1* 'modest,' 安全 *an1quan2* 'safe'	V	V	V
Polysyllabic special gradable	专心 *zhuan1xin1* 'concentrated,' 刻苦 *ke4ku3* 'hard-working,' 和气 *he2qi4* 'kind and mild-mannered,' 了不起 *liao3bu4qi3* 'amazing, extraordinary'	X	V	V
Polysyllabic absolute	必然 *bi4ran2* 'necessary,' 本来 *ben3lai2* 'original, true,' 绝对 *jue2dui4* 'absolute'	V	V	X
Polysyllabic special absolute	雪白 *xue3bai2* 'snow-white,' 冰凉 *bing1liang2* 'ice-cold,' 喷香 *pen4xiang1* 'fragrant'	X	V	X

Adjectives derived from regular gradable ones are more common and are used more frequently.

Adjectives derived from regular gradable adjectives are typically derived by partial or total reduplication or by affixation. The most common patterns of derivation are presented in the following section. The syllables in the pre-derivation form are given as A, B, and C, while the syllables reduplicated by the process are given as a, b, and c.

10.2.2.1. Reduplication

In the process of total reduplication, either each morpheme is reduplicated as Aa or AaBb, like those in [5] and [6], or the whole morpheme sequence is reduplicated as ABab, like those in [7]. The adjectives that can undergo ABab reduplication are special absolute ones in which the B morpheme is modified by A, such as 雪白 *xue3bai2* 'snowy white.'

[5] A Aa

  a. **脏**衣服
    zang1 yi1fu2
    dirty clothes
    'dirty clothes'

  b. 有一天, 马路上趴着一个**脏脏**的乞丐。
    you3 yi1 tian1 ma3lu4 shang4 pa1 zhe0 yi1
    have one day road top sprawl ZHE one

    ge4 zang1zang1 de0 qi3gai4
    CL dirty-dirty DE beggar
    'One day, a dirty-looking beggar was sprawling on the road.'

[6] AB AaBb

  a. **漂亮**的职工食堂
    piao4liang4 de0 zhi2gong1 shi2tang2
    beautiful   DE staff   canteen
    'beautiful staff canteen'

  b. 他们要盖一幢**漂漂亮亮**的村委会办公室。
    ta1men0 yao4 gai4 yi1 zhuang4 piao4piao4liang4liang4
    they   want build one CL   beautiful

    de0 cun1wei3   ban4gong1shi4
    DE village_council office
    'They want to build a beautiful office for the Village Council.'

[7]   AB   ABab
   a. 5月，木棉花的果实张开嘴巴吐出**雪白**的棉絮。
       wu3yue4   mu4mian2hua1   de0   guo3shi2   zhang1kai1
       May   cotton_tree   DE   fruit   open

       zui3ba1   tu4chu1   xue3bai2   de0   mian2xu4
       mouth   spit_out   snow_white   DE   cotton
       'In May, the fruits of cotton trees opened up with snow-white cotton.'

   b. 门前一棵梨树开出了上百朵**雪白雪白**的梨花。
       men2qian1   yi1   ke1   li2shu4   kai1chu1   le0
       in_front_of_the_door   one   CL   pear-tree   grow_out   LE

       shang4bai3   duo3   xue3bai2xue3bai2   de0   li2hua1
       around_hundred   CL   snow-white   DE   pear_flower
       'Hundreds of snow-white flowers blossomed on the pear tree in front
       of the door.'

Although both AaBb and ABab patterns are potentially available for all adjectives, most adjectives typically only have one reduplication form, and there are more adjectives in the AaBb form than those in the ABab form. A limited number of adjectives have both forms and the two characteristically have different properties. The AaBb form typically behaves like an adjective phrase, while the ABab form behaves more like an activity verb phrase. Derived from the same adjective 高兴 *gao1xing4* 'happy,' 高高兴兴 *gao1gao1xing4xing4* functions with 地 *de0* as an adjectival adverbial in [8a] and functions with 的 *de0* as an adjectival attributive in [8b], while the 高兴高兴 *gao1xing4gao1xing4* 'being happy' in [8c] functions as a verbal predicate. [8d] is a list of more adjectives that can have both AaBa and ABab forms. They are typically inchoative adjectives denoting attributes that are amenable to changes.

[8]   a. 孩子们高高兴兴地跳到水里。
           hai2zi0   men0   gao1gao1xing4xing4   de0   tiao4   dao4
           child   PL   happy   DE   jump   PREP

           shui3   li3
           water   in
           'The children jumped into the water happily.'

       b. 高高兴兴的孩子们一拥而上。
           gao1gao1xing4xing4   de0   hai2zi0   men0   yi1yong1er2shang4
           happy   DE   child   PL   swarm
           'The happy children swarmed in.'

c. 让孩子们也高兴高兴吧。

rang4   hai2zi0   men0   ye3   gao1xing4gao1xing4   ba0
let   child   PL   also   happy   BA
'Let the children be happy too.'

d. [i]   冷静 *leng3jing4* 'to be calm/to calm down'
[ii] 热闹 *re4nao4* 'be lively, to bustle with noise and excitement, lively'
[iii] 安静 *an1jing4* 'quiet, quiet down'
[iv] 轻松 *qing1song1* 'to be relaxed/to relax'
[v]   快活 *kuai4huo2* 'fun-loving, to enjoy life'

Two reduplicated forms Aa and Bb, derived from two monosyllabic adjectives, may sometimes be combined to create the complex derived form AaBb. Such a form represents properties found in a heterogeneous set of entities in which each subset has the properties represented by A or B. The 长长短短 *chang2chang2duan3duan3* 'long and short' in [9a] is not the AaBb form of the noun 长短 *chang2duan3* 'length,' but rather it is the combination of two reduplicated adjectives. This AaBb form has the reading of "the pegs on the wall are of various lengths." Similarly, the 大大小小 *da4da4xiao3xiao3* 'big and small' in [9b] means the ponds are of different sizes and the 高高低低 *gao1gao1di1di1* 'high and low' tells us that the hills are of various heights.

[9]   a.   土墙上钉满了长长短短的木头橛子。

tu3   qiang2   shang4   ding1   man3   le0
dirt   wall   on   nail   full   LE

chang2chang2duan3duan3   de0   mu4tou0   jue2zi0
long_long_short_short   DE   wood   pin
'The dirt wall was full of wooden pegs long and short.'

b.   场区内有大大小小的水塘几十个, 高高低低的山包近百个。

chang3qu1   nei4   you3   da4da4xiao3xiao3   de0
field   inside have   big_big_small_small DE

shui3tang2   ji3   shi2   ge4   gao1gao1di1di1   de0
pond   several ten   CL   high_high_low_low   DE

shan1bao1   jin4   bai3   ge4
hill   around   hundred   CL
'Within the area there were dozens of ponds big and small, and nearly a hundred hills high and low.'

When a bisyllabic or multisyllabic adjective undergoes partial reduplication, only one morpheme in the adjective is reduplicated. The second morpheme of

年轻 *nian2qing1* 'young' in [10] is reduplicated to give some sentimental flavor to the clause, unbelievable sadness in this case. The first morpheme of 傻气 *sha3qi4* 'silly' in [11] is reduplicated and a semantically empty 里 *li0* is added as an infix. The sentence thus means the girl was lovely and silly.

[10]   一个**年轻轻的**桥梁专家突然就倒下了。
        yi1   ge4   nian2qing1qing1   de0   qiao2liang2   zhuan1jia1
        one   CL   young   DE   bridge   expert

        tu1ran2   jiu4   dao3xia4   le0
        suddenly   then   fall_down   LE
        'Such a young expert on bridges suddenly fell dead.'

[11]   女孩傻里傻气地笑着把钱拿了出来。
        nü3hai2   sha3liosha3qi4   xiao4   zhe0   ba3   qian2   na2   le0   chu1lai2
        girl   DE   smile   ZHE   BA   money   take   LE   out
        'The girl took out the money with a silly smile.'

10.2.2.2. Affixation

Derivation by affixation predominantly involves monosyllabic adjectives. A common way to achieve this is to add to the root a suffix in the shape of a repeated syllable like the – 烘烘 *hong1hong1* in [12a]. Such a suffix typically does not have very clear semantic content but does make a distinctive contribution to the overall meaning of the derived adjective. When – 烘烘 *hong1hong1* is suffixed to 臭 *chou4* 'stinky,' the combination contributes a special interpretation to the sentence that the kitchen waste is emitting a foul smell constantly and heavily. Similarly, the adjective derived from the suffixation of – 喷喷 *pen1pen1* to 香 *xiang1* 'fragrant' in [12b] has a reading related to 香 *xiang1* 'fragrant' with a more vivid flavor, namely, releasing a sweet scent continuously and extensively. The adjective 干巴巴 *gan1ba1ba1* 'dreadfully dry' in [12c] is derived from 干 *gan1* 'dry' but has the added flavor of awfulness and unattractiveness because of the suffix – 巴巴 *ba1ba1*.

[12]   a.   曾经**臭烘烘**的泔脚被加工成高质量的有机肥。
            ceng2jing1   chou4hong1hong1   de0   gan1jiao3   bei4
            once   stinky   DE   kitchen_waste   BEI

            jia1gong1   cheng2   gao1zhi4liang4   de0   you3ji1   fei2
            process   into   high_quality   DE   organic   fertilizer
            'The kitchen waste that was once rampantly stinky is turned into high-quality organic fertilizer.'

b.　全村每户都端来了一份**香喷喷**的菜。

quan2　cun1　　mei3　hu4　　dou1　duan1lai2　le0　yi1
all　　　village　every　family　all　　bring　　　LE　one

fen4　xiang1pen1pen1　de0　cai4
CL　　fragrant　　　　　DE　dish

'Every family in the village brought over a dish with a wonderful aroma.'

c.　记者中心里除了一些**干巴巴**的饼干以外, 连一瓶水都找不到。

ji4zhe3　　　zhong1xin1　li3　　chu2le0　　yi1xie1
journalist　center　　　　inside　except_for　some

gan1ba1ba1　de0　bing3gan1　yi3wai4　　lian2　yi1
dry　　　　　DE　cookie　　other_than　even　one

ping2　shui3　dou1　zhao3bu4dao4
CL　　water　all　　not_find_out

'Except for some unappetizing dry biscuits, there was not even a bottle of water in the News Centre.'

This affixation also may be applied to a derived adjective to produce a complex form AaBb, like the 干干巴巴 *gan1gan1ba1ba1* 'awfully dry' in [13]:

[13]　　这些文字是不是比那些**干干巴巴**的传记更有意思?

zhe4xie1　wen2zi4　shi4　bu4　shi4　bi3　　na4xie1
these　　word　　be　　NEG　be　　than　those

gan1gan1ba1ba1　de0　zhuan4ji4　geng4　you3yi4si0
dry　　　　　　　DE　biography　more　interesting

'Aren't these words more interesting than those boring dry biographies?'

Another type of suffix has a complex internal structure consisting of -不- *bu4*, which does not bear the meaning 'not' like its counterpart in non-affix use, and is in the form of two syllables, either two identical ones like those in [14a] or two different ones like those in [14b]–[14c]. Adjectives derived in this way generally have a negative or undesirable connotation.

[14]　　a.　[i]　酸 *suan1* 'sour'/ 酸不唧唧 *suan1bu4ji1ji1* 'really sour, sarcastic'
　　　　　　[ii]　傻 *sha3* 'foolish'/傻不唧唧 *sha3bu4ji1ji1* 'really stupid'

　　　　b.　[i]　灰 *hui1* 'gray'/灰不溜秋 *hui1bu4liu1qiu1* 'drab and grayish'
　　　　　　[ii]　黑 *hei1* 'black'/黑不溜秋 *hei1bu4liu1qiu1* 'black in an unpleasant way'

[iii] 圆 *yuan2* 'round'/圆不溜秋 *yuan2bu4liu1qiu1* 'round in an unpleasant way'

[iv] 中 *zhong1* 'medium'/中不溜秋 *zhong1bu4liu1qiu1* 'mediocre'

[v] 酸 *suan1* 'sour'/酸不溜秋 *suan1bu4liu1qiu1* 'sarcastic'

c. [i] 傻 *sha3* 'stupid'/傻不拉叽 *sha3bu4la1ji1* 'really stupid'

[ii] 酸 *suan1* 'sour'/酸不拉叽 *suan1bu4la1ji1* 'really sour' (for food or behavior)

[iii] 土 *tu3* 'uncultured, unstylish'/土不拉叽 *tu3bu4la1ji1* 'uncultured, unsophisticated'

[iv] 脏 *zang1* 'dirty'/脏不拉叽 *zang1bu4la1ji1* 'really dirty'

[v] 软 *ruan3* 'soft, soggy'/软不拉叽 *ruan3bu4la1ji1* 'so (damn) soft/soggy/weak'

Derived adjectives can come from non-adjectival categories. The complex adjective 虚虚实实 *xu1xu1shi2shi2* 'fiction and fact intertwined' in [15] is an AaBb form derived from 虚实 *xu1shi2* 'real situation,' which is a noun but is historically derived from the two adjectives 虚 *xu1* 'empty' and 实 *shi2* 'solid.' The AaBb form is now an adjective.

[15]   这种虚虚实实的写法令人耳目一新。
        zhe4   zhong3   xu1xu1shi2shi2   de0   xie3   fa3
        this   CL   fiction_fact_intertwined   DE   write   method

        ling4   ren2   er3mu4yi1xin1
        make   people   refreshing
        'This writing style of mixing suggestiveness and realism gives one a refreshingly novel experience of reading.'

The 风风火火 *feng1feng1huo3huo3* 'bustling' in [16a] looks like an AaBb form of 风 *feng1* 'wind' and 火 *huo3* 'fire,' which are both nouns, and the 形形色色 *xing2xing2se4se4* 'various' in [16b] seems to be an AaBb form of 形 *xing2* 'shape' and 色 *se4* 'color,' which are also nouns. Nevertheless, the two AaBb forms describe properties and are bona fide adjectives.

[16]   a.   当年风风火火的村长如今已经卸任。
              dang1nian2   feng1feng1huo3huo3   de0   cun1zhang3
              that_year   energetic   DE   village_head

              ru2jin1   yi3jing1   xie4ren4
              now   already   be_relieved_from_one's_post.
              'The strong and energetic former village head is retired now.'

b. 它们把形形色色的污染物吃进肚子里。

ta1men0   ba3   xing2xing2se4se4   de0   wu1ran3wu4   chi1
they   BA   various_kinds_of   DE   contaminant   eat

jin4   du4zi0   li3
enter   stomach   inside
'They ate various kinds of contaminants.'

10.3. Functions and properties of adjectives and adjective phrases

Non-derived gradable adjectives characteristically have the following properties:

1   When such adjectives or their phrases are negated, 不 *bu4* 'not' is predominantly the choice (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.).

[17]   a.   不良习惯
           bu4liang2   xi2guan4
           NEG-good   habit
           'bad habit'

      b.   不酸的橘子
           bu4   suan1   de0   ju2zi0
           NEG   sour   DE   orange
           'oranges which are not sour'

      c.   不漂亮的女生
           bu4   piao4liang4   de0   nü3sheng1
           NEG   beautiful   DE   girl
           'girls who are not pretty'

2   They can be modified by degree adverbials like 微 *wei1* 'slightly' and 很 *hen3* 'very,' as in [18].

[18]   [i]   微甜 *wei1 tian2* 'slightly sweet'
        [ii]   少辣 *shao3 la4* 'little hot'
        [iii]   很酸 *hen3 suan1* 'very sour'
        [iv]   很湿 *hen3 shi1* 'very wet'
        [v]   很漂亮 *hen3 piao4liang4* 'very pretty'
        [vi]   很年轻 *hen3 nian2qing1* 'very young'

3   They can modify nouns directly or function as part of a 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker) phrase to modify a nominal phrase, as in [19].

[19]   a.   [i]   脏水 *zang1shui3* 'dirty water'
              [ii]   破碗 *po4wan3* 'broken bowl'

[iii] 新家俱 *xin1 jia1ju4* 'new furniture'
[iv] 红屋顶 *hong2 wu1ding3* 'red roof'
[v] 漂亮衣服 *piao4liang4 yi1fu0* 'pretty clothes'
[vi] 民主气氛 *min2zhu3 qi4fen1* 'democratic atmosphere'
[vii] 糊涂观念 *hu2tu2 guan1nian4* 'muddled concepts, silly ideas'
b. [i] 凉的水 *liang2 de0 shui3* 'cold water'
[ii] 新的毛衣 *xin1 de0 mao2yi1* 'new sweater'
[iii] 古怪的人 *gu3guai4 de0 ren2* 'eccentric person'
[iv] 糊涂的观念 *hu2tu2 de0 guan1nian4* 'muddled concepts'

On the other hand, derived adjectives have the following properties:

[a] They can be directly negated by 不 *bu4* 'not.'
[b] They characteristically cannot be modified by degree adverbials. 很 *hen3* 'very' and other degree adverbs are not typically associated with them, since they already encode degree or intensity.
[c] They typically perform a modification function as part of a 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker) phrase, as in [20].

[20] a. 臭烘烘的走廊
chou4hong1hong1 de0 zou3lang2
stinky DE hallway
'a hallway that is full of stinky smells'

b. 清清楚楚的账目
qing1qing1chu3chu3 de0 zhang4mu4
clean_and_clear DE account_book
'a nice and clean ledger'

10.3.1. Adjectives in modifier positions

The most salient difference between non-derived gradable adjectives and derived adjectives is how they modify nominal phrases. Non-derived adjectives can modify nouns directly and can also function as part of a 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker) phrase to modify nominal phrases. Derived adjectives, on the other hand, do not modify nouns directly and predominantly appear in 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker) phrases that modify nominal phrases, as in [21].

[21] a. 石榴树上挂着红红的花。
shi2liu2 shu4 shang4 gua4 zhe0 hong2hong2 de0
pomegranate tree on hang ZHE red DE

hua1
flower
'Hanging on the pomegranate tree were red flowers.'

b. 一条条干干净净的巷子, 充满生机。

yi1tiao2tiao2   gan1gan1jing4jing4   de0   xiang4zi0
several   clean   DE   alley

chong1man3   sheng1ji1
be_full_of   vitality
'All the clean small alleys were full of bustling life.'

c. 按老习惯, 我该穿灰不溜秋的大襟衣服。

an1   lao3   xi2guan4   wo3   gai1   chuan1
PREP   old   habit   I   should   wear

hui1bu4liu1qiu1   de0   da4jin1yi1fu2
gray   DE   garment_with_side_buttons
'According to the old way, I should wear dreadful gray coats with side buttons.'

Many adjectives, including most derived adjectives, can appear in a clause as the adverb, with or without the adverbial marker 地 *de0* 'DE,' as shown in [22].

[22]   一幢幢石头农舍**整齐**地排列在村路两旁。

yi1zhuang4zhuang4   shi2tou0   nong2she4   zheng3qi2   de0
several   stone   farm_house   trimly   DE

pai2lie4   zai4   cun1   lu4   liang3   pang2
array   PREP   village   road   two   side
'Stone farmhouses (were) neatly lined up on both sides of the village road.'

[23]   姚明**风风火火**把NBA变成了一个中国人的舞台。

yao2ming2   feng1feng1huo3huo3   ba3   NBA   bian4
YAO_MING   energetically   BA   NBA   change

cheng2   le0   yi1   ge4   zhong1guo2ren2   de0   wu3tai2
into   LE   one   CL   Chinese   DE   stage
'YAO Ming turned the NBA into a stage for Chinese through his fantastic performance.'

There seem to be exceptional cases where a derived adjective appears in front of an NUM−CL phrase without 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker), as in [24] and [25a]. 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker) may also appear before the NUM−CL phrase, as in [25b].

[24] 地上堆着大大小小二十几个纸箱子。

di4   shang4 dui1 zhe0 da4da4xiao3xiao3   er4shi2
ground on   pile ZHE   big_and_small   twenty

ji3   ge4   zhi3   xiang1zi0
some   CL   paper box

'Lying on the ground were over twenty carton boxes, big and small.'

[25] a. 平原的经验是什么? **简简单单一个字**: "实"!

ping2yuan2   de0 jing1yan4 shi4 shen2me0
Pingyuan_county DE   experience be   what

jian3jian3dan1dan1   yi1   ge4   zi4   shi2
simple   one   CL   character   true

'What's Pingyuan County's magic formula? It simply boils down to one character: grounded!'

b. 平原人的经验只有**简简单单的一个字**: 实。

ping2yuan2   ren2   de0 jing1yan4   zhi3you3
Pingyuan_county people DE   experience only

jian3jian3dan1dan1   de0   yi1   ge4   zi4   shi2
simple   DE   one   CL   character   true

'The Pingyuan people's formula is a simple character: grounded.'

10.3.2. Non-derived and derived adjectives in argument positions

Non-derived and derived adjectives can also be used as arguments, as in [26].

[26] a. 我向来追求平凡。

wo3   xiang4lai2   zhui1qiu2   ping2fan2
I   as_always   pursue   ordinary

'I always strive to be ordinary.'

b. 简简单单也是一种幸福。

jian3jian3dan1dan1   ye3   shi4   yi1   zhong3   xing4fu2
simple   also be   one   CL   happiness

'Being simple is also a kind of happiness.'

10.3.3. Adjective phrases

Adjective phrases (APs) typically appear in the form of [Degree Adverbial + A]. APs typically function as predicates, as part of the 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker)

phrase that modifies nominal phrases, or as adverbials with or without 地 *de0* 'DE' (adverb marker).

All gradable adjectives can form adjective phrases with degree adverbials, which are typically degree adverbs like 有点 *you3dian3* 'a little,' 很 *hen3* 'very,' 极 *ji2* 'extremely,' 挺 *ting3* 'quite,' 非常 *fei1chang2* 'extremely,' etc. Some absolute adjectives may form adjective phrases with excessive or maximum degree adverbials, such as 非常完美 *fei1chang2 wan2mei3* 'extremely perfect' and 非常基本 *fei1chang2 ji1ben3* 'extremely fundamental.' Derived adjectives do not take adverbial degree modification.

Although an adjective phrase typically requires a 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker) to modify a nominal phrase, as in [27], there are cases in which an AP seems to modify a nominal phrase directly. One of these cases is that 很 *hen3* 'very' appears in a small number of compound adjectives, such as 很多 *hen3duo1* 'a lot' and 很大 *hen3da4* 'very big.' These adjectives can modify nouns without the help of 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker), as in [28]. Another case is that 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker) does not have to appear when the nominal phrase being modified has an overt demonstrative, as in [29].

[27]　a.　地上放着一些**很脏**的算命用品。

　　　　di4　　　shang4　fang4　zhe0　yi1xie1　hen3　zang1　de0
　　　　ground　on　　　place　ZHE　some　　very　dirty　DE

　　　　suan4ming4　　　yong4pin3
　　　　fortune_telling　tool
　　　　'On the ground were some dirty tools used for fortune telling.'

　　　b.　人们纷纷撤离到**较安全**的地带。

　　　　ren2men0　fen1fen1　　　　　che4li2　dao4　jiao4
　　　　people　　one_after_another　retreat　PREP　comparatively

　　　　an1quan2　de0　di4dai4
　　　　safe　　　DE　area
　　　　'One by one, people evacuated to safer places.'

[28]　这与商业银行的要求还有**很大距离**。

　　　zhe4　yu3　shang1ye4yin2hang2　de0　yao1qiu2　　hai2
　　　this　PREP　commercial_bank　　DE　requirement　still

　　　you3　hen3　da4　ju4li2
　　　have　very　big　distance
　　　'This is still far away from meeting the requirement for a commercial bank.'

[29] 果然, 她挑了樱桃红那条。

guo3ran2   ta1   tiao1   le0   ying1tao2hong2   na4
as_expected   she   pick   LE   cherry_red   that

tiao2
CL

'She picked the cherry red one as expected.'

A third case is that the superlative morpheme 最 *zui4* 'most' can form a compound with quite a number of adjectives, and those compounds can modify nouns without 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker), as shown in [30].

[30] [i]   最差影片 *zuicha4 ying3pian4* 'the worst film'
      [ii]   最佳选择 *zui4jia1 xuan3ze2* 'the best choice'
      [iii] 最优秀教师 *zui4you1xiu4 jiao4shi1* 'the best teacher'
      [iv]   最高建筑物 *zui4gao1 jian4zhu4wu4* 'the highest building'
      [v]   最高档电脑 *zui4gao1dang4 dian4nao3* 'the most expensive computer'

The nouns modified by these 最-adjective compounds typically have at least two syllables and are often occupation terms, such as 教师 *jiao4shi1* 'teacher,' 导演 *dao3yan3* 'movie director,' and 媳妇 *xi2fu4* 'daughter-in-law.' Since a noun like 最佳导演 *zui4jia1 dao3yan3* 'best movie director' represents the superlative one in a set, the noun being modified typically represents a type of entity rather than a token, namely, the noun being modified is a hypernym rather than a hyponym. Because of this, 最稀有动物 *zui4xi1you3 dong4wu4* 'the rarest animal' is easy to accept, but 最稀有邻居家小狗 *zui4xi1you3 lin2ju1jia1 xiao3gou3* 'the rarest little dog of the next door neighbors' is hard to understand.

10.4. Adjectives and verbs: a comparison

Adjectives share many properties with verbs, especially stative verbs, but they do have certain differences. Both gradable adjectives and stative verbs like 喜欢 *xi3huan1* 'to like' and 相信 *xiang1xin4* 'to believe' denote states. As such, they can both be associated with 不 *bu4* 'not,' 都 *dou1* 'all,' and 也 *ye3* 'also,' be modified by degree adverbials, and appear in V-not-V form in an A-not-A alternative question. However, a stative verb can take an object, whereas an adjective predominantly does not have an object.

10.5. Special adjectives 多 *duo1* 'many/much,' 少 *shao3* 'few/little,' and 大 *da4* 'big'

多 *duo1* 'many/much' is a gradable adjective with many meanings, and the basic one is to describe relatively large quantities, namely, "many" or "much." When

used with its basic meaning, 多 *duo1* 'many/much' typically does not modify nouns directly but predominantly as part of a 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker) phrase.

多 *duo1* has another meaning of "several/multiple." When used with this meaning, 多 *duo1* can modify nouns directly, as in 多人受伤 *duo1ren2 shou4shang1* 'several people were injured,' 多处感染 *duo1chu4 gan3ran3* 'several places were infected,' and 多民族国家 *duo1min2zu2 guo2jia1* 'country with multiple ethnic groups.' This usage of 多 *duo1* is mainly found in formal written genres.

多 *duo1* 'several/multiple' can appear in the NUM position of an NUM-CL phrase as a quantifier, as in 多块金牌 *duo1kuai4 jin1pai2* 'several medals' and 多篇文章 *duo1pian1 wen2zhang1* 'several articles.' It can also function as part of an approximate numeral, as in 三十多本书 *san1shiduo1ben3 shu1* 'over thirty books' (see Chapter 8, section 8.4).

多 *duo1* 'many/much' can also be used as an adverb in a verb phrase to indicate the quantity of activities, which can be physical, emotional, mental, and so on, as in [31].

[31] a. 多吃点饭。
       duo1   chi1   dian3   fan4
       much   eat   a_little   rice
       'Eat a little more rice.'

    b. 多做事, 少说话。
       duo1   zuo4   shi4   shao3   shuo1   hua4
       much   do   thing   little   talk   words
       'Do more and speak less.'

The verb phrase modified by 多 *duo1* 'many/much' often has a verb quantifier phrase as its object, as in [32].

[32] a. 小明打算在图书馆多待一会儿。
       xiao3ming2   da3suan4   zai4   tu2shu1guan3   duo1
       XIAOMING   plan   PREP   library   much

       dai1   yi1hui4er0
       stay   a_while
       'Xiao Ming planned to stay a little longer in the library.'

    b. 下次我们要多准备几道菜。
       xia4ci4   wo3men0   yao4   duo1   zhun3bei4   ji3
       next_time   we   need   much   prepare   several

       dao4   cai4
       CL   dish
       'Next time we should prepare a few more dishes.'

多 *duo1* 'many/much' can also replace the degree adverb in a gradable adjective compound to turn it into an interrogative word, such as 多大 *duo1da4* 'how big' and 多长 *duo1chang2* 'how long,' to be used in variable questions, as in [33].

[33]   a.   你要多大的锅?
           ni3   yao4   duo1   da4   de0   guo1
           you   want   how   big   DE   pot
           'How big a pot do you want?'

       b.   他们要住多久?
           ta1men0   yao4   zhu4   duo1   jiu3
           they   want   live   how   long
           'How long will they stay?'

In predicative uses, 多 *duo1* 'many/much' and 少 *shao3* 'few/little' are antonyms. The two sentences in [34] thus have opposite meanings.

[34]   a.   山上的树很多。
           shan1   shang4   de0   shu4   hen3   duo1
           mountain   on   DE   tree   very   many
           'There are many trees on the mountain.'

       b.   山上的树很少。
           shan1   shang4   de0   shu4   hen3   shao3
           mountain   on   DE   tree   very   few
           'There are few trees on the mountain.'

However, 多 *duo1* 'many/much' and 少 *shao3* 'few/little' are not antonyms in cases like [35], in which 多 *duo1* 'many/much' cannot replace 少 *shao3* 'few/little' to produce an opposite meaning. Unlike 多 *duo1* 'many/much,' 少 *shao3* 'few/little' is not used to form an interrogative word, nor is it used as a quantifier or as part of an approximate number.

[35]   我很少在晚上喝咖啡。
          wo3   hen3shao3   zai4   wan3shang4   he1   ka1fei1
          I   seldom   PREP   evening   drink   coffee
          'I seldom drink coffee in the evening.'

10.5.1. 大 *da3* 'big' and 很大 *hen3da4* 'very big'

Phrases composed of 大 *da4* 'big' and its modifying degree adverbials, such as 很 *hen3* 'very,' 极 *ji2* 'extremely,' 挺 *ting3* 'quite,' 特 *te4* 'extremely,' etc., have some characteristics that are different from those of other APs.

While most APs require a 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker) to modify a nominal phrase, a major feature of these 大 *da4* 'big' phrases is that they can modify verbal nouns directly, even though they can also appear in a 的 *de0* 'DE' (attributive marker) phrase. A verbal noun like those in [36] represents an action and typically has a morphologically identical counterpart that is a transitive verb. The modification patterns are shown in [37].

[36]　　[i]　　鼓舞 *gu3wu3* 'encouragement, to encourage'

　　　　[ii]　　支持 *zhi1chi2* 'support, to support'

　　　　[iii]　　启发 *qi3fa1* 'inspiration, to inspire'

　　　　[iv]　　刺激 *ci4ji1* 'provocation, to provoke'

　　　　[v]　　鞭策 *bian1ce4* 'urge, to urge'

　　　　[vi]　　诱惑 *you4huo4* 'seduction, to seduce'

　　　　[vii]　　帮助 *bang1zhu4* 'help, to help'

　　　　[viii]　　危害 *wei1hai4* 'endangerment, endanger'

[37]　　a.　　这对促进中美两国的文化交流有**很大的帮助**。

　　　　zhe4　dui4　cu4jin4　zhong1mei3　liang3　guo2　　de0
　　　　this　PREP　promote　Sino_America　two　　country　DE

　　　　wen2hua4　jiao1liu2　　　you3　hen3　da4　de0
　　　　culture　　communication　have　very　big　DE

　　　　bang1zhu4
　　　　help
　　　　'This would greatly promote the cultural exchanges between China and America.'

　　　　b.　　这一成果对他们的工作有**很大帮助**。

　　　　zhe4　yi1　cheng2guo3　dui4　ta1men0　de0　gong1zuo4
　　　　this　one　outcome　　PREP　they　　DE　work

　　　　you3　hen3　da4　bang1zhu4
　　　　have　very　big　help
　　　　'This result would help their work a lot.'

　　　　c.　　这种前景无疑对人们具有**极大的诱惑**。

　　　　zhe4　zhong3　qian2jing3　wu2yi2　　　dui4　ren2men0
　　　　this　CL　　prospect　　undoubtedly　PREP　people

　　　　ju4you3　ji2　　　da4　de0　you4huo4
　　　　have　　extremely　big　DE　temptation
　　　　'This prospect undoubtedly gave people great allure.'

d. 极为可观的利润给了武汉人**极大诱惑**。

ji2wei2ke3guan1   de0   li4run4   gei3   le0   wu3han4   ren2
remarkable   DE   profit   give   LE   Wuhan   people

ji2   da4   you4huo4
extremely   big   temptation

'The remarkable profits gave Wuhan residents great temptation.'

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11

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Comparison

Marie-Claude Paris and Dingxu Shi

This chapter discusses four types of comparative clauses and their interpretations in Chinese:

1. The affirmative superiority comparative expressed by a predicate.
2. The superiority comparative marker 比 *bi3* 'than.'
3. The equality comparative marked with 跟 *gen1* 'like' and its variants 像 *xiang4* 'like,' 如 *ru2* 'as,' and 有 *you3* 'YOU.'
4. The correlative comparative marked with 越…越… *yue4…yue4…* 'the more…the more…'

When available, both the affirmative and the negative forms of these comparative clauses will be discussed.

11.1. Distinctive properties of comparative clauses in Chinese

A distinctive feature of Chinese comparatives is that there are only *two* types of markers for comparison. One is the superiority marker 比 *bi3* 'than' and the other is the equality marker 跟 *gen1* 'with' and its variants. Inferiority is conveyed by negative forms of superiority or equality comparatives.

The main pattern for comparatives is that the term being compared appears before the verb, usually as the subject, whereas the standard of comparison appears as the complement of a preposition, and the comparative phrase appears as the main predicate. The pattern can be summarized as the schema in [1], where A represents the term being compared, B represents the standard of comparison, MP represents the differential measure phrase, V represents the main part of the predicate, and the comparative marker is a preposition such as 比 *bi3* 'than,' 跟 *gen1* 'with,' 像 *xiang4* 'like,' 如 *ru2* 'as,' or 有 *you3* 'YOU.'

[1]   A 比/跟/像/如/有   B (degree adverbial) V (MP)
        bi3/gen1/xiang4/ru2/you3

In [1], the two comparative terms A and B are typically nominal phrases, but they can sometimes be other phrases or even an incomplete phrase with ellipses.

In addition to comparatives in the shape of [1], there are correlative comparatives that contain a marker pair 越…越…*yue…yue4*… 'the more…the more…' and simple comparatives containing no preposition marker at all.

11.2. Affirmative superiority comparison

The comparative containing no preposition marker has the shape shown in [2], where the two comparative terms A and B are nominal phrases and the verb compound $V_1 - V_2$ takes B as its complement, which can be followed by an optional MP.

[2]   A $V_1 - V_2$ B (MP)

The verbs occupying the V_1 slot are predominantly monosyllabic verbs of dimension, such as 多 *duo1* 'much,' 少 *shao3* 'less,' 大 *da4* 'big,' 小 *xiao3* 'small,' 长 *chang2* 'long,' 短 *duan3* 'short,' 高 *gao1* 'high,' and 低 *di1* 'low.' A differential measure phrase, such as the 一截 *yi1 jie2* 'a section' in [4], may optionally follow B. The V_2 found in the corpus are 过 *guo4* 'surpass,' 出 *chu1* 'beyond,' and more commonly, 于 *yu2* 'at, by.' Sentences [3] through [7] are examples of affirmative superiority comparisons.

[3]   医生多过病人。
       yi1sheng1   duo1   guo4   bing4ren2
       doctor   more   surpass   patient
       'There are more doctors than patients.'

[4]   大陆、南韩的实力高出一截。
       da4lu4   nan2han2   de0   shi2li4   gao1chu1
       mainland   South_Korea   DE   strength   high beyond
       yi1jie2
       a_section
       'The Mainland Team and the South Korean Team were clearly stronger by a large margin.'

[5]   好奇多于同情。
       hao4qi2   duo1   yu2   tong2qing2
       curiosity   much   PREP   sympathy
       '(It is) more out of curiosity than sympathy.'

[6]   正面效果少于负面效果。
       zheng4mian4   xiao4guo3   shao3   yu2   fu4mian4
       positive   effect   less   PREP   negative

xiao4guo3
effect
'There are fewer positive effects than negative ones.'

[7] 妇女的寿命长于男性。
fu4nü3 de0 shou4ming4 chang2 yu2 nan2xing4
woman DE life long PREP man
'Women's life expectancy is longer than men's.'

The standard of comparison in such clauses sometimes appears as the complement of the comparative marker 比 *bi3* 'than,' while the differential measure phrase still appears after the V_1–V_2, as in [8].

[8] 我都比他们高出一或二公分。
wo3 dou1 bi3 ta1men0 gao1 chu1 yi1 huo4
I all than they high beyond one or
er4 gong1fen1
two centimeter
'Even I am taller than them by one or two centimeters.'

Another important characteristic of Chinese comparison constructions to bear in mind in this context is that the lexical meaning of scalar stative predicates in Chinese is comparative, not absolute, as discussed in Chapter 10. Hence, even when the standard of comparison and the differential measure phrase is not expressed, the simple X+V sentences still have a comparative reading. This can be illustrated by [9], based on sentence [6], and [10], based on sentence [7].

[9] 正面效果少。
zheng4mian4 xiao4guo3 shao3
positive effect less
'Positive effects are fewer.'

[10] 妇女的寿命长。
fu4nü3 de0 shou4ming4 chang2
woman DE life long
'Women's life expectancy is longer.'

11.3. Superiority comparatives marked with 比 *bi3* 'than'
Comparatives with the marker 比 *bi3* 'than' have the shape as shown in [11].

[11] A (Neg) 比 B (degree adverbial) V (MP)

In [11], the negator "Neg" between the compared term A and the standard of comparison B is optional depending on the meaning, the obligatory V is the main part of the predicate, the optional degree adverbial is typically an adverb, and the differential MP is a complement in V.

11.3.1. The predicate in 比 *bi3* 'than' comparatives

The V found in 比 *bi3* 'than' comparatives is scalar in nature. It can be a gradable stative predicate like 高 *gao1* 'tall' in [12], an eventual predicate that has a direction scale like 上扬 *shang4yang2* 'go up' in [13], or the temporal progress of an event that is associated with a gradable property, such as a compound verb affixed with the continuous aspect of 下去 *xia4qu4* in [14].

[12]　他比我高。
　　　ta1　　bi3　　wo3　　gao1
　　　he　　than　I　　　tall
　　　'He is taller than me.'

[13]　烈酒的价格可能比年底稍微上扬。
　　　lie4jiu3　　　de0　jia4ge2　ke3neng2　bi3　　nian2　di3
　　　hard_liquor　DE　price　　maybe　　　than　year　　bottom
　　　shao1wei1　　shang4yang2
　　　a_little　　　go_up
　　　'The price of hard liquor may go up a little more than that at the end of the year.'

[14]　他的身体一天比一天消瘦下去。
　　　ta1　de0　shen1ti3　yi1　tian1　bi3　　yi1
　　　he　DE　body　　　one　day　　than　one
　　　tian1　xiao1shou4　xia4qu4
　　　day　　thin　　　　XIAQU
　　　'He got thinner day by day.'

When the predicate in such a comparative stands for an action like 买书 *mai3shu1* 'buy books' or 花钱 *hua1qian2* 'spend money,' the scalar requirement can be satisfied by a scalar adverbial, such as 多 *duo1* 'more' and 少 *shao3* 'less' in [15] and [16], together with a measurement phrase to indicate the difference.

[15]　我们比昨天多买了三本书。
　　　wo3men0　bi3　　zuo2tian1　duo1　mai3　le0　san1
　　　we　　　　than　yesterday　more　buy　　LE　three

ben3   shu1
CL   book
'We bought three more books than we did yesterday.'

[16]   他比你少花了两块钱。
ta1   bi3   ni3   shao3   hua1   le0   liang3   kuai4   qian2
he   than   you   less   spend   LE   two   CL   money
'He spent two dollars less than you did.'

11.3.2. Terms of comparison

The compared term A and the standard of comparison B are typically parallel in their syntactic status, but they need not be. Comparisons in Chinese can also involve ellipses, such as in [17]. The standard of comparison in [17] is the pronoun 他们 *ta1men0* 'they' and the compared term is a nominal phrase consisting of 价位 *jia4wei4* 'price level' and its modifier 你的 *ni3 de0* 'your.'

[17]   你的价位可以比他们稍微低的话...
ni3   de0   jia4wei4   ke2yi3   bi3   ta1men0   shao1wei1
you   DE   price_level   can   than   them   a_little

di1   de0   hua4
low   DE   case
'If your price (level) could be slightly lower than theirs...'

In [18] A is the pronoun 你 *ni3* 'you' while B is the pronoun 我 *wo3* 'I,' together with a locative and a temporal adverbial, in this case 国内 *guo2nei4* 'inside the country, home' and 一辈子 *yi1bei4zi0* 'the whole life, a lifetime.'

[18]   你比我在国内一辈子还赚得多。
ni3   bi3   wo3   zai4   guo2nei4   yi1bei4zi0
you   than   I   PREP   within_the_country a_life_time

hai2   zhuan4   de0   duo1
still   gain   DE   more
'You make more money than I do during my whole life at home.'

11.3.3. The degree adverbial

The slot of the degree adverbial is filled either by degree adverbs, like 更 *geng4* 'more' in [19] and 还 *hai2* 'still' in [20], or by a modal, like 要 *yao4* 'will' in [21].

[19]   价格比散装的更高。
     jia4ge2   bi3   san3zhuang1   de0   geng4   gao1
     price   than   unpacked   DE   more   high
     'The price is even higher than that of unpacked ones.'

[20]   政府比人们还健忘。
     zheng4fu3   bi3   ren2men0   hai2   jian4wang4
     government   than   people   still   forgetful
     'The government is even more forgetful than the people.'

[21]   他在父母亲的眼中是比别人都要好很多。
     ta1   zai4   fu4mu3qin1   de0   yan3   zhong1   shi4
     he   PREP   parents   DE   eye   in   SHI

     bi3   bie2ren2   dou1   yao4   hao3   hen3   duo1
     than   others   all   will   good   very   much
     'In his parents' eyes he is much better than others.'

It is also common for these adverbs and modals to appear in pairs, such as the sequences 还要 *hai2yao4* 'still will' and 还更 *hai2geng4* 'still more' in [22] and [23], respectively. Their sequential order cannot be changed because the scope of 还 *hai2* 'still' is wider than that of 更 *geng4* 'more' and 要 *yao4* 'will.'

[22]   他比我还要高。
     ta1   bi3   wo3   hai2   yao4   gao1
     he   than   I   still   will   tall
     'He is even taller than me.'

[23]   他对慈济的爱却比在台湾时还更浓厚。
     ta1   dui4   ci2ji4   de0   ai4   que4   bi3   zai4
     she   PREP   Tzu_Chi   DE   love   but   than   PREP

     tai2wan1   shi2   hai2   geng4   nong2hou4
     Taiwan   when   still   more   strong
     'Her love for the Tzu Chi Foundation (now) was even stronger than when she was in Taiwan.'

The main function of the degree adverbial is to bring in some additional meaning to a comparative clause. An important presupposition in the comparative in [22] is that 我 *wo3* 'I' is tall, and the main assertion is that 他 *ta1* 'he' is even taller. If the degree adverbial 还要 *hai2yao4* 'still will' is taken out of [22] to turn it into the comparative clause found in [12], there will no longer be any presupposition about the height of either 他 *ta1* 'he' or 我 *wo3* 'I.' [12] is true as long as there is a

height difference between 他 *ta1* 'he' and 我 *wo3* 'I,' even though both are actually short.

11.3.4. The differential measure phrase
The differential measure phrase (MP) in a comparative clause can be either predicative or nominal.

11.3.4.1. Predicative MPs
There are two types of predicative MPs. One type has no direct relation to the V, like 很多 *hen3 duo1* 'much' or its reduplicated form 很多很多 *hen2duo1hen2duo1* 'very much' in [24]. The other type is part of the complement marked with 得 *de0* 'DE,' such as in [25].

[24] 这个社会比我们想像的要复杂很多很多。
      zhe4 ge4 she4hui4 bi3 wo3men0 xiang3xiang4 de0
      this CL   society   than we   imagine   DE

      yao4 fu4za2 hen3duo1 hen3duo1
      will complex more   more
      'This society is much more complex than we had thought.'

[25] 她的力量已比一般男孩子大得多。
      ta1 de0 li4liang4 yi3   bi3   yi1ban1 nan2hai2zi0
      she DE   strength   already than usual   boy

      da4 de0 duo1
      big DE   much
      'Her strength was already stronger than that of most boys.'

Note that in the degree complement, the 比 *bi3* 'than' phrase can either precede the V suffixed by 得 *de0* 'DE' or follow it, as in [26] and [27], respectively.

[26] 他比我来得迟。
      ta1 bi3 wo3 lai2 de0 chi2
      he   than I   come DE   late
      'He came later than I did.'

[27] 他来得比我迟。
      ta1 lai2 de0 bi3 wo3 chi2
      he   come DE   than I   late
      'He came later than me.'

11.3.4.2. Nominal MPs

The nominal differential MP is typically a quantifier like 一点 *yi1dian3* 'a little bit' in [28] or the 一个百分点 *yi1ge4 bai3fen1dian3* 'one point of the percentage' in [29]. It can also be a combination of a numeral and a classifier, as in [30].

[28]   控制中心比一个足球场还要大上一点。
    kong4zhi4 zhong1xin1 bi3 yi1 ge4 zu2qiu2 chang3
    control   center   than one CL   soccer   field
    hai2 yao4 da4 shang4 yi1dian3
    still will big   up   a_bit
    'The control center is even a bit bigger than a soccer field.'

[29]   成长率比第二季还要少一个百分点。
    cheng2zhang3 lü4   bi3   di4er4 ji4   hai2 yao4
    growth   rate than second season still will
    shao3 yi1 ge4 bai3fen1dian3
    less   one CL   percent
    'The growth rate is one percent lower than that of the second quarter.'

[30]   我都比他们多出一两公分。
    wo3 dou1 bi3   ta1men0 duo1 chu1   yi1 liang3
    I   all   than they   much beyond one two
    gong1fen1
    centimeter
    'Even I am one or two centimeters taller than them.'

When the degree adverbial is a paucal adverb such as 稍微 *shao1wei1* 'somewhat,' the nominal differential measure phrase is typically (一)些 *(yi1) xie1* 'a little,' as in [31], or 一点 *yi1dian3* 'a little.'

[31]   团费会比一般行程稍微高些。
    tuan2 fei4 hui4 bi3 yi1ban1 xing2cheng2 shao1wei1
    tour   fee   will than usual   itineraries   a_little
    gao1 xie1
    high   some
    'The fee for this tour may be slightly higher than that of normal itineraries.'

11.4. Negative 比 *bi3* 'than' constructions

The negative morpheme in a comparative construction can be either 不 *bu4* or 没有 *mei2you3*.

11.4.1. 不 *bu4* 'not' and negative 比 *bi3* 'than' constructions

The negative form of the comparative, such as in [32], typically does not take any differential MP. In the few cases where it does appear, the MP is predominantly an interrogative quantifier like 多少 *duo1shao3* 'how much' in [33], which yields the reading of an existential quantifier "much" under the scope of the negative morpheme.

[32]　　另加少许洗衣粉, 效果不比漂白剂差。

　　　　ling4　　　jia1　 shao2xu3 　xi3yi1fen3　　　　　xiao4guo3
　　　　moreover　add 　a_few　　laundry_detergent 　effect

　　　　bu4 　bi3 　piao3bai2 　ji4 　　cha 4
　　　　NEG　than　white　　　　dose 　bad
　　　　'Add a bit of detergent powder as an extra, and the result is not worse than bleach.'

[33]　　色彩的丰富性显然不比国画高多少。

　　　　se4cai3　de0　feng1fu4xing4　xian3ran2　 bu4 　　bi3
　　　　color　　DE　 richness　　　　apparently　NEG　 than

　　　　guo4hua　　　　　gao1 　duo1 　shao3
　　　　Chinese_painting　high　 much 　less
　　　　'The richness of color is obviously not much better than Chinese paintings.'

Although the negation of superiority comparatives creates an inferiority comparative reading, what [32] actually says is that the result is almost the same as using bleach, while sentence [33] means the richness is better only to a very limited extent. The thin margin between the two comparative terms in such a sentence is shown clearly in [34].

[34]　　欧洲对企业改造的需求即使不比美国高, 也与美国相当。

　　　　ou1zhou1　 dui4 　qi3ye4　　 gai3zao4 　de0 　xu1qiu2
　　　　Europe　　 PREP 　enterprise 　reform　　DE　 need

　　　　ji2shi3　　　　bu4 　bi3 　mei3guo2　　　 gao1 　ye3
　　　　even_though　NEG 　than 　the_United_States 　high 　also

　　　　yu3 　　mei3guo2　　　　　 xiang1dang1
　　　　PREP 　the_United_States 　equal
　　　　'Even if the need for enterprise reform in Europe is not higher than that of the US, it is at least equal.'

11.4.2. 没有 *mei2you3* 'NEG' and negative 比 *bi3* 'than' constructions

The negation 没有 *mei2you3* denies the existence of an event (see Chapter 8). When 没有 *mei2you3* negates a comparative 比 *bi3* 'than' clause, as in [35] and [36], it functions similarly to double negation. In [35], the pair of statements progresses from the relevant fact that the speaker's group does not boast/claim to be stronger than others, to the additional claim (with 会 *hui4* 'will') of not being weaker than others. Moreover, the negation of the comparative clause in [36] serves to state that not even our parents can claim to be wiser than us.

[35]   我们并没有比谁强, 更不会比谁差。
  wo3men0   bing4   mei2you3   bi3   shui2   qiang2
  we   however   NEG   than   who   strong

  geng4   bu4   hui4   bi3   shui2   cha4
  more   NEG   will   than   who   bad
  'We were not (boasting to be) stronger than anyone. Yet nor will we be weaker than anyone.'

[36]   父母都没有比我们明事理。
  fu4mu3   dou1   mei2you3   bi3   wo3men0   ming2
  parents all   NEG   than   we   understand

  shi4li3
  logic
  'Not even our parents could claim to be wiser than we are.'

11.5. 跟 *gen1* 'with' comparatives: comparison of equality and likeness

11.5.1. Characteristics of 跟 *gen1* 'with' comparatives

The basic meaning of 跟 *gen1* 'with' as a comparative is that the two comparative terms are the same, as in 一样 *yi1yang4* 'the same.' The MP with regard to which two terms are equal may not appear in the sentence and has to be recovered from the context, as in the case of [37] and [38]. Sometimes a degree adverbial may appear before 一样 *yi1yang4* 'the same,' such as 差不多 *cha 4bu4duo1* 'almost' in [38], which states that the equality is not one hundred percent.

[37]   我的心情跟你们一样。
  wo3   de0   xin1qing2   gen1   ni3men0   yi1yang4
  I   DE   mood   PREP   you   same
  'My feeling is the same as yours.'

[38]　中国的天气跟美国的差不多一样。
　　　zhong1guo2　　de0　tian1qi4　gen1　mei3guo2　　　　de0
　　　China　　　　DE　weather　PREP　the_United_States　DE

　　　cha 4bu4duo1　yi1yang4
　　　almost　　　　same
　　　'The weather in China is almost the same as that in America.'

The equality of the two terms may also be represented by a gradable predicate modified by 一样 *yi1yang4* 'the same,' as in the case of [39] and [40].

[39]　我要把他教得跟你一样厉害。
　　　wo3　yao4　ba3　ta1　jiao1　de0　gen1　ni3　yi1yang4
　　　I　　will　BA　he　teach　DE　PREP　you　same

　　　li4hai0
　　　good
　　　'I will train him to be as good as you are.'

[40]　他已经跟你一样胖了。
　　　ta1　yi3jing1　gen1　ni3　yi1yang4　pang4　le0
　　　he　already　PREP　you　same　　　fat　　LE
　　　'He has already become as overweight as you (are).'

In addition to 跟 *gen1* 'with,' prepositions like 和 *he2* 'with' and 同 *tong2* 'with' can replace 跟 *gen1* 'with' in equality comparatives, as in [41] and [42].

[41]　你也可以同我一样。
　　　ni3　ye3　ke3yi3　tong2　wo3　yi1yang4
　　　you　also　can　　PREP　I　　same
　　　'You can be the same as me.'

[42]　教室的设计和教堂一样。
　　　jiao4shi4　de0　she4ji4　he2　jiao4tang2　yi1yang4
　　　classroom　DE　design　PREP　church　　　same
　　　'The design of the classrooms is the same as that of the church.'

The predicate of an equality comparative clause can also take a 得 *de0* 'DE' complement, and the equality adverbial 一样 *yi2yang4* 'the same' can appear either after or before 得 *de0* 'DE,' as in [43]−[44], respectively.

[43]   他跟我跑得一样快。
　　　ta1   gen1   wo3   pao3   de0   yi1yang4   kuai4
　　　he   PREP   I   run   DE   same   fast
　　　'He runs as fast as I do.'

[44]   他跑得跟我一样快。
　　　ta1   pao3   de0   gen1   wo3   yi1yang4   kuai4
　　　He   run   DE   PREP   I   same   fast
　　　'He runs as fast as I do.'

11.5.2. Negation of 跟 *gen1* 'with' comparatives

The equality comparative is typically negated by 不 *bu4* 'not,' which appears either after 跟 *gen1* 'with,' as in [45], or before 跟 *gen1* 'with,' as in [46] and [47].

[45]   我的理由跟他们不一样。
　　　wo3   de0   li3you2   gen1   ta1men0   bu4   yi1yang4
　　　I   DE   reason   PREP   they   NEG   same
　　　'My reasons are different from theirs.'

[46]   我的灯笼不跟你们一样。
　　　wo3   de0   deng1long2   bu4   gen1   ni3men0   yi1yang4
　　　I   DE   lantern   NEG   PREP   you   same
　　　'My lantern will not be the same as yours.'

[47]   你为什么不能跟弟弟一样听话?
　　　ni3   wei4shen2me0   bu4   neng2   gen1   di4di0
　　　you   why   NEG   can   PREP   younger_brother

　　　yi1yang4   ting1hua4
　　　same   obedient
　　　'Why can't you be as obedient as your (younger) brother?'

11.6. 像 *xiang4* 'like': a partial variant of 跟 *gen1* 'with'

11.6.1. The nature of 像 *xiang4* 'like' equality comparatives

The equality comparative has a partial variant marked by 像 *xiang4* 'like.' The essential meaning of a 像 *xiang4* 'like' comparative is that the two terms of comparison look alike or behave similarly. One way to do this is to have one term function as the subject and the other to appear between the pair 像…一样 *xiang4…yi1yang4* 'the same as' or 像…一般 *xiang4…yi1ban1* 'the same as.' Sentence [48] thus means that the hall looks like a museum, while [49] states that the two groups behave alike.

[48]　大厅看上去像博物馆一样。
　　　da4ting1　kan4shang4qu4　xiang4　bo2wu4guan3　yi1yang4
　　　parlor　look_like　　　　seem　museum　　　same
　　　'The hall looks like a museum.'

[49]　台湾观光客像日本观光客一般。
　　　tai2wan1　guan1guang1ke4　xiang4　ri4ben3
　　　Taiwan　tourist　　　　　　seem　Japan

　　　guan1guang1ke4　yi1ban1
　　　tourist　　　　　same
　　　'The Taiwanese tourists behave like Japanese tourists.'

像 *xiang4* 'like' can also appear as an adverbial of a gradable predicate to convey the equality meaning, as in the case of [50].

[50]　织出来的丝巾像蜘蛛网一样轻巧。
　　　zhi1　　chu1lai2　de0　si1jin1　　xiang4　zhi1zhu0
　　　weave　out　　　DE　silk_scarf　seem　　spider

　　　wang3　yi1yang4　qing1qiao3
　　　net　　same　　　delicate
　　　'The silk scarf they produced looks as delicate as a spider web.'

The 像 *xiang4* 'like' comparative has a shortened form in which the two terms of comparison function as the subject and the object, respectively, as in [51]. Sometimes the standard of comparison appears in the form of a nominal phrase with 似的 *si4de* 'one that looks like' as the head. Sentence [52] thus means that she has the appearance of a thief, while [53] means that her body behaves like a tree with roots deep in the ground, namely, she could not move at all.

[51]　中研院看起来像个大杂院。
　　　zhong1yan2yuan4　　kan4　qi3lai2　xiang4　ge4
　　　Academia_Sinica　　look　QILAI　　seem　　CL

　　　da4za2yuan4
　　　housing_compound
　　　'Academia Sinica looks like a courtyard house shared by many families.'

[52]　她像个小偷似的。
　　　ta1　xiang4　ge4　xiao3tou1　si4de0
　　　she　seem　　CL　thief　　　like
　　　'She behaves like a thief.'

[53]   她的身体就像生了根似的。

ta1   de0   shen1ti3   jiu4   xiang4   sheng1   le0   gen1
she   DE   body   thus   seem   grow   LE   root

si4de0
like
'Her body was stiff as if she had been fixed to the ground like (a tree) with roots.'

11.6.2. Negation of 像 *xiang4* 'like' comparatives

像 *xiang4* 'like' comparatives with a gradable predicate can be negated by 不 *bu4* or 没有 *mei2you3*. 不 *bu4* appears in sentences with an imperfective predicate, as in [54], while 没有 *mei2you3* occurs with a perfective predicate, as in [55] and [56].

[54]   气候就不像高原那么寒冷。

qi4hou4   jiu4   bu4   xiang4   gao1yuan2   na4me0
climate   thus   NEG   seem   highland   that

han2leng3
cold
'The climate is not as cold as in the highland.'

[55]   保育的观念还没有像今天这样深植人心。

bao3yu4   de0   guan1nian4   hai2
environment_conservation   DE   concept   yet

mei2you3   xiang4   jin1tian1   zhe4yang4   shen1   zhi2
NEG   seem   today   like_this   deep   root

ren2xin1
people's_heart
'(At that time) the concept of environmental conservation was not yet deeply rooted in people's hearts as it is nowadays.'

[56]   我的爱从来没像那时那么圣洁, 淳厚。

wo3   de0   ai4   cong2lai2   mei2   xiang4   na4shi2
I   DE   love   ever   NEG   seem   at_that_time

na4me0   sheng4jie2   chun2hou4
that   sacred   pure_deep
'My love has never been so sacred, pure, and grounded as it was at that time.'

   An important feature of negative 像 *xiang4* 'like' comparatives is that the equality adverbial 一样 *yi1yang4* 'the same' is replaced by a deictic adverbial, such as

这么 *zhe4mo0* 'this manner,' 这样 *zhe4yang4* 'this way,' 那么 *na4me0* 'that manner,' or 那样 *na4yang4* 'that way.' The deictic adverbial to be used is determined by the speaker according to his perception of the event described in the sentence, as well as the physical and temporal location he puts himself in. 那么 *na4me0* 'that manner' is used in [54] because 高原 *gao1yuan2* 'highland' is considered a place far away by the speaker, while 这样 *zhe4yang4* 'this way' is used in [56] because the speaker puts himself in the frame of 今天 *jin1tian1* 'today' when he reviews the environment issue.

11.7. 如 *ru2* 'as' equality comparatives

Equality comparatives can also be marked by 如 *ru2* 'as,' which can function as the head of a main predicate or occur as part of the pair 如…一样 *ru2…yi1yang4* 'the same as,' as shown in [57] and [58], respectively.

[57]   中研院正如台湾的其他学术机构。
zhong1yan2yuan4   zheng4   ru2   tai2wan1   de0   qi2ta1
Academia_Sinica   exactly   as   Taiwan   DE   other
xue2shu4   ji1gou4
Academic   organization
'Academia Sinica is exactly like other academic institutes in Taiwan.'

[58]   姿势如吹笛一样。
zi1shi4   ru2   chui1   di2   yi1yang4
gesture   as   brag   flute   same
'The posture looks like flute playing.'

The negative form of 如 *ru2* 'as' comparatives is predominantly marked with 不 *bu4*, as in [59] and [60].

[59]   成果不如预期。
cheng2guo3   bu4   ru2   yu4qi1
result   NEG   as   expectation
'The outcome is not up to expectations.'

[60]   今年资讯月的热度不如以往。
jin1nian2   zi1xun4   yue4   de0   re4du4   bu4
this_year   information   month   DE   enthusiasm   NEG
ru2   yi3wang3
as   previous
'The enthusiasm for Information Month this year is not the same as in previous years.'

The negative 不如 *bu4ru2* comparative can have a scalar predicate, in which the 如 *ru2* 'as' phrase is an adverbial. Such a negative sentence typically conveys an inferiority reading instead of a simple inequality reading. Sentence [61] thus means that the box office of next year will be worse than this year's, and [62] means that the situation is less serious.

[61]   明年的票房大概不如今年理想。
   ming2nian2   de0   piao4fang2   da4gai4   bu4   ru2
   next_year   DE   box_office   perhaps   NEG   as

   jin1nian2   li3xiang3
   this_year   ideal
   'The box office of next year will perhaps not be as good as this year's.'

[62]   情势不如外界报导严重。
   qing2shi4   bu4   ru2   wai4jie4   bao4dao3   yan2zhong4
   situation   NEG   as   outside   report   serious
   'The situation is less serious than what is being reported (abroad).'

11.8. 有 *you3* 'YOU' equality comparatives

Equality comparatives marked by 有 *you3* 'YOU' predominantly have a gradable predicate with a deictic adverbial 这么 *zhe4me0* 'this manner' or 那么 *na4me0* 'that manner,' which sometimes takes 这样 *zhe4yang4* 'this way' or 那样 *na4me0* 'that way' as a variant. The main meaning of such a comparative is that the term being compared has some property similar to that of the standard of comparison. The most likely scenario for sentence [63] is that the speaker is making a gesture to indicate a certain height and says that the girl is as tall as that, while the standard of comparison in [64] is the height of a table, which is far away from the speaker.

[63]   她女儿有这么高了。
   ta1   nü3er2   you3   zhe4me0   gao1   le0
   she   daughter   YOU   so   tall   LE
   'Her daughter is as tall as this.'

[64]   她女儿有桌子那么高了。
   ta1   nü3er2   you3   zhuo1zi0   na4me0   gao1   le0
   she   daughter   YOU   desk   that   tall   LE
   'Her daughter is as tall as the desk.'

有 *you3* equality comparatives are commonly found in interrogative forms, as shown in [65].

[65] 我妹妹有没有这么可爱?
    wo3   mei4mei0   you3   mei2you3   zhe4me0
    I   younger_sister YOU   NEG   so

    ke3ai4
    lovely
    'Is my kid sister as adorable?'

The negative form of 有 *you3* equality comparatives carries an inferiority reading. The second clause in [66] thus means that there are fewer big cities in China in comparison with the US, while [67] means that the issue is less simple, namely, more complicated than expected.

[66] 中国有不少大城, 可是没有美国那么多。
    zhong1guo2   you3   bu4shao3   da4   cheng2   ke3shi4
    China   have   many   big   city   yet

    mei2you3   mei3guo2   na4me0   duo1
    NEG   the_United_States   that   much
    'China has quite a few big cities, but not as many as in the United States.'

[67] 这事原来没有那么简单。
    zhe4   shi4   yuan2lai   mei2you3   na4me0   jian3dan1
    this   thing originally NEG   that   simple
    'The issue turned out not to be as simple (as previously thought).'

11.9. 越...越...*yue4*...*yue4*... 'the more...the more...' correlative comparative constructions

A correlative comparative construction consists of two comparative phrases, each of which is marked with 越 *yue4* 'the more...' The two comparative phrases can appear as two conjoined clauses or as a single clause with two conjoined predicates. The two comparative phrases can have the same subject, as in [68] and [69], which have conjoined predicates, and [70], which has conjoined clauses.

[68] 雪越下越大。
    xue3   yue4   xia4   yue4   da4
    snow   the_more   fall   the_more   big
    'It is snowing heavier and heavier.'

[69] 公文也越堆越高。
    gong1wen2   ye3   yue4   dui1   yue4   gao1
    official_document also the_more   pile_up   the_more   high
    'The official documents are piling up higher and higher.'

[70]   寄生藤长得越大, 需要的养分就越多。
    ji4sheng1teng2   zhang3 de0   yue4   da4
    parasitic_woody_vines grow   DE   the_more big

    xu1yao4 de0 yang3fen4 jiu4 yue4   duo1
    need   DE   nutrient   thus the_more much
    'The bigger the parasitic woody vines grow, the more nutrients they need.'

A 越 . . . 越 . . . *yue4* . . . *yue4* . . . 'the more . . . the more . . .' comparative indicates a proportional or a parallel decrease or increase along the two scales expressed by the two comparative phrases sharing the same subject, as in [68] through [70]. The same is true for sentences like [71], where the two comparative phrases have different subjects. [71] correlates the crying of the mother with her daughter's speech.

[71]   陈静越说, 她妈妈哭得越厉害。
    chen2jing4 yue4   shuo1 ta1 ma1ma0 ku1 de0
    CHEN_JING the_more say   she mother   cry DE

    yue4   li4hai0
    the_more   hard
    'The more Jing CHEN talked, the more her mother cried.'

12

Adverbs

Yung-O Biq and Chu-Ren Huang

This chapter is concerned with the morphosyntactic and functional properties of adverbs. The major types of adverbs, including temporal adverbs, degree adverbs, scope adverbs, and attitudinal adverbs, will be described. Some of the most commonly used adverbs will also be discussed in detail. An adverb typically modifies the properties of a verb, an adjective, or another adverb. Non-derived adverbs are not morphologically marked, while derived adverbs undergo a word-formation process, such as reduplication or de-suffixation. It is also important to notice that many phrasal units can have the same modifying functions and they are called adverbials. In this chapter, we will only focus on the non-derived adverbs.

12.1. Distinctive properties of adverbs

- Adverbs are typically monosyllabic or disyllabic. A significant number of disyllabic adverbs are formed by the reduplication of monosyllabic adjectives or adverbs.
- Adverbs are typically positioned to the left of the main predicate of a clause and to the left of the unit it modifies. Some adverbs can occur at the sentence-initial position, but others can never do so. When there is more than one adverb in a clause, their occurrence is ordered.
- Adverbs in Chinese can be largely classified into two groups. Descriptive adverbs typically have content word characteristics, including having a big number of members in this group and being open to neologism. Functional adverbs typically have functional word characteristics, including being a small closed group with versatile high-frequency grammatical features.

12.2. Overview of adverbs

Similar to many other languages, adverbs in Chinese form a loosely defined category in which members can differ from one another in their morphology, syntax, meaning, and function.

Chinese adverbs can first and foremost be divided into two groups: descriptive adverbs and functional adverbs (also called "restrictive" adverbs). Descriptive adverbs have a specific meaning that describes a particular aspect of an action or a

state, such as the manner or means of carrying out an action (e.g., 高声 *gao1sheng1* 'loudly,' 亲自 *qin1zi4* 'in person'). Compared to functional adverbs, descriptive adverbs are more lexical, more of the "content" or "open-class" word type, and the majority of them are disyllabic or longer. Functional adverbs, on the other hand, are more of the "function" or "closed-class" word type. Many of them are disyllabic, such as 经常 *jing1chang2* 'always' and 虽然 *sui1ran2* 'although,' but those most frequently used are monosyllabic, such as 都 *dou1* 'all' and 才 *cai2* 'just.' Functional adverbs cover a wide spectrum of grammatical meanings, such as degree, scope, time, frequency, logical relations, textual relations, and the speaker's stance. The total number of adverbs, hence, is smaller than open-class nouns and verbs but greater than closed-class prepositions. Most descriptive adverbs are derived from adjectives, which are discussed in Chapter 10. This chapter focuses on functional adverbs. They will be referred to as adverbs hereafter and, unless confusion arises, the term "adverbs" will replace "functional adverb phrases," since adverb phrases predominantly consist of just the head adverb when they work as adverbials in a clause.

Adverbs typically modify verbs, as in [1], and adjectives, as in [2].

[1]   你一直待我很好, 我会**永远**记着你。

   ni3   yi1zhi2   dai4   wo3   hen3   hao4   wo3   hui4
   you   always   treat   I   very   well   I   can

   yong3yuan3   ji4   zhe0   ni3
   always   sign   ZHE   you
   'You have always treated me well. I will remember you forever.'

[2]   此种仪器**非常**昂贵, 只有中央卫生单位有类似仪器。

   ci3   zhong3   yi2qi4   fei1chang2   ang2gui4   zhi3you3
   this   CL   apparatus   very   costly   only

   zhong1yang1   wei4sheng1   dan1wei4   you3   lei4si4
   central   health   unit   have   similar

   yi2qi4
   apparatus
   'This kind of apparatus is very expensive. Only the health department in the central government has something like it.'

There are cases where an adverb seems to modify a nominal phrase that serves as the predicate of a clause, underlining its event-modifying function, as in [3] (see Chapter 8).

[3]   春节放假日数由除夕到初三, **一共**四天。

   chun1jie2   fang4jia4   ri4   shu4   you2
   Spring_Festival   have_day_off   day   number   PREP

chu2xi4   dao4 chu1san1   yi1gong4
New_Year's_Eve PREP third_day_of_New_Year altogether

si4 tian1
four day
'The Chinese New Year's holiday starts from New Year's Eve to the Third Day, altogether four days.'

Adverbs generally appear between the subject and the predicate, such as in [4].

[4] 我**反正**没有事做, 决定送他去。
   wo3 fan3zheng4 mei2you3 shi4 zuo4 jue2ding4
   I   anyway   NEG   thing do decide

   song4 ta1 qu4
   send he go
   'I was free anyway, so I decided to accompany him to the place.'

However, some adverbs can also appear before the subject, such as in [5].

[5] 反正人老了, 迟早都得走的么。
   fan3zheng4 ren2 lao3 le0 chi2zao3   dou1
   anyway   people old LE sooner_or_later all

   dei3 zou3 de0 me0
   must go DE ME
   'One way or another, people pass away when they get old.'

Adverbs can be modified by other adverbs but are characteristically not modified by elements from other grammatical categories. Another property of adverbs is that only a small number of them can be used alone in answering questions, for example, 也许 *ye2xu3* 'perhaps' and 一定 *yi1ding4* 'certainly.'

When there is more than one adverb appearing before the modified element, the order of these adverbs often reflects the meaning difference, with the adverb to the left having scope over (i.e., modifying) the adverb following. Such contrasts are most salient when negation is involved, such as in [6] and [7] (see Chapter 6).

[6] 对离婚后的妻子及子女**太**不公平了。
   dui4 li2hun1 hou4 de0 qi1zi3 ji2 zi3nü3 tai4
   PREP divorce after DE wife   and kid   too

   bu4gong1ping2 le0
   unfair   LE
   'This is extremely unfair to the divorced wife and her children.'

[7]   做生意若对每个客户都公平<u>不</u>**太**容易。

    zuo4sheng1yi4   ruo4   dui4   mei3   ge4   ke4hu4   dou1
    do_business   if   PREP   every   CL   client   all

    gong1ping2   bu4   tai4   rong2yi4
    fair   NEG   too   easy

    'It is not very easy to be fair to every customer when doing business.'

Some adverbs are used as connective adjuncts to connect two predicates or two clauses. Among these conjunctive adverbs, some are used alone (e.g., 也 *ye3*, 就 *jiu4*); some are repeated as a pair (e.g., 也 . . . 也 . . . *ye3 . . . ye3 . . .* 越 . . . 越 . . . *yue4 . . . yue4 . . .*); and some are paired with other adverbs (e.g., 再 . . . 也 . . . *zai4 . . . ye3 . . .*). The connecting function of adverbs will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 14.

Most adverbs are monosyllabic or disyllabic. However, there are also trisyllabic ones, such as 显然是 *xian3ranshi4* 'apparently.' Many disyllabic adverbs consist of reduplicated roots (e.g., 刚刚 *gang1gang1* 'just now,' 常常 *chang2chang2* 'often, frequently'). Although these disyllabic adverbs usually share similarity in meaning and function with their monosyllabic counterparts, neither the derivation nor the meaning of these adverbs can be predicted. For instance, an adverb in reduplication form seems to be linked to a verb (e.g., 偷偷 *tou1tou1* 'stealthily' and 偷 *tou1* 'to steal'), an adjective (e.g., 苦苦 *ku3ku3* 'indefatigably' and 苦 *ku3* 'bitter'), or a noun (e.g., 草草 *cao3cao3* 'hurriedly and carelessly' and 草 *cao3* 'grass'), or an adverb, as those given in the list below. Because the relation between the reduplicated adverb and the monosyllabic root is often lexically conventionalized and idiosyncratic, the reduplicated form is best described as a common morphological feature of adverbs.

暗暗 *an4an4* 'secretly'	每每 *mei3mei3* 'every time, often'
白白 *bai2bai2* 'for nothing, in vain'	明明 *ming2ming2* 'obviously'
草草 *cao3cao3* 'hastily'	默默 *mo4mo4* 'quietly'
常常 *chang2chang2* 'often'	偏偏 *pian1pian1* 'deliberately'
迟迟 *chi2chi2* 'slowly, tardily'	频频 *pin2pin2* 'frequently'
处处 *chu4chu4* 'everywhere'	恰恰 *qia4qia4* 'exactly, coincidently'
大大 *da4da4* 'enormously'	悄悄 *qiao1qiao1* 'quietly'
单单 *dan1dan1* 'only, singularly'	轻轻 *qing1qing1* 'gently'
独独 *du2du2* 'only, alone'	冉冉 *ran3ran3* 'gradually'
泛泛 *fan4fan4* 'generally'	稍稍 *shao1shao1* 'slightly'
纷纷 *fen1fen1* 'one after another'	深深 *shen1shen1* 'deeply'
愤愤 *fen4fen4* 'angrily'	时时 *shi2shi2* 'often'

刚刚 *gang1gang1* 'a short while ago'	死死 *si3si3* 'deadly tightly'
乖乖 *guai1guai1* 'obediently'	通通 *tong1tong1* 'altogether'
好好 *hao3hao3* 'carefully'	偷偷 *tou1tou1* 'stealthily'
狠狠 *hen3hen3* 'very hard'	团团 *tuan2tuan2* 'all around'
缓缓 *huan3huan3* 'slowly'	往往 *wang3wang3* 'often'
渐渐 *jian4jian4* 'gradually'	微微 *wei2wei2* 'slightly, a little'
仅仅 *jin3jin3* 'just'	徐徐 *xu2xu2* 'slowly'
紧紧 *jin3jin3* 'tightly'	一一 *yi1yi1* 'one by one'
久久 *jiu3jiu3* 'for a long, long time'	早早 *zao3zao3* 'well in advance'
快快 *kuai4kuai4* 'quickly'	整整 *zheng3zheng3* 'fully'
牢牢 *lao2lao2* 'tightly'	谆谆 *zhun1zhun1* 'earnestly and tirelessly'
连连 *lian2lian2* 'repeatedly'	足足 *zu2zu2* 'fully'

Another frequently seen morphological form is "X + 是 *shi4*," where X is itself an adverb, for example, 显然 + 是 *xian3ran2 shi4* = 显然是 *xian3ran2shi4* 'apparently.' Again, the derived word shares almost exactly the same meaning and function as the adverb preceding 是 *shi4*. Consider the following examples.

[8]   这份特别的广告**显然**打动了消费者的心。
zhe4   fen4   te4bie2   de0   guang3gao4   xian3ran2
this   CL   special   DE   advertisement   apparently

da3dong4   le0   xiao1fei4zhe3   de0   xin1
move_emotionally   LE   consumer   DE   heart
'This special ad has apparently had an effect on the consumers.'

[9]   酒**显然**是变质了, 大不了就是变成醋吧。
jiu3   xian3ran2   shi4   bian4zhi2   le0   da4bu4liao3
wine   apparently   SHI   spoil   LE   serious

jiu4shi4   bian4cheng2   cu4   ba0
then_SHI   change_into   vinegar   BA
'The wine has apparently gone bad. Well, it will turn into vinegar in the worst case.'

Since functional adverbs express grammatical rather than lexical meaning, they are often pronounced with a reduced stress, rendering a light tone reading. The origin of functional adverbs is not restricted to the vernacular and some of them are residues from Classical Chinese, such as 甚 *shen4* 'very,' 颇 *po1* 'rather,' and 尚 *shang4* 'yet.' These adverbs are rarely used in spoken genres but are still frequently seen in written genres. It is also important to note that monosyllabic forms often

indicate a formal register, especially when corresponding disyllabic forms are also available, such as in [10].

[10]   她功课颇好, 为人**甚**佳, 以致人缘极佳。

     ta1   gong1ke4 po3   hao4   wei2ren2 shen4 jia1

     she   homework rather good   behave   very   fine

     yi3zhi4 ren2yuan2   ji2   jia1

     lead   relations_with_other_people extremely fine

     'Her academic performance is rather good, and she is also a very nice person. So she is very popular.'

12.3. Types of functional adverbs

Functional adverbs can be further divided into a number of subgroups, including the important subtype of negation adverbs, which were already covered in Chapter 6.

12.3.1. Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs represent the temporal properties of an event and can be categorized according to the temporal facets they pertain to. Duration adverbs represent a length of time during which actions or states last, including 永远 *yong3yuan3* 'forever,' 始终 *shi3zhong1* 'always,' 一向 *yi1xiang4* 'always,' 一直 *yi1zhi2* 'always,' 仍旧 *reng2jiu4* 'still,' 仍然 *reng2ran2* 'still' (for a long duration), and 暂且 *zhan4qie3* 'for the time being' (for a short duration). Examples of duration adverbs are shown in [11]−[13].

[11]   爸爸一直希望我们有一个能去学医。

     ba4ba0 yi1zhi2 xi1wang4 wo3men0 you3 yi1   ge4

     father   always   hope   we   YOU   one   CL

     neng2   qu4   xue2   yi1

     can   go   learn medicine

     'Father has always hoped that one of us can study medicine.'

[12]   昨天下着雨, 今天仍旧下着雨。

     zuo2tian1 xia4 zhe0 yu3   jin1tian1 reng2jiu4 xia4

     yesterday fall   ZHE   rain   today   still   fall

     zhe0   yu3

     ZHE   rain

     'It was raining yesterday, and it is still raining today.'

[13]　故事的结尾惊心动魄, 暂且卖个关子。
　　　gu4shi4　de0　jie2wei3　jing1xin1dong4po4　zhan4qie3
　　　story　　DE　end　　　soul-stirring　　　　for_the_moment

　　　mai4　ge4　guan1zi0
　　　sell　CL　seal
　　　'The ending of the story will be explosive, and for now let's keep it a
　　　secret.'

Some adverbs express a point in time, typically the event time, in relation to
the time of reference, such as 刚 *gang1* 'just now,' 立刻 *li4ke4* 'immediately,' and
马上 *ma3shang4* 'right away' for a short interval between two time points, as in
[14], and 忽然 *hu1ran2* 'suddenly' for an unexpected happening at the event time
point, as in [15].

[14]　她**马上**拉着我的手往外走。
　　　ta1　ma3shang4　la1　zhe0　wo3　de0　shou3
　　　she　at_once　　pull　ZHE　I　　DE　　hand

　　　wang3wai4　zou3
　　　outward　　go
　　　'Immediately she took up my hand and walked out.'

[15]　有一天, 这头牛**忽然**发狂, 又将新主人撞死了。
　　　you3yi1tian1　zhe4　tou2　niu2　hu1ran2　fa1kuang2
　　　one_day　　　this　CL　ox　　suddenly　go_mad

　　　you4　jiang1　xin1　zhu3ren2　zhuang4　si3　le0
　　　again　BA　　new　host　　　hit　　　dead　LE
　　　'One day the cattle suddenly got crazy, ran into its new owner, and killed
　　　him.'

Some adverbs describe the aspectual facet of an event, such as 曾 *ceng2* 'once,'
曾经 *ceng2jing1* 'once,' 已经 *y3ijing1* 'already,' and 早已 *zao3yi3* 'long time ago' for
the realis mood; 快 *kuai4* 'about to,' 就要 *jiu4yao4* '(be) going to,' 迟早 *chi2zao3*
'sooner or later,' and 早晚 *zao3wan3* 'sooner or later' for the irrealis mood; and
正 *zheng4* 'currently' and 正在 *zheng4zai4* 'currently' for the progressive aspect.
Examples of this type of adverb are shown in [16]–[18].

[16]　我**曾**住过纽约, 后来以柏克莱为家。
　　　wo3　ceng2　zhu4　guo4　niu3yue1　hou4lai2　yi3
　　　I　　ever　live　GUO　New_York　later　　PREP

　　　bo2ke4lai2　wei2　jia1
　　　Berkeley　　as　　home
　　　'I used to live in New York, but later I lived in Berkeley.'

[17]   这件事**快**完结了, 你不用担心。
  zhe4 jian4 shi4 kuai4 wan2jie2 le0 ni3 bu4yong4
  this CL thing fast end LE you need_not

  dan1xin1
  worry
  'This matter is soon to be over. Don't worry.'

[18]   超过 30 个鹦鹉种群**正**处于灭亡的危机之中。
  chao1guo4 30 ge4 ying1wu3 zhong2qun2 zheng4
  exceed thirty CL parrot schools right_now

  chu3yu1 mie4wang2 de0 wei1ji1
  be_in_a_certain_condition die_out DE crisis

  zhi1zhong1
  among
  'Over thirty species of parrots are right now facing extinction.'

Frequency adverbs represent the frequency of an event taking place within a timeframe, such as 老(是) *lao3 (shi4)* 'always' and 总(是) *zong3 (shi4)* 'always' for high frequency; 时 *shi2* 'often,' 常 *chang2* 'often,' 时时 *shi2shi2* 'often,' 经常 *jing1chang2* 'often,' 常常 *chang2chang2* 'often,' 渐渐 *jian4jian4* 'gradually,' 频频 *pin2pin2* 'frequently,' 连连 *lian2lian2* 'consecutively,' and 日渐 *ri4jian4* 'day by day' for middle frequency; and 偶然 *ou3ran2* 'by accident, occasionally,' 偶尔(而) *ou3er3* 'occasionally,' and 有时 *you3shi2* 'sometimes' for low frequency. Examples of this type of adverb are shown in [19]–[21].

[19]   她当学生时, 数学**老是**考不及格。
  ta1 dang1 xue2sheng1 shi2 shu4xue2 lao3shi4
  she be student when mathematics always

  kao3 bu4ji2ge2
  examine fail
  'When she was a student, she always failed the math exams.'

[20]   生病期间, 他仍**时时**关心着《台湾文艺》的编务。
  sheng1bing4 qi1jian1 ta1 reng2 shi2shi2
  fall_ill period he still often

  guan1xin1 zhe0 tai2wan1 wen2yi4 de0
  be_concerned_about ZHE Taiwan literature_and_art DE

bian1 wu4
edit matters
'Even when he was ill, he still cared about the editorial matters for
Taiwan Wenyi constantly.'

[21] 十二月中旬至二月：平均温度 15 度，**有时**降至 10 度或更低。
shi2er4yue4 zhong1xun2 zhi4 er4yue4 ping2jun1
December middle to February average

wen1du4 15 du4 you3shi2 jiang4 zhi4 10
temperature 15 degree at_times drop to 10

du4 huo4 geng4 di1
degree or more low
'From mid December to February, the average temperature is 15 degrees,
and occasionally it can be as low as 10 degrees or even lower.'

Order adverbs deal with the order of events. They include 先 *xian1* 'first,' 接着
jie1zhe0 'afterwards,' 然后 *ran2hou4* 'and then,' 依次 *y1ici4* 'following the order,'
随后 *sui2hou4* 'afterwards,' 随即 *sui2ji2* 'right after,' 接连 *jie1lian2* 'consecutively,'
相继 *xiang1ji4* 'one after another,' and 陆续 *lu4xu4* 'one after another' for different
aspects of sequencing. Some of these adverbs are shown in [22]−[23].

[22] 我休息片刻, 然后开始教课。
wo3 xiu1xi2 pian4ke4 ran2hou4 kai1shi3 jiao1ke4
I rest moment then start teach_a_lesson
'I took a short break, and then started teaching.'

[23] 这家公司相继成立马来西亚, 韩国, 大陆等九家海外分公司。
zhe4 jia1 gong1si1 xiang1ji4 cheng2li4
this CL company in_succession found

ma3lai2xi1ya3 han2guo2 da4lu4 deng3 jiu3 jia1
Malaysia Korea mainland etc. nine CL

hai3wai4 fen1gong1si1
abroad branch_offices
'The company has established nine branch offices, one after another, in
Malaysia, Korea, and Mainland China.'

Repetition adverbs address the recurrences of an event, as in [24]. They include
又 *you4* 'again,' 也 *ye3* 'also,' 再 *zai4* 'again, once more,' 还 *hai2* 'more, still,'
重 *chong2* 'again,' 一再 *yi1zai4* 'again and again,' 再三 *zai4san1* 'again and again,'
and 重新 *chong2xin1* 'once again.'

[24]   作者一再强调饮食, 运动和冥想是健康的三大要素。

zuo4zhe3   yi1zai4   qiang2diao4   yin3shi2   yun4dong4

writer   repeatedly   stress   diet   exercise

he2   ming2xiang3   shi4   jian4kang1   de0   san1   da4

and   meditation   be   healthy   DE   three   big

yao4su4

components

'The author emphasizes again and again that diet, exercise, and meditation are the three important components for staying healthy.'

The type of adverbs selected is dependent on the situation type of the verb. For example, achievement verbs like 死 *si3* 'die' and 破 *po4* 'become broken' are typically associated with time point adverbs or duration adverbs in the realis mood, as in 忽然死了 *hu1ran2 si3le0* 'suddenly died' and 已经破了 *yi3jing1 po4le0* 'already broken,' rather than adverbs indicating continuation.

Temporal adverbs indicate the temporal aspect of the predicate. Temporal adverbs and temporal nouns are sometimes hard to distinguish, since some of them are morphologically and lexically similar, such as the adverb 刚 *gang1* 'just now' versus the noun 刚才 *gang1cai2* 'just now.' Some temporal nouns have the same function of adverbs in that they can serve as adverbials, as in 现在就去 *xian4zai4 jiu4 qu4* 'Go now!,' in which 现在 *xian4zai4* 'now' is a noun, and 立刻去 *li4ke4 qu4* 'go immediately!,' in which 立刻 *li4ke4* 'immediately' is an adverb (see Chapter 8).

When a temporal adverb co-occurs with other adverbs, it is usually positioned after attitudinal adverbs but before descriptive adverbs, negation adverbs, and degree adverbs. Scope adverbs may precede or follow temporal adverbs. Consider the examples in [25–30].

[25]   这本大部头著作居然已经被抢购一空。 [after attitudinal adverb]

zhe4   ben3   da4bu4tou2   zhu4zuo4   ju1ran2

this   CL   multiple-volumed   work   unexpectedly

yi3jing1   bei4   qiang3gou4yi1kong1

already   BEI   sell_out

'Unexpectedly, this big work has been sold out already.'

[26]   这些公共建设已经迅速地获得重建。 [before descriptive adverb]

zhe4xie1   gong1gong4   jian4she4   yi3jing1   xun4su4   de0

these   common   build   already   rapid   DE

huo4de2   chong2jian4

get   rebuild

'These public constructions have already been rebuilt quickly.'

[27] 店员告诉我这些书已经不流行了。 [before negation adverb]
      dian4yuan2 gao4su4 wo3 zhe4xie1 shu1 yi3jing1
      clerk   tell   I   these   book already

      bu4liu2xing2   e0
      out_of_fashion LE
      'The store clerk told me these books are out of fashion already.'

[28] 现在学英文已经太晚了啦! [before degree adverb]
      xian4zai4 xue2 ying1wen2 yi3jing1 tai4 wan3 le0
      now   learn English   already   too   late LE
      'It is too late to study English now.'

[29] 住在这儿的人都已经习惯了。 [after scope adverb]
      zhu4 zai4 zhe4er0 de0 ren2   dou1 yi3jing1
      live PREP here   DE   people all   already

      xi2guan4   le0
      get_used_to LE
      'Everyone who lives here has already gotten used to it.'

[30] 现在这种情况, 我想你已经都看到了。 [before scope adverb]
      xian4zai4 zhe4 zhong3 qing2kuang4 wo3 xiang3 ni3
      now   this CL   situation   I   think   you

      yi3jing1 dou1 kan4dao4 le0
      already   all   see   LE
      'The current situations, I think you've already seen it all.'

12.3.2. Degree adverbs

Degree adverbs include those indicating an excessive degree, like 太 *tai4* 'too (much)' and 过份 *guo4fen4* 'excessively, too (much)'; a maximum degree, like 最 *zui4* 'the most' and 极 *ji2* 'extremely'; a high degree, like 很 *hen3* 'very,' 非常 *fei1chang2* 'very,' 相当 *xiang1dang1* 'quite,' and 十分 *shi2fen1* 'quite'; and a low degree, like 有 (一) 点 (儿) *you3 (yi1) dian3 (er0)* 'a little' and 稍微 *shao1wei1* 'a little bit.' Examples of this type of adverb are shown in [31]–[34].

[31] 部分校长认为今年的考题太难。
      bu4fen4 xiao4zhang3 ren4wei2 jin1nian2   de0
      part   principals   think   this_year   DE

      kao3ti2   tai4 nan2
      examination_paper too   hard
      'Some principals thought that this year's exam questions were too hard.'

[32]   肝癌患者有极大比例来自 B 型肝炎带原者。
gan1ai2   huan4zhe3   you3   ji2da4   bi3li4   lai2zi4
liver_cancer   patients   YOU   huge   scale   come_from

B   xing2   gan1yan2   dai4   yuan2   zhe3
B   type   hepatitis   carry   plain   -er
'An extremely large percentage of liver cancer patients are Hepatitis B carriers.'

[33]   三十亿的经费确是一笔很大的数目。
san1shi2   yi4   de0   jing1fei4   que4   shi4
thirty   hundred_million   DE   fund   true   be

yi1   bi3   hen3   da4   de0   shu4mu4
one   CL   very   big   DE   amount
'The 3 billion budget is indeed a very large sum.'

[34]   我有点后悔出门前没有多保点意外险。
wo3   you3dian3   hou4hui3   chu1men2   qian2   mei2you3
I   some   regret   go_out   before   NEG

duo1   bao3   dian3   yi4wai4   xian3
more   keep   some   accident   insurance
'I regretted somewhat that before this trip I did not buy more accident insurance.'

Adverbs used in comparison are also degree adverbs, for example, 比较 *bi3jiao4* 'comparatively,' 更 *geng4* 'even more,' and 还 *hai2* 'still,' as in [35] (see Chapter 11).

[35]   妈妈作了结论:「还是哥哥比较精明。」
ma1ma0   zuo4   le0   jie2lun4   hai2shi4   ge1ge0
mother   do   LE   conclusion   still   elder_brother

bi3jiao4   jing1ming2
relatively   smart
'Mother concluded: "The older brother is smarter."'

Some degree adverbs express not only degree but also the speaker's evaluative attitude toward what is talked about. The adverb 太 *tai4* 'too (much)' indicates that the speaker considers the situation "excessive." Among degree adverbs that express subjective evaluation, 绝顶 *jue2ding3* 'extremely, utterly' typically connotes a positive stance, as in [36], while 过于 *guo4yu2* 'overly, excessively' connotes a negative stance, as in [37].

[36]　我也算<u>绝顶</u>聪明, 居然不知道心理治疗就是填写一堆表格。

　　　 wo3　 ye3　 suan4　 jue2ding3　 cong1ming0　 ju1ran2
　　　 I　　 also　 to_be　 utterly　　 smart　　　 unexpectedly

　　　 bu4　 zhi1dao4　 xin1li3zhi4liao2　 jiu4shi4　 tian2xie3
　　　 NEG　 know　　 psychotherapy　　 exactly　 fill_in_a_form

　　　 yi1　 dui1　 biao3ge2
　　　 one　 pile　 form

　　　 'I am also supposed to be extremely smart, but I did not know
　　　 psychotherapy is just filling out a series of forms.'

[37]　我们以前对这首民歌的理解<u>过于</u>浮浅了。

　　　 wo3men0　 yi3qian2　 dui4　 zhe4　 shou3　 min2ge1　 de0
　　　 we　　　 before　　 PREP　 this　 CL　　 folk_song　 DE

　　　 li3jie3　　 guo4yu2　 fu2qian3　 le0
　　　 comprehend　 too　　 shallow　　 LE

　　　 'Our understanding of this folk song in the past was overly shallow.'

Another important characteristic of degree adverbs is their collocation with certain types of nouns. Such nouns, like the 英雄 *ying1xiong2* 'hero' in [38], are not actually used for the entities they represent but rather for the qualities or features of the entities. They are therefore no longer nouns but adjectives. When they are modified by degree adverbs, it is the qualities or the features that are being highlighted (see Chapter 8).

[38]　一人做事一人当, 似乎<u>很</u>英雄。

　　　 yi1　 ren2　 zuo4shi4　 yi1　 ren2　　 dang1
　　　 one　 person　 work　　 one　 person　 take_responsibility

　　　 si4hu1　 hen3　 ying1xiong2
　　　 seem　　 very　 hero

　　　 'Taking full responsibility for what one does seems heroic.'

Degree adverbs cannot be used alone, such as in answering a question. For the question 这件大衣很贵吗? *zhe4 jian4 da4yi1 hen3 gui4 ma0* 'Is this coat expensive?, ' the minimum answer has to be 很贵 *hen3 gui4* 'very expensive,' including both the adverb and the modified adjective. When co-occurring with other types of adverbs, degree adverbs usually follow attitudinal adverbs, temporal adverbs, and scope adverbs, but precede descriptive adverbs, as shown in [39]−[42]. Degree adverbs and negation adverbs may precede or follow each other to represent different meanings, as the contrast between [43]−[44] shows.

[39]   这支新舞**果然**非常轰动。 [after attitudinal adverb]
zhe4   zhi1   xin1   wu2   guo3ran2   fei1chang2
this   CL   new   dance   as_expected   very

hong1dong4
sensational
'This new dance was indeed very sensational.'

[40]   他曾经非常热衷于写诗。 [after temporal adverb]
ta1   ceng2jing1   fei1chang2   re4zhong1yu2   xie3
he   once   very   be_enthusiastic_about   write

shi1
poem
'He was once very enthusiastic about poetry writing.'

[41]   与会人员都相当赞同推行母语教学。 [after scope adverb]
yu3hui4   ren2yuan2   dou1   xiang1dang1
at_the_meeting   people   all   quite

zan4tong2   tui1xing2   mu3yu3   jiao4xue2
agree   implement   mother_tongue   teaching
'Everyone at the meeting all fully supported using the mother tongue as the means of instruction.'

[42]   影片非常刻意地避免偏向民主党或共和党。 [before descriptive adverb]
ying3pian4   fei1chang2   ke4yi4   de0   bi4mian3
film   very   on_purpose   DE   avoid

pian1xiang4   min2zhu3dang3   huo4   gong4he2dang3
lean_toward   Democratic_Party   or   Republican_Party
'The film was extremely careful in not leaning toward the Democratic Party or the Republican Party.'

[43]   心情已经很不好了, 还要上课。 [before negation adverb]
xin1qing2   yi3jing1   hen3   bu4   hao3   le0   hai2   yao4
mood   already   very   NEG   good   LE   still   need

shang4ke4
go_to_class
'I was already in a very bad mood, and I still had to go to class.'

[44]   走在阴暗的街道上, 心情实在不很舒服。 [after negation adverb]
zou3   zai4   yin1an4   de0   jie1dao4   shang4   xin1qing2
go   PREP   dark   DE   street   on   mood

shi2zai4   bu4   hen3   shu1fu0
really   NEG   very   comfortable
'Walking on a dark street, I was not in a very good mood.'

12.3.3. Scope adverbs

There are three subtypes of scope adverbs. For universal coverage, 都 *dou1* 'all,' 全 *quan2* 'all,' and 一共 *yi1gong4* 'altogether' are frequently used, as in [45]. For minimum coverage, 只 *zhi3* 'only' and 光 *guang1* 'only, just' are frequently used, as in [46]. For approximation coverage, 大概 *da4gai4* 'about, approximately' and 大约 *da4yue1* 'about, approximately' are frequently used, as in [47].

[45]   老公公将经过的情形全看得一清二楚。
        lao3gong1gong1   jiang1   jing1guo4   de0   qing2xing2   quan2
        old_man   BA   pass   DE   situation   all

        kan4   de0   yi1qing1er4chu3
        see   DE   be_very_clear_about_this
        'The old man saw the whole thing completely and clearly.'

[46]   从龙溪社区到小学, 只有一千五百公尺。
        cong2   long2xi1   she4qu1   dao4   xiao3xue2
        PREP   Long_Xi   community   PREP   elementary_school

        zhi3you3   yi1qian1   wu3bai3   gong1chi3
        only   one_thousand   five_hundred   meter
        'From the Longxi Community to the elementary school, the distance is only 1,500 meters.'

[47]   根据现有统计数字, 每年大概有两万台湾居民移出。
        gen1ju4   xian4you3   tong3ji4   shu4zi4   mei3nian2
        PREP   existing   statistic   number   every_year

        da4gai4   you3   liang3wan4   tai2wan1
        approximately   YOU   twenty_thousand   Taiwan

        ju1min2   yi2   chu1
        resident   move   out
        'According to the statistics, every year there are approximately 20,000 people emigrating out of Taiwan.'

Some adverbs of minimum coverage suggest that the named items are the exceptional cases and the rest are in the opposite situation, such as 唯独 *we2idu2* 'only,' 只有 *zhi2you3* 'only,' and 偏偏 *pian1pian1* 'contrarily,' as shown in [48].

[48]   抢婚季**只有**布农族才有, 其他各族就没有。
  qiang3hun1   ji4 zhi3you3 bu4nong2 zu2
  bride_kidnapping season only   Bunnun clan
  cai2 you3 qi2ta1 ge4 zu2 jiu4 mei2you3
  just have other each clan thus NEG
  'The bride-kidnapping festival is only a tradition of the Bunnuns, and the
  other tribes do not have it.'

Some other minimum coverage adverbs "single out" the named item as the "in" one while they exclude the rest in the group, for example, 光 *guang1* 'only,' 单 *dan1* 'only,' and 仅仅 *jin2jin3* 'only,' as shown in [49]:

[49]   高级的私立大学, 一年**光**学费就 20 万上下。
  gao1ji2   de0 si1li4 da4xue2 yi1 nian2 guang1
  high_in_rank DE private college one year only
  xue2fei4 jiu4 er4shi2 wan4   shang4xia4
  tuition_fee thus twenty ten_thousand about
  'In a good private college, the tuition alone costs about $200,000 a year.'

In the approximation type, in addition to those describing vague quantities, such as 大约 *da4yue1* 'about, approximately,' there are adverbs indicating small quantities, such as 不过 *bu2guo4* 'just' and 最多 *zui4duo1* 'the most,' and adverbs indicating large quantities, such as 多半 *duo1ban4* 'over half, most,' 至少 *zhi4shao3* 'at least,' and 足足 *zu2zu2* 'not less than.' [50] and [51] are examples of approximation adverbs.

[50]   台湾光复之初, 人口<u>不过</u> 600 余万人。
  tai2wan1 guang1fu4   zhi1chu1 ren2kou3
  Taiwan recover_lost_land beginning population
  bu2guo4 liu4bai3 yu2 wan4   ren2
  only six_hundred over ten_thousand human
  'When Taiwan came back to China, its population was just about six
  million.'

[51]   今年虽说不景气, 仍<u>足足</u>赚了一亿元。
  jin1nian2 sui1suo1 bu4jing3qi4   reng2 zu2zu2
  this_year though in_depressing_state still fully
  zhuan4 le0 yi1yi4   yuan2
  gain LE hundred_million yuan
  'Although it was in recession this year, (they) still made a profit of no less
  than $100 million.'

Scope adverbs can be divided into two subtypes: backward-referring ones and forward-referring ones. For backward-referring scope adverbs, such as 都 *dou1* 'all,' 全 *quan2* 'all,' 尽 *jin4* 'all,' 一概 *yi1gai4* 'all,' and 通通 *tong1tong1* 'altogether,' the quantity they refer to is positioned to their left in the clause. For forward-referring scope adverbs, such as 光 *guang1* 'only,' 只 *zhi3* 'only,' 仅仅 *jin3jin3* 'only,' 一共 *yi1gong4* 'altogether,' and 唯独 *wei2du2* 'just,' the quantity they refer to is positioned to their right. Examples of scope adverbs are shown in [52]–[55].

[52]   我们**通通**是自愿的!
  wo3men0 tong1tong1 shi4 zi4yuan4 de0
  we   all   be   volunteer DE
  'We are all voluntary!'

[53]   出家人的清规, 他**一概**不理会。
  chu1jia1ren2 de0 qing1gui1   ta1 yi1gai4 bu4
  monk   DE monastic_rules he all   NEG
  li3hui4
  follow
  'He ignored all of the rules of abstinence for monks.'

[54]   暑期夏令营**唯独**忽略了智障儿。
  shu3qi2 xia4ling4ying2 wei2du2 hu1lue4 le0
  summer summer_camp only   ignore   LE
  zhi4zhang4   er2
  developmentally-disabled child
  'The summer camp ignores just the mentally disabled kids.'

[55]   国文课本里**一共**有**七课**与母亲有关。
  guo2wen2 ke4ben3 li3 yi1gong4 you3 qi1   ke4
  Chinese   textbook in altogether have seven lesson
  yu3 mu3qin1 you3guan1
  PREP mother concern
  'There are altogether seven lessons related to "mother" in the Chinese textbook.'

Backward-referring scope adverbs can have multiple NPs to their left, including a pre-posted object. In such cases, contextual information is required to resolve the ambiguity.

[56]   谁欺侮她我们**都**不会放过。
       shui2   qi1wu3   ta1   wo3men0   dou1   bu4   hui4
       who   bully   she   we   all   NEG   will

       fang4guo4
       let_go
       'We won't let go of anyone who abuses her.'

The 都 *dou1* 'all' in [56] may refer to the totality of the first nominal phrase, that is, the abusers; it may refer to the totality of the third nominal phrase, that is, the speakers; and it may also refer to both.

12.3.4. Attitudinal adverbs

Attitudinal adverbs indicate the speaker's attitude or commitment toward what she is saying. There are a large number of subtypes that cover a wide spectrum of possible subjective evaluations or estimates, and some of them bear more than one subtype of attitudinal meaning.

Concerning the truth or falsity of what is being said, the following express the speaker's stance: 真的 *zhen1de0* 'really,' 的确 *di2que4* 'indeed,' and 根本 *gen1ben3* '(not) at all.' Some attitudinal adverbs go with imperatives, for example, 千万 *qian1wan4* 'must always,' and some go with rhetorical questions, for example, 何必 *he2bi4* 'why bother' and 难道 *nan2dao4* 'unbelievable unless it is the case that.' Examples of this type of adverb are shown in [57]–[60].

[57]   你**真的**决定要分手吗?
       ni3   zhen1de0   jue2ding4   yao4   fen1shou3   ma0
       you   truly   decide   want   break_up   MA
       'Do you really want to break up?'

[58]   你们的产品品质**的确**不错。
       ni3men0   de0   chan3pin3   pin3zhi2   di2que4   bu2cuo4
       you   DE   produce   quality   indeed   good
       'The quality of your products is indeed good.'

[59]   你**千万**别跟人说呀!
       ni3   qian1wan4   bie2   gen1   ren2   shuo1   ya0
       you   absolutely   do_not   PREP   people   talk   YA
       'Don't ever tell anyone!'

[60]   你**何必**管我的死活?
       ni3   he2bi4   guan3   wo3   de0   si3huo2
       you   why   care_about   I   DE   fate
       'Why would you care about my life or death?'

Concerning epistemicity, the reason or the background of what is being said, these adverbs include 难怪 *nan2guai4* 'no wonder,' 怪不得 *guai4bu4de2* 'no wonder,' 本来 *ben2lai2* 'originally,' and 原来 *yuan2lai2* 'originally, it was the case that.' Concerning the result, the ending, or the likely development of what is being said, these adverbs include 一定 *yi1ding4* 'definitely,' 恐怕 *kong3pa4* 'probably, (I am) afraid that,' 终究 *zhong1jiu1* 'after all,' 毕竟 *bi4jing4* 'after all,' 显然 *xian3ran2* 'apparently,' 反正 *fan3zheng4* 'one way or another,' and 好歹 *hao2dai3* 'for better or worse.' The 怪不得 *guai4bu4de2* 'no wonder' in [61] marks the epistemic attitude of the speaker, while the 毕竟 *bi4jing4* 'after all' in [62] indicates the result of the event.

[61] 处处林木, 空气洁净, <u>怪不得</u>移居这里的人如此之多。
　　　chu4chu4　　lin2mu4　kong1qi4　jie2jing4　guai4bu4de2
　　　everywhere　woods　　air　　　clean　　　no_wonder

　　　yi2min2　　zhe4li3　de0　ren2　　ru2ci3zhi1duo1
　　　emigrate　here　　DE　people　so_many
　　　'There are trees everywhere and the air is clean. No wonder so many people come to live here.'

[62] 不管怎么说, 东德人<u>毕竟</u>得到了他们最想要的东西。
　　　bu4guan3　　zen3me0　shuo1　dong1de2　　　ren2
　　　no_matter　why　　　talk　　East_German　people

　　　bi4jing4　de2dao4　le0　ta1men0　zui4　xiang3yao4　de0
　　　after_all　gain　　LE　they　　　most　want　　　DE

　　　dong1xi0
　　　thing
　　　'No matter what, the East German people got what they wanted the most after all.'

Concerning the gap between one's assumption or expectation and how things actually turn out, these adverbs include 恰好 *qia4hao3* 'fortuitously, coincidentally,' 正巧 *zheng4qiao3* 'coincidentally,' 幸亏 *xing4kui1* 'fortunately,' 好在 *hao3zai4* 'luckily,' 倒 *dao4* 'contrary to one's expectation,' 反(而) *fan3 (er2)* 'contrary to one's expectation,' 竟然 *jing4ran2* 'contrary to one's expectation,' 偏偏 *pian1 (pian1)* 'contrary to one's wish,' 居然 *ju1ran2* 'beyond one's expectation,' and 其实 *qi2shi2* 'in fact, actually.' Concerning one's strong will, compromise, or sense of making do, these adverbs include 偏 *pian1* 'insisting on having one's will,' 宁可 … *ning4ke3* … '(not) … but rather … ,' 非得 *fei1dei3* 'insisting on having to,' 只好 *zhi2hao3* 'having no choice but,' and 不得不 *bu4de2bu4* 'having no choice but.' These types of adverbs are shown in [63]−[68].

[63] 餐馆不大, <u>好在</u>这时还没有客人, 我便陪着她。

can1guan3　bu4　da4　hao3zai4　zhe4shi2　hai2
restaurant　NEG　big　luckily　this_moment　yet

mei2you3　ke4ren2　wo3　bian4　pei2　zhe0　ta1
NEG　guest　I　then　accompany　ZHE　she

'The restaurant was not big. Fortunately, there was no other guest at this moment and I sat with her.'

[64] 读者不会感到无聊枯燥<u>反而</u>觉有趣。

du2zhe3　bu2　hui4　gan3dao4　wu2liao2　ku1zao4
reader　NEG　can　feel　silly　dull_and_dry

fan3er2　jue2　you3qu4
instead　feel　amusing

'The readers would not feel bored but interested.'

[65] 夫妻吵架, 女儿<u>竟然</u>充当和事佬。

fu1qi1　chao3jia4　nü3er2　jing4ran2　chong1dang1
couple　quarrel　daughter　unexpectedly　act_as

he2shi4lao3
peacemaker

'The couple got into a fight and their young daughter became the peacemaker unexpectedly.'

[66] 走回去吧! <u>其实</u>也不远。

zou3　hui2qu4　ba0　qi2shi2　ye3　bu4　yuan3
walk　back　BA　in_fact　also　NEG　far

'Let's walk back! In fact, it is not too far.'

[67] 参加旅游团的人越来越少, 大家<u>宁可</u>自己去玩。

can1jia1　lü3you2tuan2　de0　ren2　yue4　lai2
join　tour　DE　people　the…more　come

yue4　shao3　da4jia1　ning2ke3　zi4ji3　qu4　wan2
the…more　few　people　rather　own　go　play

'There are fewer and fewer people joining group tours. People would rather enjoy the vacation on their own.'

[68] 按规定空姐结了婚就不再能飞, 她<u>只好</u>辞职。

an4　gui1ding4　kong1jie3　jie2　le0　hun1
as　rule　flight_attendants　marry　LE　marriage

jiu4   bu4   zai4   neng2   fei1   ta1   zhi3hao3   ci2zhi2
thus   NEG   again   can   fly   she   have_to   resign
'Since the rule was that flight attendants should stop flying once married, she had no choice but to resign.'

Concerning the expression of one's strong stance on what is being said, these adverbs include 绝对 *jue2dui4* 'definitely, absolutely,' 明明 *ming2ming2* 'obviously,' 简直 *jian2zhi2* 'simply, extremely,' 到底 *dao4di3* 'after all,' 究竟 *jiu1jing4* 'after all,' and 难道 *nan2dao4* 'unless it is the case that.' Concerning the expression of one's concessive endorsement of what is being said, these adverbs include 无非 *wu2fei1* 'nothing but, just,' 不妨 *bu4fang2* 'why not,' 好像 *hao3xiang4* 'likely,' and 也许 *ye2xu3* 'perhaps.' Examples of these adverbs are shown in [69] and [70].

[69]   电梯明明是往下，往上的人还是要进去。
  dian4ti1   ming2ming2   shi4   wang3xia4   wang3shang4   de0
  elevator   obviously   SHI   downward   upward   DE

  ren2   hai2shi4   yao4   jin4qu4
  people   still   will   enter
  'The elevator was obviously going down, but those who wanted to go up still went in.'

[70]   成绩优秀的孩子也许表达能力较佳。
  cheng2ji1   you1xiu4   de0   hai2zi0   ye3xu3   biao3da2
  grade   excellent   DE   child   maybe   express

  neng2li4   jiao4   jia1
  capability   comparatively   fine
  'Kids with better grades are perhaps better at expressing themselves.'

The most outstanding feature of attitudinal adverbs, compared to other types, is that they have more flexibility in where they can occur. While all adverbs can appear between the subject and the predicate, disyllabic attitudinal adverbs can also appear at the clause-initial position. Monosyllabic attitudinal adverbs, such as 竟 *jing4* 'contrary to one's expectation' in [71], are used clause internally only.

[71]   他没想到竟能得奖，因此非常兴奋。
  ta1   mei2xiang3dao4   jing4   neng2
  he   unexpectedly   contrary_to_one's_expectation   can

  de2jiang3   yin1ci3   fei1chang2   xing4fen4
  win_a_prize   therefore   very   excited
  'He did not expect to be the champion and was very excited.'

When co-occurring with other adverbs, attitudinal adverbs are usually the first in the sequence. For example: 的确已经忘了 *di2que4 yi3jing1 wang4le0* '... indeed have already forgotten...' (before temporal adverb); 的确相当多 *di2que4 xiang1dang1 duo1* 'indeed quite a lot' (before degree adverb); 的确全忘了 *di2que4 quan2 wang4le0* 'indeed have forgotten completely' (before scope adverb); 的确没忘 *di2que4 mei2 wang4* 'indeed did not forget' (before negation adverb); and 的确亲自迎接 *di2que4qin1zi4 ying2jie1* 'indeed greet... in person' (before descriptive adverb).

12.4. Frequently used adverbs

A number of highly frequently used adverbs will be discussed in this section. All of these adverbs can also function as connective adjuncts (see Chapter 14).

12.4.1. 就 *jiu4* and 才 *cai2*

就 *jiu4* and 才 *cai2* often contrast with each other. They can be used in the discussion of time, quantity, scope, attitude, etc. 就 *jiu4* is more versatile than 才 *cai2* is in each area.

12.4.1.1. Time

When used in a discussion about time, 就 *jiu4* indicates that the said time is earlier or faster than the assumed or expected time, while 才 *cai2* indicates that the said time is later or slower than the assumed or expected time. In other words, the use of 就 *jiu4* or 才 *cai2* suggests the assumed or expected time point, although it may not be explicitly specified. Examples of the use of 就 *jiu4* and 才 *cai2* are shown in [72]–[75].

[72]   老刘在胶西时**就**知道李广的事迹。 [*jiu4*/earlier]
　　　 lao3   liu2   zai4   jiao1xi1   shi2   jiu4   zhi1dao4
　　　 old   Liu   PREP   Jiao_Xi   when   thus   know
　　　 li3guang3   de0   shi4ji1
　　　 Li_Guang   DE   story
　　　 'Old Liu learned about Li Guang's stories as early as when he was in Jiaoxi.'

[73]   工地车辆必须清洗后**才**能上路。 [*cai2*/later]
　　　 gong1di4   che1liang4   bi4xu1   qing1xi3   hou4   cai2
　　　 building   car   must   wash   after just
　　　 neng2   shang4lu4
　　　 can   set_out_on_journey
　　　 'Vehicles from the construction site should not leave until having been washed clean.'

[74] 犯人很快**就**落网。 [*jiu4*/faster]
    fan4ren2 hen3 kuai4 jiu4 luo4wang3
    criminal very fast thus be_arrested
    'The criminal was arrested in no time.'

[75] 交往六年后, 我们**才**结婚。 [*cai2*/slower]
    jiao1wang3 liu4 nian2 hou4 wo3men0 cai2 jie2hun1
    contact six year after we just marry
    'We did not get married until after dating for six years.'

就 *jiu4* can also be used to indicate the immediate temporal relationship between two actions or events, as in [76].

[76] 每次丢下一大堆钞票**就**走了。
    mei3ci4 diou1xia4 yi1 da4 dui1 chao1piao4
    every_time drop one big pile bill

    jiu4 zou3 le0
    thus go LE
    'Every time (he) would leave a pile of money and simply walk away.'

When used this way, 就 *jiu4* is often paired with 一 *yi* 'one,' forming the "一 A 就 B" 'as soon as A (then) B' construction, as in [77].

[77] 院长吉人天相, 他<u>一</u>来, 地震**就**停了。
    yuan4zhang3 ji2ren2tian1xiang4 ta1 yi1
    dean Heaven_helps_a_good_person he once

    lai2 di4zhen4 jiu4 ting2 le0
    come earthquake thus stop LE
    'Our Dean is a lucky person. As soon as he arrived, the earthquake stopped.'

就 *jiu4* can also mean 'immediately' and is always stressed in this usage, as in [78].

[78] A: 小宜, 吃饭啦!
      xiao3yi2 chi1fan4 la0
      Xiao_Yi eat LA
      'Xiaoyi, dinner time!'

    B: 妈, **就**来了。
      ma1 jiu4 lai2 le0
      mother thus come LE
      '(I'm) coming, Mom.'

12.4.1.2. Quantity

When talking about quantity, 就 *jiu4* indicates that the said amount is more than the assumed or expected amount, while 才 *cai2* indicates that the said amount is less than the assumed or expected amount. 就 *jiu4*/才 *cai2* used in this way are not stressed, as in [79] and [80].

[79]   你们怎么一顿饭**就**花了两万块钱?

ni3men0	zhen3me0	yi1	dun4	fan4	jiu4	hua1	le0
you	how	one	CL	meal	only	spend	LE

liang3	wan4	kuai4	qian2
two	thousand	CL	money

'How could you spend as much as twenty thousand dollars on a meal?'

[80]   东奔西跑一整天**才**办完一件事。

dong1ben1xi1pao3	yi1zheng3tian1	cai2	ban4	wan2	yi1
run_in_circles	whole_day	just	do	finish	once

jian4	shi4
CL	thing

'Only one thing got done after running around for the whole day.'

就 *jiu4* can indicate that the quantity is less than the assumed or expected amount and it should be stressed in this case. 才 *cai2* can have the same reading when being stressed. In other words, 才 *cai2* and 就 *jiu4* are interchangeable when both mean 'only.'

[81]   烤鸭我**就**/**才**吃过一次。

kao3ya1	wo3	jiu4	cai2	chi1	guo4	yi1ci4
roast_duck	I	thus	just	eat	GUO	once

'I've had the roasted Peking duck only once.'

The stressed 就 *jiu4* with the meaning 'only' may have scope over the subject or over the object, as in [82] and [83], respectively.

[82]   今年可能**就**我一个人过年了。

jin1nian2	ke3neng2	jiu4	wo3	yi1	ge4	ren2
this_year	maybe	thus	I	one	CL	person

guo4	nian2	le0
celebrate	New_Year	LE

'I'll probably celebrate this New Year's Day alone.'

[83] 我**就**得过感冒, 没得过肺炎。
    wo3   jiu4   de2   guo4   gan3mao4   mei2   de2   guo4
    I   thus   get   GUO   cold   NEG   get   GUO
    fei4yan2
    pneumonia
    'I've only had a cold, but never had pneumonia.'

12.4.1.3. Speaker's stance

Both 就 *jiu4* and 才 *cai2* can be used to indicate the speaker's attitude toward what is being said. 就 *jiu4* expresses insistence and a firm stance and is stressed, as in [84].

[84] 我不睡, 我**就**不睡!
    wo3   bu4   shui4   wo3   jiu4   bu4   shui4
    I   NEG   sleep   I   thus   NEG   sleep
    'I don't want to go to bed. I just don't want to go to bed!'

才 *cai2*, on the other hand, also expresses the speaker's firm stance but implies that this stance is contrary to what is usually assumed or expected, as in [85].

[85] 我笨手笨脚的! 刘师傅**才**不敢收我为徒哩!
    wo3   ben4shou3ben4jiao3   de0   liu2   shi1fu4
    I   clumsy   DE   Liu   master_worker
    cai2   bu4   gan3   shou1   wo3   wei2   tu2   li0
    just   NEG   dare   buy   I   PREP   student   LI
    'I'm clumsy! Master Liu won't take me as his student!'

12.4.2. 又 *you4* 'again,' 再 *zai4* 'again,' and 也 *ye3* 'also'

又 *you4* 'again' is used to indicate the occurrence of a repeated action or a sequence of actions, as in [86].

[86] 昨天他带我们到鼻头角玩, 今天**又**带我们来到西子湾。
    zuo2tian1   ta1   dai4   wo3men0   dao4   bi2tou2jiao3
    yesterday   he   take   we   PREP   Bitou_cape
    jin1tian1   you4   dai4   wo3men0   lai2dao4   xi1zi3wan1
    today   again   take   we   come   Xizi_bay
    'He took us to Bitou Cape yesterday and again he takes us to Xizi Bay today.'

Sometimes the sense of repetition or recurrence is not explicitly indicated but is understood from the context or the speaker's background knowledge, as in [87].

[87]   明天**又**可以回家啦!
       ming2tian1   you4   ke3yi3   hui2   jia1   la0
       tomorrow   again can   back   home LA
       '(I) can go home again tomorrow!'

The sense of repetition can also be indicated by a special construction in which the same verb occurs once before and once after 又 *you4* 'again,' or by another construction in which 又 *you4* 'again' is preceded and followed by the same combination of 一 *yi1* 'one' + classifier, as in [88] and [89], respectively.

[88]   我想了**又**想, 得不到答案。
       wo3   xiang3   le0   you4   xiang3   de2bu4dao4   da2an4
       I   think   LE   again think   cannot_find answer
       'I thought again and again, but could not find the answer.'

[89]   他为什么每天都认真地吃着一根**又**一根的胡萝卜?
       ta1   wei4shen2me0   mei3tian1   dou1   ren4zhen1   de0   chi1
       he   why   everyday   all   seriously   DE   eat
       zhe0   yi1   gen1   you4   yi1   gen1   de0   hu2luo2bo0
       ZHE   one   root   again one   root   DE   carrot
       'Why does he eat carrots so seriously, one after another, every day?'

再 *zai4* 'again' is similar to 又 *you4* 'again' in meaning but 再 *zai4* 'again' indicates repeated action that has not yet taken place, while 又 *you4* 'again' indicates repeated action that has already taken place. Consider [90].

[90]   去去去, 妈妈忙, 等会**再**说。
       qu4   qu4   qu4   ma1ma0   mang2   deng3hui4
       go   go   go   mother   busy   wait_for_a_moment
       zai4   shuo1
       then   talk
       'Go away. Mom is busy. Talk to me later.'

When 再 *zai4* 'again' co-occurs with the negation adverb 不 *bu4* or 没 *mei2*, the order suggests different meanings. 再不 *zai4bu4* 'again NEG' often suggests a conditional, while 不再 *bu4zai4* 'NEG again, no longer' often suggests volition, as in [91] and [92], respectively.

[91]   **再**不走, 就回不去了。
       zai4bu4   zou3   jiu4   hui2   bu4   qu4   le0
       again_NEG   go   thus   back   NEG   go   LE
       'If (you) still do not go, you won't be able to leave.'

[92] <u>不</u>**再**生了，这个娃娃是我们的最后一个。
    bu4zai4   sheng1   le0   zhe4   ge4   wa2wa0   shi4
    no_more   give_birth   LE   this   CL   baby   be

    wo3men0   de0   zui4hou4   yi1   ge4
    we   DE   last   one   CL
    'No more kids. This baby is our last one.'

也 *ye3* 'also' also indicates repetition but it requires similarity in the contrasted units in order to introduce new information in the clause that it marks. For example, two subjects may be contrasted if they have the same predicate. Two objects may also be contrasted with 也 *ye3* 'also' if they have the same subject and main verb. Other elements, such as temporal expressions, may also be contrasted with 也 *ye3* 'also' when the rest of the clause is the same. Consider the examples in [93]–[95].

[93] 我最希望父母亲身体健康，太太**也**健康。 [subject contrasted]
    wo3   zui4   xi1wang4   fu4mu3qin1   shen1ti3   jian4kang1
    I   most   hope   parents   body   healthy

    tai4tai0   ye3   jian4kang1
    wife   also   healthy
    'I sincerely hope that my parents are healthy and my wife is healthy, too.'

[94] 除了研究生之外，周先生**也**教生物本科学生。 [object contrasted]
    chu2le0   yan2jiu4sheng1   zhi1wai4   zhou1
    except_for   graduate_student   other_than   ZHOU

    xian1sheng0   ye3   jiao1   sheng1wu4   ben3ke1xue2sheng1
    Mr.   also   teach   biology   undergraduate
    'Mr. Zhou teaches not only graduate students but also biology major students.'

[95] 伍兹去年参加了 8 场比赛，今年**也**差不多。[temporal expression contrasted]
    wu3zi1   qu4nian2   can1jia1   le0   8   chang3
    Tiger_Woods   last_year   participate   LE   8   CL

    bi3sai4   jin1nian2   ye3   cha 1bu4duo1
    game   this_year   also   the_same
    'Tiger Woods participated in 18 games last year; this year it's about the same.'

Contrasting may involve more than one syntactic category. In the examples in [96] and [97], both the subjects and the predicates are contrasted.

[96]   如今墨西哥城已是一片陆地, 湖**也**消失了。
    ru2jin1   mo4xi1ge1   cheng2   yi3   shi4   yi1   pian4
    now   Mexico   city   already   be   one   CL
    lu4di4   hu2   ye3   xiao1shi1   le0
    dry_land   lake   also   vanish   LE
    'Mexico City has now become land, and the lake also disappeared.'

[97]   丁君已有了妻子, 孩子, 父母**也**老了。
    ding1   jun1   yi3   you3   le0   qi1zi3   hai2zi0   fu4mu3
    Ding   sir   already   have   LE   wife   child   parents
    ye3   lao3   le0
    also   get_old   LE
    'Mr. Ding has got a wife and some kids, and his parents have also got old.'

也 *ye3* 'also' often co-occurs with 连 *lian2* to indicate what "even" in English suggests. The extreme, highly unlikely event, which is represented by the item marked by 连 *lian2* 'even,' is contrasted with the more likely event, which is under-specified but is understood from the context (typically designated by the predicate), as in [98].

[98]   路上连计程车**也**看不到了。
    lu4shang4   lian2   ji4cheng2che1   ye3   kan4   bu2   dao4
    en_route   even   taxi   also   see   NEG   reach
    le0
    LE
    'Even cabs cannot be found on the street (let alone rarer objects such as limousines).'

也 *ye3* 'also' co-occurs with several types of universal quantifiers. They can be nominal phrases containing the numeral 一 *yi1* 'one' suggesting universal coverage or interrogative phrases (see Chapter 8). Different from 都 *dou1* 'all,' 也 *ye3* 'also,' another adverb denoting universality and scope inclusiveness, occurs with these universal quantifiers only in the negative context. Consider the examples in [99]−[101].

[99]   路上来往的人, 他<u>一个</u>**也**不认识。
    lu4shang4   lai2wang3   de0   ren2   ta1   yi1   ge4
    en_route   come_and_go   DE   people   he   one   CL
    ye3   bu4   ren4shi2
    also   NEG   know
    'He knew no one on the street.'

[100] 你们快出去, 谁**也**别发出声响。

ni3men0	kuai4	chu1qu4	shui2	ye3	bie2	fa1chu1
you	quickly	go_out	who	also	do_not	make

sheng1xiang3
sound

'Get out. None of you makes any noise.'

[101] 一躲到草丛里, 就怎么找**也**找不着。

yi1	duo3	dao4	cao3cong2		li3	jiu4
once	dodge	PREP	thick_growth_of_grass		in	thus

zen3me0	zhao3	ye3	zhao3	bu4	zhao2
why	seek	also	seek	NEG	ZHAO

'Once it got into the bushes, there was no way to find it.'

Finally, 也 *ye3* 'also' can indicate that the speaker has some reservation about what is being said. Its appearance in the clause thus makes the statement less forceful, namely, it softens the tone. Note that these sentences are all acceptable without 也 *ye3* 'also.' However, adding 也 *ye3* 'also' to them has the effect of mitigating the speaker's tone so that what is being said will not sound too blunt, as in [102] and [103].

[102] 究竟是什么原因, 他自己**也**不知道。

jiu4jing4	shi4	shen2me0	yuan2yin1	ta1	zi4ji3	ye3
outcome	be	what	reason	he	self	also

bu4	zhi1dao4
NEG	know

'(Even) he (himself) had no idea what the reason was.'

[103] 说她一夕成名, 也太夸张了!

shuo1	ta1	yi1	xi4	cheng2ming2	ye3	tai4
talk	she	one	night	become_famous	also	too

kua1zhang1	le0
overstate	LE

'It is too exaggerated to say she became famous overnight.'

12.4.3. 还 *hai2* 'still'

还 *hai2* 'still' expresses the continuation of an action or a state with the meaning roughly as 'still,' as in [104] and [105].

[104] 我还在山腰, 路才走了一半。
      wo3 hai2 zai4 shan1yao1 lu4 cai2 zou3
      I still be_at midway_up_mountain way just go
      le0 yi1ban4
      LE half
      'I was still halfway to the mountain top.'

[105] 好好过日子, 你的人生还很漫长。
      hao2hao3 guo4 ri4zi0 ni3 de0 ren2sheng1 hai2
      good live day you DE life still
      hen3 man4chang2
      very endless
      'Live your life well. You still have a very long way ahead of you.'

还 *hai2* 'still' has a disyllabic counterpart 还是 *hai2shi4*, which can also mean 'still,' as in [106].

[106] 鸽子在路上被猎人打伤了, 但还是飞回了家。
      ge1zi0 zai4 lu4shang4 bei4 lie4ren2 da3shang1 le0
      pigeon PREP road_on BEI hunter injure LE
      dan4 hai2shi4 fei1 hui2 le0 jia1
      but still fly back LE home
      '(The pigeon) was shot by a hunter and got injured, but it still flew back.'

However, 还是 *hai2shi4* 'still' does not have the following meaning or share these functions with 还 *hai2* 'still.' When 还 *hai2* 'still' indicates 'further' and 'also,' it cannot be replaced by 还是 *hai2shi4* 'still.' Consider the example [107].

[107] 茶叶除了冲泡饮用, **还**有若干用途。
      cha 2ye4 chu2le0 chong1pao4 yin3yong4 hai2 you3
      tea_leaves besides brew drink also have
      ruo4gan1 yong4tu2
      several use
      'In addition to making a drink, tea leaves could be of some other use.'

还 *hai2* 'still' can occur in a comparative construction, as in [108], but 还是 *hai2shi4* 'still' cannot (see Chapter 11).

[108] 我姐姐本来比你**还**糟。
      wo3 jie3jie0 ben3lai2 bi3 ni3 hai2 zao1
      I sister originally than you still bad
      'My older sister was worse than you originally.'

还 *hai2* 'still' can be used to suggest a downtoning or reduced degree, as in [109], but 还是 *hai2shi4* 'still' cannot.

[109] A: 你考得怎么样?
        ni3   kao3   de2   zen3me0yang4
        you   examine   DE   how
        'How did you do on the exam?'
    B: 考得**还**好。
        kao3   de2   hai2hao3
        examine   DE   not_bad
        'So so.'

还 *hai2* 'still' can also be used to indicate the speaker's incredulousness with regard to the situation being described. In other words, when the speaker uses 还 *hai2* 'still,' he is saying that there is a gap between the situation described in the clause and the assumption or expectation held by him or other people. 还 *hai2* 'still' used in this way is often accompanied by 真 *zhen1* 'really,' as in [110].

[110] 我老公的红烧鱼**还真**出我意料之外的好!
        wo3   lao3gong1   de0   hong2shao1   yu2   hai2
        I   husband   DE   braise_in_soy_sauce   fish   still
        zhen1   chu1   wo3   yi4liao4   zhi1wai4   de0   hao3
        really   beyond   I   expectation   out_of   DE   good
        'To my surprise, the braised fish cooked by my husband was exceptionally good!'

12.4.4. 都 *dou1* 'all'

12.4.4.1. Totality

都 *dou1* 'all' is primarily a scope adverb referring to totality or universality. It is an adverb occurring before the predicate, but it typically has scope over the subject or other nominal components to its left in the clause. 都 *dou1* 'all' refers to the totality of the subject in [111] and to the totality of the object of the preposition 对 *dui4* 'toward' in [112].

[111] 先生跟太太**都**一块出去工作。
        xian1sheng0   gen1   tai4tai0   dou1   yi1kuai4   chu1qu4
        husband   and   wife   all   together   go_out
        gong1zuo4
        work
        'Both the husband and the wife go out to work together.'

[112]   她平时对两个孩子**都**是同样地疼爱。

ta1   ping2shi2   dui4   liang3   ge4   hai2zi0   dou1   shi4
she   always   PREP   two   CL   child   all   SHI

tong2yang4   de0   teng2ai4
same   DE   love_dearly
'She always loves the two kids in the same way.'

都 *dou1* 'all' can also refer to the totality of other nominal phrases, such as the temporal phrase in [113] and the locative phrase in [114].

[113]   阿美族人每年**都**要举行一次盛大的祭典。

a1mei3zu2ren2   mei3nian2   dou1   yao4   ju3xing2   yi1
the_Amis   every_year   all   will   hold   one

ci4   sheng4da4   de0   ji4dian3
CL   grand   DE   memorial_services
'The Amis hold a big worship ceremony every year.'

[114]   这种欺骗自己的行为, 在世界各处**都**可看到。

zhe4   zhong3   qi1pian4   zi4ji3   de0   xing2wei2   zai4
this   kind   dupe   self   DE   behavior   PREP

shi4jie4   ge4chu4   dou1   ke3   kan4dao4
world   everywhere   all   can   see
'This self-cheating behavior is seen everywhere in the world.'

When 都 *dou1* 'all' refers to the totality of the object, the object appears before 都 *dou1* 'all' and thus before the predicate with several possibilities. Very often the object phrase appears at or near the beginning of the sentence, as in [115a], between the subject and the verb, as in [115b], or with the BA construction, as in [115c].

[115]   a.   <u>这些书</u>我都看完了。

zhe4xie1   shu1   wo3   dou1   kan4   wan2   le0
these   book   I   all   read   finish   LE
'I've read all these books.'

b.   我<u>这些书</u>都看完了。

wo3   zhe4xie1   shu1   dou1   kan4   wan2   le0
I   these   book   all   read   finish   LE
'I've read all these books.'

c. 我把这些书都看完了。

wo3　ba3　zhe4xie1　shu1　dou1　kan4　wan2　le0
I　　BA　these　　book　all　read　finish　LE
'I've read all these books.'

Sometimes a 都 *dou1* 'all' sentence is ambiguous, as its scope may refer to the subject or the pre-posed object, or both. The interpretation depends on the context, such as in [116].

[116]　西大街上每一个象样的门庭我们**都**进去过了。

xi1da4jie1　　shang4　mei3　yi1　ge4　xiang4yang4
West_Avenue　on　　　every　one　CL　nice

de0　men2ting2　　　wo3men0　dou1　jin4qu4　guo4　le0
DE　front_entrance　we　　　all　enter　　GUO　LE
'We walked into every nice front entrance on West Avenue.'

Since 都 *dou1* 'all' refers to totality, words meaning 'all,' 'each,' and 'every' often co-occur with it, such as 所有 *suo3you3* 'all, every,' 一切 *yi1qie4* 'all,' 每 *mei3* 'every, each,' 到处 *dao4chu4* 'everywhere,' and 随时 *sui2shi2* 'any time.' Consider the examples from [117]–[121].

[117]　所有的人**都**问我相同的问题。

suo3you3　de0　ren2　　dou1　wen4　wo3　xiang1tong2
all　　　　DE　people　all　ask　　I　　same

de0　wen4ti2
DE　question
'All of them asked me the same question.'

[118]　这一切**都**不该发生在她身上的。

zhe4　yi1qie4　　　dou1　bu4　gai1　　fa1sheng1　zai4
this　everything　all　NEG　should　happen　　PREP

ta1　shen1shang4　de0
she　body_on　　　DE
'All these should not have happened to her.'

[119]　我所接触过的士兵每一位**都**是这么的可爱。

wo3　suo3　jie1chu4　guo4　de0　shi4bing1　mei3　yi3
I　　SUO　encounter　GUO　DE　soldier　　every　one

wei4　dou1　shi4　zhe4me0　de0　ke3ai4
CL　　all　　be　　so　　　　DE　lovely
'Every soldier I have encountered was so charming.'

[120]   校园到处都是骑脚踏车的人。
        xiao4yuan2   dao4chu4   dou1   shi4   qi2   jiao3ta4che1
        campus   everywhere   all   be   ride bicycle

        de0   ren2
        DE   people
        'There are bikers everywhere on campus.'

[121]   工作的过程中我们随时都在学习。
        gong1zuo4   de0   guo4cheng2   zhong1   wo3men0   sui2shi2
        work   DE   process   during   we   any_time

        dou1   zai4   xue2xi2
        all   ZAI   learn
        'We learn all the time during the process of work.'

Interrogative phrases, including interrogative pronouns, nominal phrases with an interrogative determinative in DET, and nominal phrases with an interrogative quantifier in NUM, often fall under the scope of 都 *dou1* 'all' to suggest totality, namely, to function as universal quantifiers in a statement but not as variables in a question. As stated earlier, 都 *dou1* 'all' is different from 也 *ye3* 'also' in that when they co-occur with interrogative phrases, 也 *ye3* 'also' only appears in negative statements but 都 *dou1* 'all' can occur in both negative and affirmative statements, such as in [122] and [123], respectively.

[122]   给我坐着, 谁都不许动。
        gei3   wo3   zuo4   zhe0   shui2   dou1   bu4
        PREP   I   sit   ZHE   who   all   NEG

        xu3   dong4
        be_permitted   move
        'Sit down. No one can move.'

[123]   马路上哪儿都看得见计程车。
        ma3lu4   shang4   na3er0   dou1   kan4   de0   jian4
        road   on   where   all   see   DE   see

        ji4cheng2che1
        taxi
        'Cabs can be found everywhere on the streets.'

Sometimes interrogative phrases fall outside the scope of 都 *dou1* 'all' in a variable question and retain their interrogative interpretation, as in [124].

[124] 你**都**住在哪里?
  ni3 dou1 zhu4 zai4 na3li3
  you all live PREP where
  'Where do you live?'

12.4.4.2. Extremity

都 *dou1* 'all' can also be paired with 连 *lian2* 'even,' as in [125], to form a "连 X 都 . . ."
construction to suggest extremity. The "连 X 都 . . . *lian2* X *dou1* . . ." construction
is similar to the "连 X 也 . . . *lian2* X *ye3* . . . 'also . . .'" construction.

[125] 她居然连我叫什么名字**都**知道!
  ta1 ju1ran2   lian2 wo3 jiao4 shen2me0
  she unexpectedly even I   call what

  ming2zi0 dou1   zhi1dao4
  name   all know
  'She even knew what my name is!'

The same meaning can also be conveyed by 甚至 *shen4zhi4* 'even,'
都 . . . *dou*1 . . . 'even X . . . ,' or 甚至连 *shen4zhi4 lian2* X 都 *dou1* . . . 'even X . . .' Con-
sider the examples [126] and [127].

[126] 该公司的产品主要外销日本, 甚至欧洲**都**有他们的客户。
  gai1 gong1si1 de0 chan3pin3 zhu3yao4 wai4xiao1
  the company DE produce main   sell_abroad

  ri4ben3 shen4zhi4 ou1zhou1 dou1 you3 ta1men0
  Japan even   Europe all   have they

  de0 ke4hu4
  DE client
  'Products of the company are mainly exported to Japan. They even have
  customers in Europe.'

[127] 年轻人甚至连母语**都**不会讲了。
  nian2qing1ren2 shen4zhi4 lian2 mu3yu3   dou1
  young_people   even   even mother_tongue all

  bu2 hui4 jiang3 le0
  NEG can speak LE
  'The young generation cannot even speak their native language.'

都 *dou1* 'all' can express extremity on its own without the help of 连 *lian2* 'even'
or 甚至 *shen4zhi4* 'even,' as in [128].

[128]   这么粗心, 奶嘴**都**没好好消毒。
        zhe4me0   cu1xin1   nai3zui3   dou1   mei2
        so   careless   nipple_of_feeding_bottle   even   NEG
        hao2hao3   xiao1du2
        good   disinfect
        '(You) are so careless and did not even sterilize the pacifier.'

A related construction is "V 都不 V...V *dou2 bu4* V..." '(even) do not (bother to) V,' or its variation "V 都没 V...V *dou2 mei2* V..." '(even) have not (bothered to) V,' both of which describe a situation as an extreme case not comparable to the presumed normal one. This is shown in [129] through [131].

[129]   他倒头又睡, 理**都**不理我!
        ta1   dao3tou2   you4   shui4   li3   dou1   bu4
        he   lie_down   again   sleep   pay_attention   even   NEG
        li3   wo3
        pay_attention   I
        'He fell asleep right away without paying attention to me at all!'

[130]   我连想**都**没想过。
        wo3   lian2   xiang3   dou1   mei2   xiang3   guo4
        I   even   think   all   NEG   think   GUO
        'I have never even thought about it.'

[131]   生意接**都**接不完, 而且价钱很好。
        sheng1yi4   jie1   dou1   jie1   bu4   wan2   er2qie3
        business   take   all   take   NEG   finish   and
        jia4qian2   hen3   hao3
        price   very   good
        'There was so much business that we could not take any more, and the pricing was good.'

Finally, a sense of "even already in the state of" can be derived from extremity when 都 *dou1* 'all' describes an extreme situation that is beyond the presumed, normal expectation, such as in [132].

[132]   我**都**急死了, 你还逗着我玩**啊**?
        wo3   dou1   ji2   si3   le0   ni3   hai2   dou4   zhe0
        I   all   worry   die   LE   you   still   kidding   ZHE
        wo3   wan2   a1
        I   play   A
        'I was already worried to death. How could you still make fun of me?'

12.4.5. 很 *hen* 'very'

很 *hen3* 'very' has two major functions. In addition to an intensifying degree adverb, as discussed above, it can function as a modifier for adjectival predicatives to mark their absolute meaning. There are, however, cases where 很 *hen3* 'very' is not allowed, such as in the examples [133]−[135].

[133] 他比我还要高。

      ta1   bi3   wo3   hai2yao4 gao1
      he   than I   more   tall
      'He is much taller than I am.'

[134] 昨日的演出没有预演时好。

      zuo2ri4   de0 yan3chu1   mei2you3 yu4yan3 shi2
      yesterday DE   performance NEG   rehearsal when

      hao3
      good
      'Yesterday's performance was not as good as the rehearsal.'

[135] 妈妈, 我什么时候会有你高?

      ma1ma0   wo3 shen2me0shi2hou0 hui4 you3 ni3   gao1
      mother   I   when   will YOU you tall
      'Mother, when will I be as tall as you are?'

These sentences all convey some sense of comparison. Similarly, in the reply to the question in [136], the predicate 哥哥高 *ge1ge0 gao1* 'the elder brother is taller' conveys a comparative meaning by itself. Even adjectives whose meanings should be logically absolute, such as 完美 *wan2mei3* 'perfect' or 圆 *yuan2* 'round, circular,' will be given a comparative reading when standing alone.

[136] A: 哥哥高还是弟弟高?

         ge1geo0   hai2shi4 di4di0   gao1
         elder_brother or   younger_brother tall
         'Is the elder brother taller or the younger brother taller?'

      B: 哥哥高。

         ge1geo0   gao1
         elder_brother   tall
         'The elder brother is taller.'

When modifying an adjectival predicate, the appearance of 很 *hen3* 'very,' negative adverb 不 *bu4*, and other degree adverbs such as 真 *zhen1* 'truly' will suppress the comparative reading of adjectives.

[137]   哥哥真高。
      ge1ge0   zhen1   gao1
      elder_brother   really   tall
      'The elder brother is really tall.'

[138]   哥哥不高。
      ge1ge0   bu4   gao1
      elder_brother   NEG   tall
      'The elder brother is not tall.'

[139]   哥哥不很高。
      ge1ge0   bu4   hen3   gao1
      elder_brother   NEG   very   tall
      'The elder brother is not very tall.'

[137] shows that degree adverbs coerce the absolute reading of adjectives, just like the negation adverb 不 *bu4* does in [138]. When another adverb coerces the absolute reading, 很 *hen3* 'very' will retain its intensifying meaning, as shown in [139].

13

Prepositions and preposition phrases

Jingxia Lin and Chaofen Sun

This chapter describes prepositions and preposition phrases. Chinese prepositions are considered to have originated from verbs, and thus maintain some properties of verbs. However, they are not verbs and cannot occur in a sentence without a predicate. For this reason, prepositions were sometimes called "coverbs" in previous literature. Chinese prepositions cannot be stranded; they need to be followed by their objects, which are generally nominal phrases. The primary function of prepositions is to express a variety of relations between their object and the rest of the sentence, especially the predicate. For instance, the preposition 从 *cong* 'from' in [1] relates its object 旅行社 *lü3xing2she4* 'travel agency' to the action 走出来 *zou3 chu1lai2* 'walk out,' meaning that the event of walking starts from the travel agency.

[1]   珍妮从旅行社走出来。
       zhen1ni2   cong2   lü3xing2she4   zou3   chu1lai2
       Jenny   PREP   travel_agency walk   out
       'Jenny walked out [toward the deictic center] from the travel agency.'

A preposition phrase (PP), formed by a preposition and its object, can be used as a modifier to a verb, a sentence, or a noun, or as an object of a verb. The majority of PPs are modifiers contributing information such as the location, time, manner, instrument, and cause of the action described by the verb. A modifying PP is optional in a sentence. For instance, [1] is grammatical with or without the PP 从旅行社 *cong2 lü3xing2she4* 'from the travel agency.'

The defining properties of prepositions and PPs are as follows.

1   A preposition usually takes an object to form a PP. A PP can occur as a modifier in the sentence-initial position, after the subject but before the verb, before the noun (as a pronominal modifier), or after the verb.
2   Many words in Modern Chinese can be used as both prepositions and verbs; some can be used as prepositions and conjunctions, nouns, adverbs, or classifiers.

3   Chinese has both monosyllabic and disyllabic prepositions, but few prepositions have more than two syllables.
4   Prepositions can be classified into different semantic types, with a meaning related to space, time, involved participants, condition, and cause.

13.1. Distribution and function of PPs

Chinese PPs can occur in four possible positions: sentence-initial, pre-verbal, post-verbal, and noun modifier. Some PPs can occur in all of the four positions, whereas some are found in only one. The PPs may function differently in each position.

13.1.1. PPs in the pre-verbal position

Most PPs can occur in the pre-verbal position, that is, the position before the verb (while after the subject). In this case, PPs function as modifiers to the verb. For instance, the 用 *yong4* 'use' PP, the 把 *ba3* 'BA' PP, and the 为 *wei4* 'for' PP in [2] express respectively the instrument, patient, and beneficiary roles of the actions denoted by the verbs.

[2]   a.   他们用鞭子打我们的头和背。

      ta1men0   yong4   bian1zi0   da3   wo3men0   de0   tou2

      they   PREP   whip   hit   we   DE   head

      he2   bei4

      and   back

      'They hit our heads and backs with a whip.'

   b.   哥哥把妹妹杀了。

      ge1ge0   ba3   mei4mei0   sha1   le0

      elder_brother   BA   younger_sister   kill   LE

      'The brother killed his younger sister.'

   c.   我已为你做了很多。

      wo3   yi3   wei4   ni3   zuo4   le0   hen3duo1

      I   already   PREP   you   do   LE   many

      'I have done a lot for you.'

Some PPs can only occur in the pre-verbal position. Representative examples include PPs headed by 把 *ba3* 'BA' (the direct object marker), 被 *bei4* 'by (an agent),' 比 *bi3* 'than,' 朝 *chao2* 'toward,' 从 *cong2* 'from,' 给 *gei3* 'to, for,' 替 *ti4* 'for,' and so on.

13.1.2. PPs in the sentence-initial position

Many PPs that can occur in the pre-verbal position can also occur in the sentence-initial position (e.g., before the subject). [3] and [4] show that 为了 *wei4le* 'for' and

依照 *yi1zhao4* 'according to' can occur in both the pre-verbal position, as in [3a] and [4a], and the sentence-initial position, as in [3b] and [4b].

[3]   a. 他愿意为了她搬家。
           ta1   yuan4yi4   wei4le0   ta1   ban1jia1
           he   be_willing_to   PREP   she   move
           'He is willing to move for her.'

       b. 为了孩子, 我辞去工作专心带他。
           wei4le0   hai2zi0   wo3   ci2qu4   gong1zuo4   zhuan1xin1
           PREP   child   quit   job   concentrate
           dai4   ta1
           take_care   he
           'For my child, I quit my job to take care of him.'

[4]   a. 议会选举将严格依照法律进行。
           yi4hui4   xuan3ju3   jiang1   yan2ge2   yi1zhao4   fa3lü4
           parliament   election   will   strict   PREP   law
           jin4xing2
           proceed
           'Parliamentary elections will be carried out strictly in accordance with the law.'

       b. 依照法律, 菲律宾总统与参议员的竞选时间长达三个月。
           yi1zhao4   fa3lü4   fei1lü4bin1   zong3tong3   yu3
           PREP   law   the_Philippines   president   and
           can1yi4yuan2   de0   jing4xuan3   shi2jian1   chang2da2
           senator   DE   campaign   time   last
           san1   ge4   yue4
           three   CL   month
           'In accordance with the law, the campaign of the President of the Philippines and the Senators can last for up to three months.'

When occurring at the beginning of a sentence, the PP usually introduces the background for the rest of the sentence, including information such as time, location, topic, reason, purpose, reference, and condition. For instance, the 为了 *wei4le0* 'for' PP in [3b] and the 依照 *yi1zhao4* 'according to' PP in [4b] respectively specify the reason/purpose and the reference for the following clauses. For this reason, PPs in the sentence-initial position are treated as sentential modifiers in some literature.

Few PPs occur exclusively in the sentence-initial position. The 至于 *zhi4yu2* 'as for' PP is one of them, as shown in [5].

[5]   a.   <u>至于</u>我, 我从来没对我们之间的关系有过任何怀疑。

zhi4yu2   wo3   wo3   cong2lai2   mei2   dui4   wo3men0
PREP   I   I   ever   NEG   PREP   we

zhi1jian1   de0   guan1xi4   you3   guo4   ren4he2
between   DE   relationship   have   GUO   any

huai2yi2
doubt
'As for me, I never doubted the relationship between us.'

b.   <u>至于</u>孟子的母亲是否受过高等教育, 可能无法考证。

zhi4yu2   meng4zi3   de0   mu3qin1   shi4fou3
PREP   Mencius   DE   mother   whether_or_not

shou4   guo4   gao1deng3   jiao1yu4   ke3neng2
receive   GUO   higher   education   maybe

wu2fa3   kao3zheng4
no_way   verify
'As for [the question] whether Mencius' mother received advanced education or not, it is probably impossible to verify.'

13.1.3. PPs in the post-verbal position

The 给 *gei3* 'to, for' PP, the 到 *dao4* 'go, to' PP, and the 在 *zai4* 'at' PP can occur in both pre-verbal and post-verbal positions, as illustrated in [6] and [7], respectively.

[6]   a.   她又<u>给</u>我带了几本书。

ta1   you4   gei3   wo3   dai4   le0   ji3   ben3   shu1
she   again   PREP   I   bring   LE   several   CL   book
'She brought some books to me again.'

b.   我们<u>到</u>哪个饭馆儿去?

wo3men0   dao4   na3   ge4   fan4guan3er0   qu4
we   PREP   which   CL   restaurant   go
'Which restaurant are we going to?'

c.   [他]<u>在</u>学校上了一节课。

ta1   zai4   xue2xiao4   shang4   le0   yi1   jie2   ke4
he   PREP   school   attend   LE   one   CL   class
'[He] attended a class session at school.'

[7]   a.   她已经送了三本书给朋友。

      ta1   yi3jing1   song4   le0   san1   ben3   shu1   gei3
      she   already   give   LE   three   CL   book   PREP

      peng2you3
      friend
      'She has sent three books to her friend.'

     b.   克里克随后寄了一份书面信函到白宫。

      ke4li3ke4   sui2hou4   ji4   le0   yi1   fen4
      Crick   afterwards   send   LE   one   CL

      shu1mian4   xin4han2   dao4   bai2gong1
      in_written_form   letter   PREP   White_House
      'Crick then sent a letter to the White House.'

     c.   我们放了一把尺在容器里。

      wo3men0   fang4   le0   yi1   ba3   chi3   zai4
      we   put   LE   one   CL   ruler   PREP

      rong2qi4   li3
      container   inside
      'We put a ruler into the container.'

Note that in [7], the prepositions 给 *gei3* 'to, for,' 到 *dao4* 'go, to,' and 在 *zai4* 'at' are preceded by a ditransitive or displacement verb (e.g., 送 *song4* 'to give a gift,' 教 *jiao1* 'to teach,' 寄 *ji4* 'to send,' and 放 *fang4* 'to put') and its direct object. They can also immediately occur after a verb, as in [8].

[8]   a.   李鹏总理将两台电脑送给了学校。

      li3peng2   zong3li3   jiang1   liang3   tai2   dian4nao3   song4
      LI_PENG   premier   BA   two   CL   computer   give

      gei3   le0   xue2xiao4
      PREP   LE   school
      'Premier LI Peng gave two computers to the school.'

     b.   许多驾驶人把车开到了京华城。

      xu3duo1   jia4shi3ren2   ba3   che1   kai1   dao4   le0
      many   driver   BA   car   drive   PREP   LE

      jing1hua2cheng2
      Living_Mall
      'Many drivers drove the cars to Living Mall.'

c. 小袁将自行车放<u>在</u>了车站旁。

xiao3yuan2   jiang1   zi4xing2che1   fang4   zai4   le0
little_YUAN   BA   bicycle   put   PREP   LE

che1zhan4   pang2
station   side
'Little YUAN put the bike next to the station.'

It should be noted that when a preposition occurs immediately after a verb, aspectual markers do not occur after the first verb but rather after the "preposition," as exemplified by *le0* 'LE' in all the sentences in [8]. Since the perfective aspect applies to the full verb complex while attached to the second element of the verbal complex, it is therefore also preferable to treat these cases as compound verbs, as discussed in Chapter 3.

13.1.4. PPs in the noun modifier position

Prepositions such as 对 *dui4* 'to, toward,' 往 *wang3* 'toward,' and 关于 *guan1yu2* 'about,' coupled with their objects, can occur before the "的 *de0* 'DE' NP" sequence and function as a modifier to the NP. Consider the examples in [9].

[9]   a. <u>对</u>生活的态度
dui4   sheng1huo2   de0   tai4du4
PREP   life   DE   attitude
'attitudes toward life'

b. <u>往</u>加州的公车票
wang3   jia1zhou1   de0   gong1che1piao4
PREP   California   DE   bus_ticket
'bus ticket to California'

c. <u>关于</u>伊拉克的书
guan1yu2   yi1la1ke4   de0   shu1
PREP   Iraq   DE   book
'books about Iraq'

13.2. Differentiating prepositions from other lexical categories

A number of words in Modern Chinese belong to more than one lexical category. A form that can be used as a preposition may also be used as a verb, conjunction, adverb, noun, or even a classifier. Each category has its own distinctive morphological, semantic, and syntactic properties.

13.2.1. Prepositions versus verbs

Chinese prepositions were full-fledged verbs in earlier stages of Chinese. In Modern Chinese, there are many forms that can be used as both a verb and a preposition. For instance, 在 *zai4* 'be at' and 朝 *chao2* 'face' are understood as verbs in [10] because they are the only predicates in the sentences and they cannot be omitted. In contrast, 在 *zai4* 'at' and 朝 *chao2* 'toward' and their objects in [11] can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentences, and thus are understood as prepositions.

[10]   a.   财富的中心并不在省会太原, 而是在平遥, 祁县和太谷。

        cai2fu4   de0   zhong1xin1   bing4   bu4   zai4
        wealth   DE   centre   however   NEG   be_at

        sheng3hui4   tai4yuan2   er2shi4   zai4   ping2yao2
        provincial_capital   Taiyuan   rather   be_at   Pingyao

        qi2xian4   he2   tai4gu3
        Qixian   and   Taigu
        'The centre of wealth was not at the provincial capital Taiyuan, but at Pingyao, Qixian, and Taigu.'

     b.   瓦斯桶开口一定要朝外。

        wa3si1   tong3   kai1kou3   yi1ding4   yao4   chao2
        natural_gas   tank   opening   definite   will   face

        wai4
        outside
        'The opening of the natural gas tank must face outside.'

[11]   a.   在新的移民环境中建立新的社会秩序。

        zai4   xin1   de0   yi2min2   huan2jing4   zhong1
        PREP   new   DE   immigrate   environment   in

        jian4li4   xin1   de0   she4hui4   zhi4xu4
        establish   new   DE   society   order
        '[They will] establish a new social order in the new immigration environment.'

     b.   那些男生朝她走来。

        na4xie1   nan2sheng1   chao2   ta1   zou3lai2
        those   boy   PREP   she   come
        'The boys walked toward her.'

Some prepositions are no longer used as verbs. For instance, 从 *cong2* 'from' and 被 *bei4* 'by (an agent)' are prepositions only, as in [12] and [13]. They cannot occur in a sentence without a predicate.

[12]   昨晚七时<u>从</u>家中出发。
      zuo2wan3   qi1shi2   cong2   jia1   zhong1   chu1fa1
      last_night   7_o'clock   PREP   home   in   depart
      '[We] departed from home at 7 o'clock last night.'

[13]   阿郎右手<u>被</u>老王抓住。
      a1lang2   you4shou3   bei4   lao3wang2   zhua1zhu4
      A-LANG   right_hand   BEI   Old_WANG   seize
      'A-LANG's right hand was seized by Old WANG.'

[14] and [15] are non-exhaustive lists covering most forms that can be used as prepositions only and forms that can be used as both prepositions and verbs in present-day Chinese.

[14]   Forms that can be used as prepositions only:
      按照 *an4zhao4* 'according to,' 被 *bei4* 'by (an agent),' 除了 *chu2le0* 'besides, except,' 从 *cong2* 'from,' 关于 *guan1yu2* 'about, with regard to,' 随着 *sui2zhe0* 'along with,' 由 *you2* 'from, by,' 至于 *zhi4yu2* 'with regard to,' 自从 *zi4cong2* 'since'

[15]   Forms that can be used as both prepositions and verbs:
      按 *an4* 'according to; to press,' 比 *bi3* 'than; to compare,' 朝 *chao2* 'toward; to face,' 除 *chu2* 'besides, except; to divide,' 到 *dao4* 'to; to arrive,' 给 *gei3* 'to, for; to give,' 靠 *kao4* 'depending on; to lean/depend on,' 替 *ti4* 'for; to replace,' 用 *yong4* 'with; to use,' 针对 *zhen1dui4* 'with regard to; to aim at,' 在 *zai4* 'at; to be at'

13.2.2. Prepositions versus conjunctions

Chinese has two types of conjunctions, one connecting nominal phrases and the other joining clauses. In both types, there are some conjunctions that can be used as prepositions.

13.2.2.1. Prepositions vs. conjunctions for phrases

和 *he2*, 跟 *gen1*, 与 *yu3*, and 同 *tong2* are frequently used as either a preposition or a conjunction. For instance, 和 *he2* is a preposition in [16a] but is a conjunction in [16b].

[16]　a.　为什么上天总是和苦命的人开玩笑?

wei4shen2me0　shang4tian1　zong3shi4　he2　ku3ming4
why　　　　　　God　　　　　always　　　PREP　downtrodden

de0　ren2　kai1wan2xiao4
DE　people　tease
'Why does God/fate always make fools of downtrodden people?'

　　　b.　我和王豪去餐厅吃饭。

wo3　he2　wang2hao2　qu4　can1ting1　chi1fan4
I　　and　WANG_HAO　go　restaurant　eat
'WANG Hao and I went to the restaurant for dinner.'

To determine whether a form is a preposition or a conjunction for phrases, the phrase preceding the form and that following the form can be switched to check whether the switch results in a change of meaning in the sentence: a change will occur in the sentence with a preposition, but not in the sentence with a conjunction. Take 和 *he2* in [16], for example. When 上天 *shang4tian1* 'God' and 苦命的人 *ku3ming4 de0 ren2* 'downtrodden people' in [16a] switch their positions, the meaning of the sentence is changed in that the agent of 开玩笑 *kai1wan2xiao4* 'make fun' becomes 苦命的人 *ku3ming4 de0 ren2* 'downtrodden people,' as in [17a], which indicates that 和 *he2* is used as a preposition. In contrast, when 我 *wo3* 'I' and 王豪 *wang2hao2* 'WANG Hao' in [16b] switch positions, the meaning of the sentence remains the same, as in [17b], which indicates that 和 *he2* is a conjunction.

[17]　a.　为什么苦命的人总是和上天开玩笑?

wei4shen2me0　ku3ming4　　　de0　ren2　zong3shi4
why　　　　　　downtrodden　DE　people　always

he2　shang4tian1　kai1wan2xiao4
PREP　God　　　　tease
'Why do downtrodden people always make a fool of God/fate?'

　　　b.　王豪和我去餐厅吃饭。

wang2hao2　he2　wo3　qu4　can1ting1　chi1fan4
WANG_HAO　and　I　　go　restaurant　eat
'WANG Hao and I went to the restaurant for dinner.'

Furthermore, a preposition can be preceded by adverbials, but a conjunction cannot. For instance, 总是 *zong3shi4* 'always' occurs before the preposition 和 *he2* in [17a]. 和 *he2* in [17b] may also be preceded by an adverbial, as in [18]. However, once preceded by 总是 *zong3shi4* 'always,' 和 *he2* is necessarily understood as a preposition, as indicated by the English translation below.

[18]   王豪总是<u>和</u>我去餐厅吃饭。

wang2hao2   zong3shi4   he2   wo3   qu4   can1ting1
WANG_HAO   always   PREP   I   go   restaurant

chi1fan4
eat
'WANG Hao always went to the restaurant for dinner with me.'

13.2.2.2. Prepositions vs. conjunctions for clauses

Forms such as 因为 *yin1wei4* 'because,' 由于 *you2yu2* 'because,' and 为了 *wei4le0* 'for' can be followed by either a clause or an NP. In these two cases, their meanings are the same. For instance, 因为 *yin1wei4* 'because' in both [19a] and [19b] introduces a reason. These forms are traditionally treated as a conjunction for clauses if they are followed by a clause, as in [19a], and as a preposition if they are followed by an NP, as in [19b].

[19]   a.   <u>因为</u>儿子很喜欢看「史瑞克」, 全家都陪他看了好多次。

yin1wei4   er2zi0   hen3   xi3huan1   kan4   shi3rui4ke4
because   son   very   like   see   Shrek

quan2jia1   dou1   pei2   ta1   kan4   le0
whole_family   all   accompany   he   see   LE

hao3duo1   ci4
many   CL
'Because the son liked to watch *Shrek* very much, the whole family accompanied him and watched it many times.'

   b.   [我们] <u>因为</u>这种事情, 而把自己封闭。

wo3men0   yin1wei4   zhe4   zhong3   shi4qing2   er2
we   PREP   this   CL   thing   thus

ba3   zi4ji3   feng1bi4
BA   self   shut_off
'[We] shut ourselves off because of this kind of thing.'

13.2.3. Prepositions versus nouns

A small number of forms in Chinese can be used as both a preposition and a noun, including 根据 *gen1ju4*/依据 *yi1ju4* 'according to; basis of making judgment,' 作为 *zuo4wei2* 'as; achievement/action,' 经过 *jing1guo4* 'by, through; process,' and 距离 *ju4li2* 'from; distance.' Consider the examples in [20]–[22].

[20] a. 根据佛洛伊德的说法, 人有生的本能, 也有死的本能。

gen1ju4   fo2luo4yi1de2   de0   shuo1fa3   ren2   you3
PREP   Freud   DE   saying   human   have

sheng1   de0   ben3neng2   ye3   you3   si3   de0   ben3neng2
live   DE   instinct   also have   die   DE   instinct
'According to Freud, human beings not only have life instincts, but
also death instincts as well.'

   b. 我们的根据是什么呢?

wo3men0   de0   gen1ju4   shi4   shen2me0   ne0
we   DE   basis   be   what   NE
'What is the basis [for our claim]?'

[21] a. 作为一个客家籍作家, 我只提供自己对客家文化性格的一种观察。

zuo4wei2   yi1   ge4   ke4jia1ji2   zuo4jia1   wo3   zhi3
PREP   one   CL   Hakka   writer   I   only

ti2gong1   zi4ji3   dui4   ke4jia1   wen2hua4   xing4ge2   de0
offer   self   PREP   Hakka   culture   nature   DE

yi1   zhong3   guan1cha2
one   CL   observation
'As a Hakka writer, I only provide my own observation of cultural
characteristics of Hakka.'

   b. 我的思想, 作为都与旁人不同。

wo3   de0   si1xiang3   zuo4wei2   dou1   yu3   pang2ren2
I   DE   thought   behavior   all   PREP other_people

bu4tong2
different
'My thoughts and actions are different from the others'.'

[22] a. 那里距离她们家只有一百五十公里。

na4li3   ju4li2   ta1men0   jia1   zhi3you3   yi1bai3wu3shi2
there   PREP   their   home   only   150

gong1li3
kilometer
'That place is only 150 kilometers away from their home.'

b. 现实和理想之间一定有距离。
    xian4shi2 he2 li3xiang3 zhi1jian1 yi1ding4 you3
    reality   and ideal   between   definite have

    ju4li2
    distance
    'There must be a distance between the real and the ideal.'

It is important to note that while the preposition–verb and preposition–conjunction pairs can almost always be attributed to pairs with the same semantic content but different grammatical functions, the preposition–noun pairs contain pairs sharing little semantic content, such as 作为 *zuo4wei2* as the preposition 'as' and as the noun 'achievement, action.' In this case, these two forms are simply homophones, like river "bank" versus financial "bank" in English. In addition, note that a preposition and a noun distinctively differ from each other in the following ways. First, a noun can function as an argument of a verb, whereas a preposition cannot. Second, a noun can be modified by other elements, such as a possessor, a determiner, or a relative clause, whereas a preposition cannot be modified by these elements but is necessarily followed by an NP. Therefore, we can always distinguish a noun from a preposition by examining (1) in which position of the sentence it occurs and (2) whether it is accompanied by any modifiers or objects. Accordingly, 根据 *gen1ju4* in [20a] is a preposition because it is followed by an NP, whereas 根据 *gen1ju4* in [20b] is a noun because it occurs in a subject position and is modified by a possessor.

13.2.4. Prepositions versus adverbs

Similar to preposition–noun pairs, preposition–adverb pairs range from functional variants to homophonic pairs. Although both prepositions and adverbs can occur to the left of the main predicate in a sentence, prepositions are usually followed by an NP, whereas adverbs are not (see Chapter 12 for a detailed discussion on adverbs). For example, 将 *jiang1*, 较 *jiao4*, and 就 *jiu4* are found to occur as either prepositions (as in [23a], [24a], and [25a]) or adverbs (as in [23b], [24b], and [25b]) in Modern Chinese. Their meanings as prepositions can be either different from or similar to the meanings they have as adverbs. For instance, 将 *jiang1* in [23a] is a preposition introducing a patient/theme, but it is understood as a temporal adverb in [23b]; 就 *jiu4* in [24a], as a preposition, introduces the basis for the speaker's claim, whereas 就 *jiu4* in [24b], as an adverb, functions to emphasize the speaker's firm stance; and both 较 *jiao4* as a preposition in [25a] and 较 *jiao4* as an adverb in [25b] are used with a comparative meaning.

[23] a. 将雨水导入排水管内。

jiang1   yu3shui3   dao3ru4   pai2shui3guan3   nei4
BA   rain   guide   drain   inside

'As for the rainwater, it will be guided into the drains.'

b. 李女士将于会中发表演讲。

li3   nü3shi4   jiang1   yu2   hui4   zhong1   fa1biao3
LI   Ms.   will   PREP meeting during   present

yan3jiang3
speech

'Ms. Li will deliver a speech at the meeting.'

[24] a. 就我的观察, 几乎没有人不喜欢率直的人。

jiu4   wo3   de0   guan1cha2   ji1hu1   mei2you3   ren2
PREP   I   DE   observation almost   NEG   people

bu4   xi3huan1   shuai4zhi2   de0   ren2
NEG   like   straightforward DE   people

'According to my observation, almost nobody dislikes those who are straightforward.'

b. 这就是我们应该要欢喜的。

zhe4   jiu4shi4   wo3men0   ying1gai1   yao4   huan1xi3   de0
this   exactly   we   should   will   happy   DE

'This is just what we should be excited about.'

[25] a. 耶稣的年代较孔子晚了五世纪之久。

ye1su1   de0   nian2dai4   jiao4   kong3zi3   wan3   le0
Jesus   DE   year   PREP   Confucius   late   LE

wu3   shi4ji4   zhi1   jiu3
five century   that   long

'The time of Jesus came five centuries later than the time of Confucius.'

b. 我们能够提供一些较客观的观点。

wo3men0   neng2gou4   ti2gong1   yi1xie1   jiao4
we   can   offer   some   comparatively

ke4guan1   de0   guan1dian3
objective DE   viewpoint

'We can provide more objective perspectives.'

13.2.5. Prepositions versus classifiers

A few forms in Modern Chinese can be used as both prepositions and classifiers, such as 把 *ba3* and 对 *dui4*. These two functions are clearly distinct and all attested

pairs are simply homophonic pairs. When used as prepositions and classifiers, they can occur immediately before a noun; however, when used as classifiers, they are necessarily preceded by determiners, numbers, or quantifiers (see Chapter 7 for classifiers). For example, 把 *ba3* is a preposition in [26a] and a classifier in [26b]. In both sentences, 把 *ba3* occurs immediately before a bare noun, such as 芭蕉扇 *ba1jiao1shan4* 'plantain-leaf fan' in [26a] and 扇子 *shan4zi0* 'fan' in [26b]. However, the classifier 把 *ba3* in [26b] needs to be preceded by the determiner 这 *zhe4* 'this.'

[26]   a.   [铁扇公主]答应把芭蕉扇借给他。
             tie3shan4gong1zhu3   da2ying4   ba3   ba1jiao1shan4
             Princess_Iron_Fan   promise   BA   plantain_fan
             jie4gei3   ta1
             lend   he
             '[Princess Iron Fan] agreed to lend him the plantain-leaf fan.'

        b.   这时候, 他才知道这把扇子是假的。
             zhe4   shi2hou0   ta1   cai2   zhi1dao4   zhe4   ba3   shan4zi0
             this   time   he   just   know   this   CL   fan
             shi4   jia3   de0
             be   fake   DE
             'It was not until this moment that he knew that the fan was fake.'

Furthermore, a classifier can occur in a noun phrase, which may in turn occur as the object of a preposition. As illustrated in [27], the first 对 *dui4* is a preposition, whereas the second 对 *dui4* is a classifier and is contained in the object of the preposition 对 *dui4*.

[27]   [该委员会]对六十五对的夫妇作了研究分析。
        gai1   wei3yuan2hui4   dui4   liu4shi2wu3   dui4   de0
        the   committee   PREP   sixty_five   CL   DE
        fu1fu4   zuo4   le0   yan2jiu1   fen1xi1
        couple   do   LE   research   analyze
        '[The committee] studied and analyzed sixty-five couples.'

13.3. Monosyllabic and disyllabic prepositions

Chinese has both monosyllabic and disyllabic prepositions, but only a few prepositions have more than two syllables. [28] provides some commonly used monosyllabic prepositions.

[28]   把 *ba3* (direct object marker), 被 *bei4* 'by (an agent),' 比 *bi3* 'than,' 朝 *chao2* 'toward,' 从 *cong2* 'from,' 对 *dui4* 'to,' 给 *gei3* 'to, for,' 往 *wang3* 'toward,' 为 *wei4* 'for,' 沿 *yan2* 'along,' 向 *xiang4* 'toward,' 在 *zai4* 'at'

Disyllabic prepositions can be classified into two types according to how they are formed. The first type is formed by elements that used to be a verb and a suffix, such as –了 *le0* 'LE' and –着 *zhe0* 'ZHE,' as in [29] and [30]. In these sentences, –了 *le0* 'LE' and -着 *zhe0* 'ZHE' do not function as aspectual suffixes in that they can be omitted without changing the meanings of the sentences (see Chapter 5 for the aspectual system).

[29] a. 爸爸, 你不要吸烟了, 为了你自己也为了我们想。

    ba4ba0 ni3 bu2yao4 xi1yan1 le0 wei4le0 ni3

    dad   you do_not smoke LE PREP you

    zi4ji3 ye3 wei4le0 wo3men0 xiang3

    self also PREP we   think

    'Dad, do not smoke anymore, think of yourself and us.'

  b. 除了这只玉镯, 已没有纪念妈妈的东西了。

    chu2le0 zhe4 zhi3 yu4zhuo2 yi3 mei2you3

    PREP   this CL jade_bracelet already NEG

    ji4nian4   ma1ma0 de0 dong1xi0 le0

    commemorate mother DE thing   LE

    'Besides this jade bracelet, there is nothing else to commemorate Mom anymore.'

[30] a. [高玉宝]朝着太平村方向就一直跑。

    gao1yu4bao3 chao2zhe0 tai4ping2cun1 fang1xiang4 jiu4

    GAO_YUBAO PREP   Taiping_village direction   thus

    yi1zhi2   pao3

    all_the_time run

    '[GAO Yubao] kept running toward the direction of Taiping village.'

  b. 沿着南京东路走到和平饭店。

    yan2zhe0 nan2jing1dong1lu4 zou3dao4 he2ping2fan4dian4

    PREP   Nanjing_East_Road walk_to Heping_Hotel

    'Walk to Heping Hotel along Nanjing East Road.'

  c. 幽灵船向着我驶过来。

    you1ling2chuan2 xiang4zhe0 wo3 shi3 guo4lai2

    ghost_ship   PREP   I   drive come

    'The ghost ship sailed toward me.'

  d. 阿山对着赵世腾大吼。

    a1shan1 dui4zhe0 zhao4shi4teng2 da4hou3

    A_SHAN PREP   ZHAO_SHITENG shout

    'A-Shan yelled at ZHAO Shiteng.'

e. 当你改变自己时, 世界会随着你的改变而改变。

dang1 ni3 gai3bian4 zi4ji3 shi2 shi4jie4 hui4
when   you   change   self   when   world   will

sui2zhe0 ni3 de0 gai3bian4 er2 gai3bian4
PREP   you DE   change   thus change
'When you change yourself, the world will change with you.'

The second type of disyllabic preposition is formed by two synonymous mono-syllabic prepositions. For instance, 按照 *an4zhao4* 'according to' is formed by the synonymous prepositions 按 *an4* 'according to' and 照 *zhao4* 'according to,' and the three forms – 按 *an4*, 照 *zhao4*, and 按照 *an4zhao4* – are equivalent to the English expression "according to." A few more examples are given in [31].

[31] a. 自从线上游戏风行后, 盗版自然消失。

zi4cong2 xian4shang4 you2xi4 feng1xing2 hou4
since   on_line   game   be_popular after

dao4ban3 zi4ran2 xiao1shi1
pirate   nature   vanish
'Since online games became popular, pirated versions naturally disappeared.'

b. 先生是退伍军人, 约九年前因为肝癌过世。

xian1sheng0 shi4 tui4wu3   jun1ren2 yue1
husband   be   be_demobilized   soldier   about

jiu3nian2   qian2   yin1wei4 gan1ai2   guo4shi4
nine_year   before   PREP   liver_cancer pass_away
'My husband was a veteran, and he passed away about nine years ago due to liver cancer.'

c. 对于日本人来说, 这是很光荣的。

dui4yu2 ri4ben3ren2 lai2shuo1 zhe4 shi4 hen3
PREP   Japanese   speaking   this   be   very

guang1rong2 de0
honor   DE
'For the Japanese, this is a great honor.'

Unlike the first type of disyllabic prepositions that usually have the same meanings as their corresponding monosyllabic prepositions (e.g., 为了 *wei4le0* 'for' and 为 *wei4* 'for'), not all disyllabic prepositions formed by two synonymous prepositions have the same meanings as their constituents. For example, 自从 *zi4cong2* is

formed by the synonymous prepositions 自 *zi4* 'from' and 从 *cong2* 'from,' but 自从 *zi4cong2* 'since' expresses the starting time of an event that occurred in the past, whereas 从 *cong2* 'from' can be used for the starting time of both the past and the future event, as in [32] and [33].

[32] a. <u>从</u>去年以来红茶价格已经上涨了。

    cong2   qu4nian2   yi3lai2   hong2cha2   jia4ge2   yi3jing1
    PREP   last_year come   black_tea   price   already

    shang4zhang3   le0
    rise   LE
    'The price of black tea has risen since last year.'

  b. <u>从</u>明天起你就是严家的人了。

    cong2   ming2tian1   qi3   ni3   jiu4   shi4
    PREP   tomorrow   from   you   thus   be

    yan2jia1   de0   ren2   le0
    the_YAN_family   DE   people   LE
    'You will be a member of the YAN family from tomorrow onward.'

[33] <u>自从</u>去年以来红茶价格已经上涨了。

    zi4cong2   qu4nian2   yi3lai2   hong2cha2   jia4ge2   yi3jing1
    PREP   last_year come   black_tea   price   already

    shang4zhang3   le0
    rise   LE
    'The price of black tea has risen since last year.'

Not all monosyllabic prepositions are found in disyllabic forms. For instance, 被 *bei4*, 把 *ba3*, 和 *he2*, and 在 *zai4* cannot form disyllabic prepositions with −了 *le0* or −着 *zhe0*. Moreover, 向 *xiang4*, 往 *wang3*, and 朝 *chao2* have similar meanings, but they cannot be used in combination to form a disyllabic preposition. Therefore, disyllabic prepositions are best treated as formed at the level of lexical−word formation (see Chapter 3).

Monosyllabic and disyllabic prepositions may differ in the types of NPs they can take as objects. A monosyllabic preposition usually takes an NP object that is either monosyllabic or polysyllabic, as in [34]−[35].

[34] a. 白宫的门<u>向</u>南开。

    bai2gong1   de0   men2   xiang4   nan2   kai1
    White_House   DE   door   PREP   south   open
    'The gate of the White House opens toward the south.'

b. 有一列火车正向北边开过去。
you3   yi1   lie4   huo3che1   zheng4   xiang4   bei3bian1
YOU   one   CL   train   ZAI   PREP   north

kai1   guo4qu4
drive   go
'There is a train running toward the north.'

[35]   a.   <u>依法</u>处理。
yi1   fa3   chu3li3
PREP   law   handle
'Deal with [them] in accordance with the law.'

b.   环保局将<u>依水污染法</u>处罚。
huan2bao3ju2   jiang1   yi1   shui3
environmental_protection_bureau   will   PREP   water

wu1ran3   fa3   chu3fa2
pollution   law   punish
'The Environmental Protection Agency will punish [them] in
accordance with the Water Pollution Law.'

However, apart from those containing −了 *le0*, such as 为了 *wei4le0* and 除了 *chu2le0*, disyllabic prepositions usually can only take NPs that have two or more syllables as their objects, as in [36] and [37].

[36]   辛巴已经和他的好朋友娜娜<u>朝着北方边界</u>冒险去了。
xin1ba1   yi3jing1   he2   ta1   de0   hao3peng2you3   na4na4
Simba   already   and   he   DE   good_friend   NANA

chao2zhe0   bei3fang1   bian1jie4   mao4xian3   qu4   le0
PREP   north   border   adventure   go   LE
'Simba and his good friend Nana have adventured toward the
northern border.'

[37]   工厂<u>依照水污染防治法</u>规定不断进行改善。
gong1chang3   yi1zhao4   shui3   wu1ran3
factory   PREP   water   pollution

fang2zhi4   fa3   gui1ding4   bu2duan4
prevention_and_cure   law   stipulate   unceasingly

jin4xing2   gai3shan4
proceed   improve
'Factories are making continuous improvements in accordance with
the provisions of the Water Pollution Control Act.'

13.4. Semantic classification of prepositions

Prepositions are a closed class. Roughly 250 prepositions are found in the Sinica Corpus, with many of them variants sharing similar forms or meanings. For instance, 为 *wei4*, 为了 *wei4le0*, and 为着 *wei4zhe0* all mean 'for,' and 依 *yi1*, 依照 *yi1zhao4*, 依循 *yi1xun2*, 依据 *yi1ju4*, and 依着 *yi1zhe0* are all equivalent to 'according to.' As was mentioned above, prepositions express a variety of semantic relations with respect to their objects and the rest of the sentence. In addition, many prepositions have multiple meanings. For instance, 由 *you2* 'from' can take NP objects in seven semantic roles, including the source of motion, the route of motion, the starting time of an action, the beginning level of a range of things, the initial state of a change, the basis of making a judgment, and the agent of an action. It is still controversial as to how many semantic roles are needed, as well as how and where to establish a boundary between some types of roles. This section introduces the types that are frequently marked by Chinese prepositions, including prepositions for space, space extensions (time, range, and change), involved participants (agent, patient/theme, recipient/beneficiary, instrument, etc.), topic, reference, and condition.

13.4.1. Prepositions for space

Many of the most commonly used prepositions in Chinese are of space origin. The notion of "space" refers to the location where an entity can be found or an action is carried out, as well as the source, path, goal, and direction of an action.

13.4.1.1. Location

Prepositions introducing the location of an entity or an action are commonly called locative prepositions. 在 *zai4* is the most frequently used locative preposition in Chinese, as illustrated by two examples given in [38].

[38] a. 他在日内瓦有一幢公寓。

　　　　ta1　zai4　ri4nei4wa3　you3　yi1　zhuang4　gong1yu4
　　　　he　PREP　Geneva　　　have　one　CL　　　flat
　　　　'He has an apartment in Geneva.'

　　　b. 在桌子下面打滚。

　　　　zai4　zhuo1zi0　xia4mian4　da3gun3
　　　　PREP　desk　　　under　　　roll
　　　　'Roll under the table.'

Unlike English locative prepositions such as "in," "on," "above," "over," and "below," 在 *zai4* does not express a specific spatial reference other than indicating a location. For this reason, 在 *zai4* usually cannot directly take a common noun

such as 桌子 *zhuo1zi0* 'table' as its object. Rather, 在 *zai4* only indicates the table as the general location involved in an action, without providing other more specific spatial references with respect to this object, for example, that the event occurs either on top of or under the table. Therefore, 桌子 *zhuo1zi0* 'table' has to co-occur with a localizer such as 下面 *xia4mian4* 'under' so that we understand that it is under the table that the action occurs, as illustrated in [38b]. Because the 在 *zai4* construction is very frequently used in Chinese, it is important to understand the distribution of localizers in 在 *zai4* PPs, which will be dealt with in more detail in section 13.5.

In addition to 在 *zai4*, 于 *yu1* is also used as a locative preposition, as in [39].

[39]   [味全公司]于海南岛投资设立味精厂。
        wei4quan2   gong1si1   yu2   hai3nan2dao3   tou2zi1
        Wei_Chuan   company   PREP   Hainan_Island   invest

        she4li4   wei4jing1   chang3
        build   MSG   factory
        '[Wei Chuan Corp.] invested to build an MSG factory in Hainan Island.'

There are several differences between 于 *yu2* and 在 *zai4*. First, while 在 *zai4* is relatively neutral with respect to the register it occurs in, 于 *yu2* is usually used in formal and literary texts. Second, unlike 在 *zai4*, 于 *yu2* does not take any verbal complement. Third, 于 *yu2* can also be used as a comparative marker, which will be introduced in section 13.4.3.

13.4.1.2. Source

Prepositions introducing the source of a spatial movement include 从 *cong2*, 由 *you2*, 自 *zi4*, and 打 *da3*, as shown in [40].

[40]   a.   我爹爹妈妈从中原来到回疆。
        wo3   die1die0   ma1ma0   cong2   zhong1yuan2   lai2dao4
        I   father   mother   PREP   Central_Plains   come
        hui2jiang1
        Uygur_Xinjiang
        'My father and mother came to Uygur Xinjiang from the Central Plains.'

       b.   由合欢山庄出发, 往雾社方向前进。
        you2   he2huan1   shan1zhuang1   chu1fa1   wang3   wu4she4
        PREP   Hehuan   villa   depart   PREP   Wushe

fang1xiang4   qian2jin4
direction   go_forward
'Depart from Hehuan Villa, [and then] go forward in the direction of
Wushe.'

c. <u>自</u>台湾赴大陆的美学家吕荥。
zi4   tai2wan1   fu4   da4lu4   de0   mei3xue2jia1
PREP   Taiwan   go_to   mainland   DE   esthetician

lü3ying2
LV_YING
'[He is] LV Ying, an esthetician who came to the mainland from Taiwan.'

d. 月牙泉和鸣沙山是<u>打</u>哪儿来的呢?
yue4ya2quan2   he2   ming2sha1shan1   shi4   da3
Crescent_Spring   and   Sing_Sand_Dune   be   PREP

na3er0   lai2   de0   ne0
where   come   DE   NE
'Where did Crescent Spring and Singing Sand Dunes come from?'

从 *cong2* is relatively more neutral in style and is the most commonly used preposition for source, whereas 由 *you2* and 自 *zi4* are mainly used in literary Chinese, and 打 *da3* is primarily colloquial in Northern Mandarin.

13.4.1.3. Path

Path refers to the route along which an entity moves or the location that an entity passes during its motion. Prepositions such as 顺(着) *shun4 (zhe0)*, 沿(着) *yan2 (zhe0)*, and 循(着) *xun2 (zhe0)* are often used to introduce a route, as in [41]; among them, 顺(着) *shun4 (zhe0)* is colloquial, 沿(着) *yan2 (zhe0)* is relatively neutral, and 循(着) *xun2 zhe0* is often used in literary style.

[41] a. [我们] <u>顺着</u>弯曲的山路前进。
wo3men0   shun4zhe0   wan1qu1   de0   shan1lu4
we   PREP   winding   DE   mountain_road
qian2jin4
go_forward
'[We] moved along the curved mountain road.'

b. [三艘帆船]<u>沿</u>美国海岸线航行。
san1   sao1   fan2chuan2   yan2   mei3guo2
three   CL   sailing_boat   PREP   the_United_States

hai3an4xian4   hang2xing2
coastline   sail
'[Three sailing boats] sailed along the US coastline.'

c.   他被迫循陆路由巴格达前往德黑兰。
ta1   bei4po4   xun2   lu4lu4   you2   ba1ge2da2
he   forced   PREP   land_route   PREP   Baghdad

qian2wang3   de2hei1lan2
go   Teheran
'He was forced to go to Teheran from Baghdad by land.'

经 *jing1* and its variants 经过 *jing1guo4* and 经由 *jing1you2* are usually used to introduce the location that an entity passes through, as in [42].

[42]   a.   一位好友的奶奶从大陆经香港来到台湾。
yi1   wei4   hao3you3   de0   nai3nai0   cong2
one   CL   good_friend DE   grandmother PREP

da4lu4   jing1   xiang1gang3   lai2dao4   tai2wan1
mainland   PREP   Hong_Kong   come   Taiwan
'The grandma of a close friend came to Taiwan from the mainland via Hong Kong.'

b.   佛教在西元 552 年经由朝鲜传抵日本。
fo2jiao4   zai4   xi1yuan2   552   nian2   jing1you2
Buddhism   PREP   A.D.   552   year   PREP

chao2xian3   chuan2di3   ri4ben3
Korea   pass_to   Japan
'Buddhism was introduced to Japan in 522 AD via Korea.'

Besides the source of a motion event, 从 *cong2* and 由 *you2* can also specify the path of motion, as in [43]–[44], respectively.

[43]   a.   咱们从原路回去吧!
zan2men0   cong2   yuan2lu4   hui2qu4   ba0
we   PREP   original_road return   BA
'Let's go back by the same route!'

b.   由一号门上四楼参观总统办公室。
you2   yi1   hao4   men2   shang4   si4lou2
PREP   one   number   door   ascend   fourth_floor

can1guan1   zong3tong3   ban4gong1shi4
visit   president   office
'Please use Gate 1 to go up to the 4th floor to visit the president's
office.'

[44]   a.   走! 由秘道走。
            zou3   you2   mi4   dao4   zou3
            walk   PREP   secret   road   walk
            'Let's go! Go through the hidden passage.'

       b.   常常有电单车从门口经过。
            chang2chang2   you3   dian4dan1che1   cong2   men2kou3
            often   YOU   moped   PREP   door

            jing1guo4
            pass_by
            'Electric bikes frequently pass through by the gate.'

13.4.1.4. Goal
As shown in section 13.1.3, 到 *dao4* can be understood as a goal preposition when
it occurs after a ditransitive verb, as in [7b], repeated here as [45].

[45]   克里克随后寄了一份书面信函到白宫。
        ke4li3ke4   sui2hou4   ji4   le0   yi1   fen4
        Crick   afterwards   send   LE   one   CL

        shu1mian4   xin4han2   dao4   bai2gong1
        in_written_form letter   PREP   White_House
        'Crick then sent a letter to the White House.'

In addition to 到 *dao4*, 至 *zhi4* can also mark a goal, as in [46]; however, 至 *zhi4*
is mainly used in literary style.

[46]   送水至停水地区。
        song4   shui3   zhi4   ting2shui3   di4qu1
        send   water   PREP   cut_off_water_supply   area
        'Send water to regions where the water supply has been cut off.'

Although predominantly used as a locative preposition, 在 *zai4* can also intro-
duce a goal NP when it occurs after a displacement verb such as 放 *fang4* 'to put,'
as in [7c], repeated here as [47].

[47]   我们放了一把尺在容器里。

wo3men0   fang4   le0   yi1   ba3   chi3   zai4   rong2qi4
we   put   LE   one   CL   ruler PREP   container

li3
inside

'We put a ruler into the container.'

13.4.1.5. Direction

Prepositions for direction include two types: one introduces the location or direction toward which an entity moves, and the other introduces the entity, location, or direction toward which the subject is facing while carrying out an action.

The first type of directional preposition includes 向(着) *xiang4 (zhe0)*, 朝(着) *chao2(zhe0)*, 往 *wang3*, and 冲(着) *chung4 (zhe0)*, which can be used interchangeably in [48]−[51]. Note that these prepositions do not entail the actual arrival of the subject at the destination, so they do not co-occur with motion verbs that indicate an endpoint for the motion, for example, 回 *hui2* 'return,' 进 *jin4* 'enter,' 出 *chu1* 'exit,' and 到 *dao4* 'arrive.'

[48]   a.   [他们]向新华门走。

ta1men0   xiang4   xin1hua2men2   zou3
they   PREP   Xinhua_Gate   walk

'[They] walked toward Xinhua Gate.'

b.   向北走

xiang4   bei3   zou3
PREP   north walk

'walk north'

[49]   a.   两个人朝玉申家里走着。

liang3   ge4   ren2   chao2   yu4shen1   jia1   li3
two   CL   people PREP   Yushen   home   inside

zou3   zhe0
walk   ZHE

'The two people were walking toward Yushen's home.'

b.   [有两名特警]朝他的方向走过来。

you3   liang3   ming2   te4jing3   chao2   ta1
YOU   two   CL   special_policeman   PREP   he

de0   fang1xiang4   zou3   guo4lai2
DE   direction   walk   come

'[Two special force officers] walked in his direction.'

[50] a. 一大群的女学生又往店里跑。

yi1   da4   qun2   de0   nü3   xue2sheng1   you4
one   big   CL   DE   female   student   again

wang3   dian4   li3   pao3
PREP   store   inside   run
'A crowd of female students ran into the store again.'

   b. 野狼往前跑。

ye3   lang2   wang3   qian2   pao3
wild   wolf   PREP   front   run
'The wild wolf ran forward.'

[51] a. 冲铁门撞上去

chong4   tie3men2   zhuang4   shang4qu4
PREP   iron_door   hit   onto
'hit on the iron gate'

   b. 拼命的冲着那个方向跑去。

pin1ming4   de0   chong4zhe0   na4ge4   fang1xiang4
risk_life   DE   PREP   that   direction

pao3qu4
run
'[They] ran desperately toward that direction.'

The second type of preposition for direction introduces the entity, location, or direction that the subject is facing while carrying out the action denoted by the verb; the action modified by these PPs does not necessarily involve spatial motion of the subject, for example, laughing, waving hands, or shouting. 向(着) *xiang4 (zhe0)*, 朝(着) *chao2(zhe0)*, 冲(着) *chong4(zhe0)*, and 对(着) *dui4(zhe0)* belong to this type of preposition, as in [52].

[52] a. 我抬头向上看。

wo3   tai2tou2   xiang4   shang4   kan4
I   raise_one's_head   PREP   up   see
'I raised my head to look up.'

   b. 天鹅朝青蛙叫了两声。

tian1e2   chao2   qing1wa1   jiao4   le0   liang3   sheng1
swan   PREP   frog   shout   LE   two   CL
'The swan hissed twice toward the frog.'

   c.   道尔冲着教练竖起大姆指。
       dao4er3   chong4zhe0   jiao4lian4   shu4qi3   da4mu3zhi3
       Doyle   PREP   coach   erect   thumb
       'Doyle thumbed up toward the coach.'

   d.   有个女生在对我笑。
       you3   ge4   nü3sheng1   zai4   dui4   wo3   xiao4
       YOU   CL   girl   ZAI   PREP   I   smile
       'There was a girl smiling at me.'

Notice that 往 *wang3* only belongs to the first type of preposition for direction, that is, it can only introduce a direction for a motion event. Interestingly, 往 *wang3* is the only preposition that can occur in the lexicalized, metaphorized construction in the form of "往 *wang3* + NP+ verb." A few examples are given in [53], where no "往 *wang3* + NP + verb" expressions are understood as their literal meaning.

[53]   a.   往心里去
           wang3   xin1   li3   qu4
           PREP   heart   inside   go
           'take someone's words/something seriously'

       b.   往死里打
           wang3   si3   li3   da3
           PREP   death   inside   beat
           'beat someone brutally with intention to kill'

       c.   往坏里想
           wang3   huai4   li3   xiang3
           PREP   bad   inside   think
           'take the worst-case scenario/assume the worst of intentions'

       d.   往下说
           wang3   xia4   shuo1
           PREP   next   say
           'continue telling something'

13.4.2. Prepositions for space extensions

Most spatial prepositions are extended to other domains through metaphor or metonymy. This section discusses the domains of time, change of state, and range.

13.4.2.1. Time

Space and time are conceptually closely related: movement in time can be metaphorically understood as movement in space. For this reason, almost all

prepositions for space can be extended to the time domain. For instance, the locative prepositions 在 *zai4* and 于 *yu2* can be used to introduce a time at or during which an event takes place, as in [54].

[54] a. 抽签仪式在明天中午十二点举行。
     chou1qian1   yi2shi4   zai4   ming2tian1   zhong1wu3
     draw_lots   ceremony   PREP   tomorrow   noon

     shi2er4dian3   ju3xing2
     12_o'clock   hold
     'The lottery will be held at 12 P.M. tomorrow.'

   b. 李院长于二月二十六日至三月十五日赴美访问。
     li3   yuan4zhang3   yu2   er4yue4   er4shi2liu4ri4   zhi4
     LI   dean   PREP   February 26th   PREP

     san1yue4   shi2wu3ri4   fu4   mei3   fang3wen4
     March   15th   go_to America visit
     'Dean Li went to visit America during the period from February 26 to March 15.'

Similarly, the source and goal prepositions in the space domain can be used to introduce the starting and ending time of an event, as 从 *cong2* and 到 *dao4* in [55a], 由 *you2* and 至 *zhi4* in [55b], 自 *zi4* in [55c], and 打 *da3* in [55d].

[55] a. 从一九五八年到他去世的十八年间
     cong2   yi1jiu3wu3ba1nian2   dao4   ta1   qu4shi4   de0
     PREP   year_1958   PREP   he   pass_away   DE

     shi2ba1nian2   jian1
     18_years   period
     'during the eighteen years from 1958 to his death'

   b. 开放的时间是由上午九点至下午七点。
     kai1fang4   de0   shi2jian1   shi4   you2   shang4wu3
     open   DE   time   be   PREP   morning

     jiu3dian3   zhi4   xia4wu3   qi1dian3
     9_o'clock   PREP afternoon 7_o'clock
     'The opening time is from 9 A.M. to 7 P.M.'

   c. 集训自十九日开始。
     ji2xun4   zi4   shi2jiu3ri4   kai1shi3
     intensified_training PREP   19th   start
     'The intensified training starts on the nineteenth.'

d. 打那天起, 小伙子每天都要来到景文举家。

da3	na4	tian1	qi3	xiao3huo3zi0	mei3	tian1
PREP	that	day	from	lad		every	day

dou1 yao4 lai2dao4 jing3wen2ju3 jia1
all want come JING_WENJU home
'From that day on, the young man came to JING Wenju's home everyday.'

13.4.2.2. Change of state

Change of state can also be understood as change in space: 在 *zai4* in [56a] expresses a certain state that an entity is in, both 由 *you2* in [56b] and 从 *cong2* in [56c] denote the initial state of a change, and 到 *dao4* in [56c] introduces the final state of a change.

[56] a. 我们公司正在草创阶段。

wo3men0 gong1si1 zheng4 zai4 cao3chuang4
we company ZAI PREP start

jie1duan4
stage
'Our company is at a startup stage.'

b. 周庄原是个水乡小镇, 后来由小镇迅速发展为商业大镇。

zhou1zhuang1 yuan2 shi4 ge4
Zhouzhuang used_to be CL

shui3xiang1 xiao3 zhen4 hou4lai2 you2
region_of_rivers_and_lakes small town later PREP

xiao3 zhen4 xun4su4 fa1zhan3 wei2 shang1ye4 da4
small town rapid develop as trade big

zhen4
town
'Zhouzhuang was a town with rivers and ponds, and it then developed rapidly from a small town into a commercial center.'

c. 一般森林从破坏到恢复要百年左右。

yi1ban1 sen1lin2 cong2 po4huai4 dao4 hui1fu4 yao4
usually forest PREP destroy PREP recover need

bai3nian2 zuo3you4
century about
'Usually it takes about one hundred years for a forest to recover from destruction.'

13.4.2.3. Range

Like the domain of change of state, the different levels of a range of things can also be interpreted in terms of motion: 在 *zai4* introduces the level or a topical range where an entity or event is located, as in [57a], 从 *cong2* and 由 *you2* specify the initial level of a topical range, as in [57b]–[57c], respectively, and 到 *dao4* marks the final level, also in [57b]–[57c], respectively.

[57]   a.   在几何学上, 线有位置和长短。
           zai4   ji3he2xue2   shang4   xian4   you3   wei4zhi4   he2
           PREP   geometry   on   line   have   position   and

           chang2duan3
           length
           'In geometry, a line has coordinates and length.'

       b.   从歌剧到重金属都有人专精。
           cong2   ge1ju4   dao4   zhong4jin1shu3   dou1   you3   ren2
           PREP   opera   PREP   heavy_metal   all   YOU   people

           zhuan1jing1
           specialize
           'There are people specializing in [all styles] from opera to heavy metal.'

       c.   由走西口到闯荡全中国, 多少山西人 . . .
           you2   zou3   xi1   kou3   dao4   chuang3dang4
           PREP   walk   west   pass   PREP   make_itinerant_living

           quan2   zhong1guo2   duo1shao3   shan1xi1   ren2
           whole   China   many   Shanxi_Province   people
           'From traveling through the West Pass of the Great Wall to traveling all over China to make a living, countless Shanxi people . . .'

13.4.3. Prepositions for involved participants

An action can involve many entities playing different roles. This section introduces some common semantic roles expressed by Chinese prepositions, including agent, patient/theme, recipient/beneficiary, instrument/manner, entity to be compared with, and excluded entity.

13.4.3.1. Agent

Prepositions for agent denote the doer of an action. One of the most commonly used prepositions is 被 *bei4*, as in [58] (see Chapter 15 for more detail).

[58]   a.   我一边做饭一边唱歌, 竟然被婆婆骂。
        wo3   yi1   bian1   zuo4fan4   yi1   bian1   chang4ge1
        I   one   side   cook   one   side   sing

        jing4ran2   bei4   po2po2   ma4
        unexpectedly   BEI   mother-in-law   scold
        'I was singing while cooking, but was scolded by mother-in-law.'

    b.   民房被水冲走。
        min2fang2   bei4   shui3   chong1zou3
        privately_owned_house   BEI   water   wash_away
        'Residential houses were washed away by flood water.'

Other frequently used prepositions for agent include 让 *rang4*, 叫 *jiao4*, 给 *gei3*, 由 *you2*, and 归 *gui1*, as in [59].

[59]   a.   可是我的老婆儿子却让汉人强盗杀了。
        ke3shi4   wo3   de0   lao3po0   er2zi0   que4   rang4
        but   I   DE   wife   son   yet   BEI

        han4ren2   qian2dao4   sha1   le0
        Han   bandit   kill   LE
        'But my wife and son were killed by Han bandits.'

    b.   你这样, 很叫人误会。
        ni3   zhe4yang4   hen3   jiao4   ren2   wu4hui4
        you   like_this   very   PREP   people   misunderstand
        'You will easily be misunderstood by others if you (behave) like this.'

    c.   我杀了那头狼, 但也给狼咬伤了。
        wo3   sha1   le0   na4   tou2   lang2   dan4   ye3   gei3
        I   kill   LE   that   CL   wolf   but   also   PREP

        lang2   yao3shang1   le0
        wolf   bite   LE
        'I killed that wolf, but was bitten by it as well.'

    d.   该段道路, 由新竹县府负责管理维护。
        gai1   duan4   dao4lu4   you2   xin1zhu2   xian4fu3
        the   part   road   PREP   Hsinchu   county_government

        fu4ze2   guan3li3   wei2hu4
        be_in_charge   manage   maintain
        'This section of the road will be managed and maintained by the government of Hsinchu County.'

e. 『人民日报』不归你管, 你不应过问。

ren2min2ri4bao4	bu4	gui1	ni3	guan3	ni3	bu4
People's_Daily	NEG	PREP	you	manage	you	NEG

ying1	guo4wen4
should	interfere

'*People's Daily* is not managed by you, so you should not interfere.'

Among them, 让 *rang4*, 叫 *jiao4*, and 给 *gei3* are more often used in colloquial Chinese. 被 *bei4* (and 给 *gei3* in some Northern Chinese dialects) can occur alone without an explicitly expressed agent if the information of the agent is unknown or unnecessary, as in [60], whereas generally others always need to take an agent as their object.

[60] a. 每 19 分钟一辆汽车被偷。

mei3	19	fen4zhong1	yi1	liang4	qi4che1	bei4	tou1
every	19	minute	one	CL	car	BEI	steal

'There is a car stolen every 19 minutes.'

b. 猴自古以来都被认为是极聪明的动物。

hou2	zi4gu3yi3lai2	dou1	bei4	ren4wei2	shi4
monkey	since_ancient_times	all	BEI	think	be

ji2	cong1ming0	de0	dong4wu4
extremely	smart	DE	animal

'The monkey has been considered a very smart animal since ancient times.'

Patient/theme mainly refers to an entity that is affected by an action or undergoes an action. 把 *ba3* is the most frequently used preposition to introduce such an entity, as in [61] (see Chapter 15 for more detail).

[61] a. [曾子]把猪杀了。

zeng1zi3	ba3	zhu1	sha1	le0
Zengzi	BA	pig	kill	LE

'[Zengzi] killed the pig.'

b. 我们把筷子放在水里。

wo3men0	ba3	kuai4zi0	fang4	zai4	shui3	li3
we	BA	chopsticks	put	PREP	water	inside

'We put the chopsticks into the water.'

As shown in section 13.4.1, 对 *dui4* and 对着 *dui4zhe0* are alike in that both can be used as prepositions for direction. However, notice that 对 *dui4* is different from

对着 *dui4zhe0* in that the former can introduce a patient/theme as in [62], while the latter cannot.

[62]   对六百字进行了研究。

dui4	liu4bai3	zi4	jin4xing2	le0	yan2jiu1
PREP	six_hundred	character	proceed	LE	research

'[He] studied six hundred characters.'

将 *jiang1* is also a preposition for patient/theme, as in [63]. Compared with 把 *ba3* and 对 *dui4*, 将 *jiang1* is more often used in literary style.

[63]   [我们] 将雨水导入排水管内。

wo3men0	jiang1	yu3shui3	dao3ru4	pai2shui3guan3
we	BA	rain	guide	drain

nei4
inside

'We guided the rainwater into the drains.'

给 *gei3* can mark (1) a recipient, who is in ownership or possession of something after the action denoted by the verb, or (2) a beneficiary, for whose benefit the action takes place, as in [64a] and [64b], respectively.

[64]   a. 有个学生发生车祸后, 写了一封信给我。

you3	ge4	xue2sheng1	fa1sheng1	che1huo4	hou4
YOU	CL	student	happen	car_accident	after

xie3	le0	yi1	feng1	xin4	gei3	wo3
write	LE	one	CL	letter	PREP	I

'A student wrote a letter to me after a car accident.'

        b. 我给你消了毒; 伤势并不严重。

wo3	gei3	ni3	xiao1le0du2	shang1shi4	bing4
I	PREP	you	disinfect_LE	wound	however

bu4	yan2zhong4
NEG	serious

'I disinfected your wound; it was not too serious.'

为(了) *wei2(le0)* and 替 *ti4* can also introduce a beneficiary in the pre-verbal position, as in [65].

[65]   a. 为老师们兴建宿舍

wei4	lao3shi1	men0	xing1jian4	su4she4
PREP	teacher	PL	build	dorm

'build dorms for teachers'

b. 替盲生念书
   ti4   mang2sheng1   nian4shu1
   PREP   blind_student   read
   'read for blind students'

In terms of style, 给 *gei3* and 替 *ti4* are used colloquially, whereas 为 (了) *wei4 (le0)* is more literary.

Instrument refers to an entity, usually inanimate, that the agent uses to carry out an action. 用 *yong4* is the most frequently used preposition for instruments, 以 *yi3* is often used in literary and formal styles, and 拿 *na2* is highly colloquial. Consider the following examples.

[66] a. 我们中国人都用筷子吃饭。
   wo3men0   zhong1guo2ren2   dou1   yong4   kuai4zi0
   we   Chinese   all   PREP   chopsticks

   chi1fan4
   eat
   'We Chinese people all eat with chopsticks.'

   b. 以红外线装置干扰对方
   yi3   hong2wai4xian4   zhuang1zhi4   gan1rao3
   PREP   infrared_rays   device   disrupt

   dui4fang1
   the_other_side
   'to disrupt the opponent party with an infrared device'

   c. 他先拿打蛋器搅蛋。
   ta1   xian1   na2   da3dan4qi4   jiao3   dan4
   he   first   PREP   egg_beater   stir   egg
   'He used an egg beater to beat the eggs first.'

Manner refers to the way in which the action is carried out. Prepositions that are often used for manner include 通过 *tong1guo4*, 靠 (着) *kao4 (zhe0)*, 用 *yong4*, 由 *you2*, and 以 *yi3*, as shown in [67].

[67] a. 政府将通过降低出口成本的方法来提高出口收入。
   zheng4fu3   jiang1   tong1guo4   jiang4di1   chu1kou3
   government   will   PREP   drop   export

   cheng2ben3   de0   fang1fa3   lai2   ti2gao1   chu1kou3
   cost   DE   way   come   raise   export

shou1ru4
income
'The government will increase export revenue through lowering export cost.'

b. 但是光靠轰炸无法把伊拉克军队逐出科威特。

dan4shi4   guang1   kao4   hong1zha4   wu2fa3   ba3
but   only   PREP   bombard   no_way   BA

yi1la1ke4   jun1dui4   zhu2chu1   ke1wei1te4
Iraq   army   drive_out Kuwait
'But it's impossible to drive out the Iraqi army from Kuwait by bombing alone.'

c. 对于她的问句, 我只用摇头来回答。

dui4yu2   ta1   de0   wen4ju4   wo3   zhi3   yong4
PREP   she   DE   question   I   only   PREP

yao2tou2   lai2   hui2da2
shake_one's_head   come   reply
'To her questions, I could only respond by shaking my head.'

d. 我主张很多社会现象应由法律来解决。

wo3   zhu3zhang1   hen3duo1   she4hui4   xian4xiang4
I   advocate   many   society   phenomenon

ying1   you2   fa3lü4   lai2   jie3jue2
should PREP   law   come   solve
'I advocate that many social phenomena should be resolved by law.'

e. 以书面通知当事人。

yi3   shu1mian4   tong1zhi1   dang1shi4ren2
PREP   in_written_form   notify   the_party_concerned
'Notify the parties concerned by written notice.'

13.4.3.2. Entity to be compared with

Chinese has two types of comparisons – superiority and equality (see Chapter 11 for more detail). Different prepositions are available in Chinese to introduce an entity to be compared with, that is, the standard of comparison. 比 *bi3* is the most commonly used preposition for superiority comparison, as in [68].

[68] a. 蔬菜的平均批发价比零售价便宜 15% 至 20% 。

shu1cai4   de0   ping2jun1   pi1fa1jia4   bi3
vegetable   DE   average   wholesale_price than

ling2shou4jia4 pian2yi4 15% zhi4 20%
retail_price cheap 15% PREP 20%
'The average wholesale price of vegetables is 15 to 20% lower than
retail price.'

b. 没有任何东西跑得比光快。

mei2you3 ren4he2 dong1xi0 pao3 de2 bi3 guang1
NEG any thing run DE than light

kuai4
fast
'Nothing travels faster than light.'

较 *jiao4* is another monosyllabic preposition used for superiority comparison,
but it is more literary and formal in style.

[69] 耶稣的年代较孔子晚了五世纪之久。

ye1su1 de0 nian2dai4 jiao4 kong3zi3 wan3 le0
Jesus DE year PREP Confucius late LE

wu3 shi4ji4 zhi1 jiu3
five century that long
'The time of Jesus came five centuries later than the time of
Confucius.'

跟 *gen1*, 像 *xiang4*, 和 *he2*, 同 *tong2*, and 与 *yu3* are often used for equality compari-
son. These prepositions usually co-occur with adverbs such as 一样 *yi1yang4*, 那样
na4yang4, and 这样 *zhe4yang4* to express whether two entities under comparison
share the same property or share a property at the same degree, as in [70].

[70] a. 我能跑得跟以前那样快。

wo3 neng2 pao3 de2 gen1 yi3qian2 nei4yang4
I can run DE PREP before like_that

kuai4
fast
'I can run as fast as before.'

b. 如果不是当年发生的事, 我不会像现在这样受到欢迎。

ru2guo3 bu4 shi4 dang1nian2 fa1sheng1 de0
if NEG be that_year happen DE

shi4 wo3 bu4 hui4 xiang4 xian4zai4 zhe4yang4
thing I NEG will like now like_this

shou4dao4   huan1ying2
receive   welcome
'If it is not for what happened that year, I would not be as popular
as now.'

c. 糖尿病和高血压<u>一样</u>, 都是长期的慢性病。
tang2niao4bing4   he2   gao1xue4ya1   yi1yang4   dou1   shi4
diabetes   and   hypertension   same   all   be

chang2qi1   de0   man4xing4bing4
long_term   DE   chronic_disease
'Diabetes, same as hypertension, is a long-term chronic disorder.'

d. 他们同所有人<u>一样</u>, 热爱生活。
ta1men0   tong2   suo3you3ren2   yi1yang4   re4ai4
they   like   everybody   same   love_fervently

sheng1huo2
life
'Like everyone else, they love life.'

e. 联合国<u>与</u>其他组织不<u>一样</u>。
lian2he2guo2   yu3   qi2ta1   zu3zhi1   bu4
the_United_Nations   and   other   organization   NEG

yi1yang4
same
'The United Nations is not the same as other organizations.'

13.4.3.3. Excluded entity

除 *chu2* and its variants 除了 *chu2le0*, 除 (了) *chu2 (le0)* . . . 外 *wai4*/以外 *yi3wai4*/之外
zhi1wai4 can be understood as either 'except' or 'besides,' depending on the context
in which they occur. When used with the 'except' meaning, the preposition marks
an entity as not part of a particular group; in this case, the preposition often co-
occurs with adverbs such as 全 *quan2* 'all' and 都 *dou1* 'all,' as in [71].

[71]   照片上的同伴<u>除</u>我以外<u>都</u>已退休了。
zhao4pian4   shang4   de0   tong2ban4   chu2   wo3
picture   on   DE   companion   PREP   I

yi3wai4   dou1   yi3   tui4xiu1   le0
other_than   all   already   retire   LE
'Except me, all the companions in the photo were retired.'

When understood as 'besides,' 除 *chu2* and its variants introduce an entity apart from other entities contained in the same group; in this case, the pronoun often co-occurs with adverbs such as 还 *hai2* 'still' and 也 *ye3* 'also,' as shown in [72a] and [72b], respectively.

[72]   a. 除北京外, 他还将访问西安, 青岛, 上海和香港。

        chu2 bei3jing1 wai4   ta1 hai2 jiang1 fang3wen4

        PREP Beijing   beside he still will   visit

        xi1an1 qing1dao3 shang4hai3 he2 xiang1gang3

        XIAN   QINGDAO SHANGHAI and Hong_Kong

        'Besides Beijing, he will also visit Xi'an, Qingdao, Shanghai, and Hong Kong.'

      b. 除台北外, 也可到其他县市, 乡看看。

        chu2 tai2bei3 wai4   ye3 ke3 dao4 qi2ta1

        PREP Taipei   beside also can PREP   other

        xian4shi4   xiang1 kan4kan4

        county_and_city village see

        'Besides Taipei, please also go and see other cities, counties, and villages.'

13.4.4. Prepositions in relation to topics

A topic is the subject matter a sentence is about. It usually occurs at the beginning of a sentence. One way to mark a topic is by the use of prepositions such as 关于 *guan1yu2*, 对于 *dui4yu2*, and 至于 *zhi4yu2*, as shown in [73].

[73]   a. 关于灵芝的研究, 目前多以赤芝为主。

        guan1yu2   ling2zhi1   de0 yan2jiu1 mu4qian2

        PREP   ganoderma DE   research   at_present

        duo1 yi3   chi4zhi1   wei2zhu3

        many PREP red_mushroom as_the_majority

        'As for the current research on ganoderma, most is on the red mushroom [lucidum].'

      b. 对于这些问题公众知道得太少。

        dui4yu2 zhe4xie1 wen4ti2   gong1zhong4 zhi1dao4

        PREP   these   question public   know

        de2 tai4shao3

        DE   too_little

        'In regards to these problems, the public knows far too little.'

c.   . . .<u>至于</u>擦地板啊, 擦窗户这种比较需要出力的工作都由我来做。

zhi4yu2   ca1   di4ban3   a1   ca1   chuang1hu4   zhe4
PREP   wipe   floor   A   wipe   window   this

zhong3   bi3jiao4   xu1yao4   chu1li4   de0   gong1zuo4
CL   relatively   need   exert_oneself   DE   job

dou1   you2   wo3   lai2   zuo4
all   PREP   I   come   do

'. . . As for heavy duties such as wiping the floor and windows, I will take care of all of them.'

Note that 关于 *guan1yu1*, 对于 *dui4yu1*, and 至于 *zhi4yu1* cannot be used interchangeably in all cases. As illustrated in [73a], 关于 *guan1yu1* can introduce an entity/thing that does not enter into any grammatical relation with the verb. In addition, 关于 *guan1yu1* can also introduce a patient/theme as the topic of the sentence. As shown in [74], 关于 *guan1yu1* can replace 对于 *dui4yu1* in [73b].

[74]   <u>关于</u>这些问题公众知道得太少。

guan1yu2   zhe4xie1   wen4ti2   gong1zhong4   zhi1dao4
PREP   these   question   public   know

de2   tai4shao3
DE   too_little

'In regards to these problems, the public knows far too little.'

Unlike 关于 *guan1yu1* and 对于 *dui4yu1*, which are generally used to introduce old information as the topic of an utterance, 至于 *zhi4yu1* can be used to introduce new information as the topic, with the newly introduced topic being either an argument of an verb, as in [73c] ("floor-wiping" is the thing the speaker needs to do), or any other elements that the continuation sentence is about, as in [75].

[75]   精神科医生的自杀率一向最高, 演艺人员其次; <u>至于</u>作家,
这方面倒没有一定的数据证明。

jing1shen2ke1   yi1sheng1   de0   zi4sha1lu4   yi1xiang4
psychiatry   doctor   DE   suicide_rate   always

zui4   gao1   yan3yi4ren2yuan2   qi2ci4   zhi4yu2   zuo4jia1
most   tall   entertainer   next   PREP   writer

zhe4   fang1mian4   dao4   mei2you3   yi1ding4
this   facet   nonetheless   NEG   definite

de0   shu4ju4   zheng4ming2
DE   data   prove
'The suicide rate among psychiatrists is always the highest, followed by that of entertainers; as for writers, there is no data available.'

Besides these three commonly used prepositions, 就 *jiu4*, 就 *jiu4*...(而言 *er2yan2*/论 *lun4*), 就 *jiu4*...(来说 *lai2shuo1*), and 拿 *na2*...来说 *lai2shuo1* can also mark a topic, as shown in [76].

[76]　a.　就清洁而言, 现在市面上已有多种「干性皮肤」专用的肥皂或乳液。
　　　　jiu4   qing1jie2   er2yan2   xian4zai4   shi4mian4   shang4
　　　　PREP   clean   speaking   now   market   on

　　　　yi3   you3   duo1   zhong3   gan1xing4   pi2fu1
　　　　already   YOU   many   CL   dry   skin

　　　　zhuan1yong4   de0   fei2zao4   huo4   ru3ye4
　　　　especially_for DE   soap   or   lotion
　　　　'As for cleaning, the market already has varieties of soaps or cleansers dedicated to dry skin.'

　　　b.　拿汉字来说, 汉字的历史很短, 至多有五千年左右。
　　　　na2   han4zi4   lai2shuo1   han4zi4   de0
　　　　PREP   Chinese_character   speaking   Chinese_character   DE

　　　　li4shi3   hen3   duan3   zhi4duo1   you3   wu3qian1nian2
　　　　history   very   short   at_most   YOU   5000_years

　　　　zuo3you4
　　　　about
　　　　'As for Chinese characters, the history is very short, which is only five thousand years at most.'

Like 关于 *guan1yu2*, they can also introduce a topic that is a patient/theme of the action or any other elements the rest of the sentence is about. 就 *jiu4* and 就 *jiu4*...(而言 *er2yan2*/论 *lun4*) are often used in formal and literary styles, whereas 就 *jiu4*...(来说 *lai2shuo1*) and 拿 *na2*...来说 *lai2shuo1* are more colloquial.

13.4.5. Prepositions in relation to reference
A variety of prepositions are available in Chinese to introduce a reference for making a judgment, decision, or taking action, for example, 从 *cong2*, 由 *you2*, 据 *ju4*, 根据 *gen1ju4*, 依据 *yi1ju4*, 依照 *yi1zhao4*, 按 *an4*, 照 *zhao4*, 按照 *an4zhao4*, 冲 (着) *chong4 (zhe0)*, 基于 *ji1yu2*, and 鉴于 *jian4yu2* 'according to, based on.' Among

them, 据 *ju4*, 依 *yi1*, 依据 *yi1ju4*, 依照 *yi1zhao4*, 基于 *ji1yu2*, and 鉴于 *jian4yu2* are usually used in literary and formal styles, whereas 照 *zhao4* and 冲 (着) *chong4 (zhe0)* are more colloquial. The reference can be what the speaker observes or what is regulated. Examples of this are shown in [77].

[77]   a.   根据美国宪法, 只有国会才有宣战的权力。

      gen1ju4   mei3guo2   xian4fa3   zhi3you3
      PREP   the_United_States   constitution   only

      guo2hui4   cai2   you3   xuan1zhan4   de0   quan2li4
      congress   just   YOU   declare_war   DE   power
      'Under the US Constitution, only Congress has the power to declare war.'

    b.   按照澳洲法律规定, 任何外国移民必需在澳洲居住满两年才能取得澳洲公民权。

      an4zhao4   ao4zhou1   fa3lü4   gui1ding4   ren4he2
      according_to   Australia   law   stipulate   any

      wai4guo2   yi2min2   bi4xu1   zai4   ao4zhou1   ju1zhu4
      foreign   immigrate   must   PREP   Australia   live

      man3   liang3nian2   cai2   neng2   qu3de2   ao4zhou1
      full   two_years   just   can   get   Australia

      gong1min2quan2
      citizenship
      'In accordance with Australian law, any foreign immigrants must have lived in Australia for two years in order to obtain Australian citizenship.'

    c.   鉴于美元今年, 大幅升值, 兰特币值下落是正常现象。

      jian4yu2   mei3yuan2   jin1nian2   da4fu2
      PREP   US_dollar   this_year   to_a_great_extent

      sheng1zhi2   lan2te4   bi4zhi2   xia4luo4   shi4
      appreciate   Rand   currency_value   fall   be

      zheng4chang2   xian4xiang4
      normal   phenomenon
      'Given the large-scale rise of the US currency, it is a normal phenomenon for the rand currency to fall.'

    d.   由来信看出你和王君已有相当时间没有联络。

      you2   lai2xin4   kan4chu1   ni3   he2   wang2jun1   yi3
      PREP   letter   see   you   and   Mr_Wang   already

you3   xiang1dang1   shi2jian1   mei2you3   lian2luo4
YOU   quite   time   NEG   contact
'From what your letter said, you and Mr. Wang did not contact each
other for quite a long time.'

e.   我一定<u>照</u>你们的意思办。
wo3   yi1ding4   zhao4   ni3men0   de0   yi4si0   ban4
I   definite   PREP   you   DE   idea   do
'I will certainly take care of [it] following your intention.'

13.4.6. Prepositions in relation to condition

Prepositions for condition, under which the action takes place, can be classified
into several subtypes as introduced in the sentences below. 趁(着) *chen4 (zhe0)*,
藉/借(着) *jie4 (zhe0)*, and 仗着 *zhang4zhe0* are often used to introduce a chance or
timing that the subject takes advantage of for the action.

[78]   a.   <u>趁</u>年轻去体验不同的生活。
chen4   nian2qing1   qu4   ti3yan4   bu4tong2   de0
PREP   young   go   experience   different   DE

sheng1huo2
life
'Go experience different lifestyles while you are young.'

b.   <u>藉着</u>这样的讨论, 加深技术人员对专利的敏感度。
jie4zhu4   zhe4yang4   de0   tao3lun4   jia1shen1
PREP   like_this   DE   discuss   deepen

ji4shu4ren2yuan2   dui4   zhuan1li4   de0   min3gan3du4
technician   PREP   patent   DE   sensitivity
'Enhance the technical personnel's sensitivity to patents through such
discussions.'

c.   他<u>仗着</u>姊姊是皇后, 变得无法无天。
ta1   zhang4zhe0   jie3jie0   shi4   huang2hou4   bian4   de0
he   PREP   sister   be   empress   change   DE

wu2fa3wu2tian1
NEG_law_NEG_heaven
'Relying on his sister's status as the queen, he obeyed neither law nor
ethics.'

冒(着) *mao4 (zhe0)* 'risk' mainly marks an unfavorable and even dangerous situation in which the subject risks himself/herself to carry out an action, as shown
in [79].

[79]   a.   冒大风浪执行任务。
　　　　　　mao4   da4   feng1lang4   zhi2xing2   ren4wu4
　　　　　　PREP   big   stormy_wave   execute   mission
　　　　　　'[He is] risking the big storm to carry out the mission.'

　　　　b.   他冒着生命的危险来到金门三次。
　　　　　　ta1   mao4zhe0   sheng1ming4   de0   wei1xian3   lai2dao4
　　　　　　he   PREP   life   DE   danger   come

　　　　　　jin1men2   san1   ci4
　　　　　　Kinmen   three   CL
　　　　　　'Risking his life, he came to Kinmen (Quemoy) three times.'

随(着) *sui2 (zhe0)* can be used to introduce a change along which the state of another entity also changes, as in [80].

[80]   a.   不论宝宝吃什么, 其测验结果随年龄增长越来越好。
　　　　　　bu4lun4   bao3bao0   chi1   shen2me0   qi2   ce4yan4
　　　　　　no_matter   baby   eat   what   its   test

　　　　　　jie2guo3   sui2   nian2ling2   zeng1zhang3   yue4lai2yue4
　　　　　　result   PREP   age   grow   more_and_more

　　　　　　hao4
　　　　　　good
　　　　　　'No matter what the babies have eaten, their test results became better and better with age.'

　　　　b.   随着民众的需要愈来愈多, 对政府的要求也愈来愈高。
　　　　　　sui2zhe0   min2zhong4   de0   xu1yao4   yu4lai2yu4
　　　　　　PREP   people   DE   need   more_and_more

　　　　　　duo1   dui4   zheng4fu3   de0   yao1qiu2   ye3
　　　　　　many   PREP   government   DE   demand   also

　　　　　　yu4lai2yu4   gao1
　　　　　　more_and_more   tall
　　　　　　'With increased public needs, the public's expectations of the government are becoming higher and higher.'

The locative preposition 在 *zai4* can specify a condition when it co-occurs with 上 *shang4* 'on' or 下 *xia4* 'under.' "在 *zai4* 'PREP' NP 上 *shang4*" marks a basis on which a further development or improvement is made, whereas "在 *zai4* NP 下 *xia4*" indicates the necessary condition under which the subject is able to make an achievement, as illustrated in [81].

[81] a. [我们]<u>在</u>有效管理的基础<u>上</u>, 开放经贸交流。

wo3men0   zai4   you3xiao4   guan3li3   de0   ji1chu3
we   PREP   effective   manage   DE   basis

shang4   kai1fang4   jing1mao4   jiao1liu2
on   open   economic_and_trading   exchange

'[We] will open up for economic exchanges on the basis of effective management.'

b. <u>在</u>母亲的指导<u>下</u>, 于一九三八年考取伦敦大学。

zai4   mu3qin1   de0   zhi3dao3   xia4   yu2
PREP   mother   DE   instruction   under   PREP

yi1jiu3san1ba1nian2   kao3qu3   lun2dun1
year_1938   pass_entrance_examination   London

da4xue2
university

'Under the guidance of his mother, he was admitted by the University of London in 1938.'

13.5. Locative PPs

在*zai4* is the most frequently used preposition found in the Sinica Corpus, but in many cases it cannot take a common noun directly as its object. For instance, 山 *shan1* 'mountain,' a common noun shown in [82a], must co-occur with a localizer such as 上 when entering into a 在 *zai4* PP, as in [82b].

[82] a. 为什么沙漠上有这许多<u>山</u>?

wei4shen2me0   sha1mo4   shang4   you3   zhe4   xu3duo1
why   desert   on   YOU   this   many

shan1
hill

'Why are there so many dunes in the desert?'

b. 小明<u>在山上</u>画画儿。

xiao3ming2   zai4   shan1   shang4   hua4hua4er0
XIAOMING   PREP   mountain   on   draw_picture

'Xiaoming is drawing pictures on the mountain.'

Localizers, or "locative particles" (treated as "clitics," "postpositions," or "nouns" in previous literature), specify spatial relationships between entities. For instance, the localizer 上 *shang4* in [82b] states that the subject is on the top of the mountain. However, not all nouns require a localizer in order to occur in 在

PPs. For instance, both 美国 *mei3guo2* 'the United States' in [83a] and 学校 *xue2xiao4* 'school' in [84b] are nouns, but when occurring in 在 *zai4* PPs, 美国 *mei3guo2* 'the United States' is not used with any localizer, whereas 学校 *xue2xiao4* 'school' can occur either with or without a localizer.

[83] a. 美国是一个强大的国家。

        mei3guo2   shi4   yi1   ge4   qian2da4   de0   guo2jia1

        the_United_States   be   one CL   powerful   DE   country

        'The United States is a powerful country.'

    b. 他们在美国工作。

        ta1men0   zai4   mei3guo2   gong1zuo4

        they   PREP   the_United_States   work

        'They work in the United States.'

[84] a. 这两所学校是台中市有名的私立学校。

        zhe4   liang3   suo3   xue2xiao4   shi4   tai2zhong1shi4

        this   two   CL   school   be   Taichung_City

        you3ming2   de0   si1li4   xue2xiao4

        famous   DE   private   school

        'These two are well-known private schools in Taizhong City.'

    b. 在学校努力学习。

        zai4   xue2xiao4   nu3li4   xue2xi2

        PREP   school   work_hard   study

        'Study hard in school.'

    c. 在学校里拚命学习。

        zai4   xue2xiao4   li3   pan4ming4   xue2xi2

        PREP   school   inside   risk_one's_life   study

        'Study extremely hard in school.'

As mentioned in section 13.4.1, 在 *zai4* as a locative preposition does not specify any spatial reference as English prepositions such as "in," "at," "on," "above," and "below" do. Therefore, 在 *zai4* has to take an NP object coupled with some "external" locative specifications in order to express location information.

There are three types of NPs that denote locative values and thus can be directly taken as objects by 在 *zai4*. The first type includes place names, for example, 中国 *zhong1guo2* 'China' and 美国 *mei3guo2* 'the United States,' and disyllabic localizers, for example, 上面 *shang4mian4* 'top' and 后边 *hou4bian1* 'back,' as in [85]. The NPs of this type denote specific locations, so they can be used without a localizer.

[85]   a.   place names:

中国 *zhong1guo2* 'China,' 北京 *bei3jing1* 'Beijing,' 香港 *xiang1gang3* 'Hong Kong,' 美国 *mei3guo2* 'the United States'

      b.   disyllabic localizers used as a locative noun:

上面 *shang4mian4* 'top,' 后边 *hou4bian1* 'back,' 中间 *zhong1jian1* 'middle,' 外面 *wai4mian4* 'outside'

The second type of NP with locative values also has two subtypes: (1) those denoting institutions or organizations involved in people's daily activities, for example, 学校 *xue2xiao4* 'school' and 公司 *gong1si1* 'company,' and (2) those that are explicitly marked as definite, for example, by a demonstrative, an ordinal marker, or a relative clause, as in [86].

[86]   a.   NPs denoting institutions or organizations where people go very often:

学校 *xue2xiao4* 'school,' 公司 *gong1si1* 'company,' 图书馆 *tu2shu1guan3* 'library,' 邮局 *you2ju2* 'post office'

      b.   NPs explicitly marked as definite include:

NPs marked by a demonstrative:

这座山 *zhe4zuo4shan1* 'this mountain,' 这本书 *zhe4ben3shu1* 'this book,' 那个桌子 *na4ge4zhuo1zi0* 'that table'

NPs marked by an ordinal:

第一座山 *di1yi1zuo4shan1* 'the first mountain,' 第一页 *di4yi1ye4* 'the first page,' 第一个桌子 *di4yi1ge4zhuo1zi0* 'the first table'

NPs marked by a relative clause:

去过的山 *qu4guo4de0shan1* 'the mountain that someone has been to,' 刚买来的书 *gang1mai3lai2de0shu1* 'the book just bought,' 昨天吃饭的桌子 *zuo2tian1chi1fan4dezhuo1zi0* 'the table where the dinner was had yesterday'

NPs of this type can all occur in a 在 *zai4* PP with an optional localizer. The first subtype of NP, which denotes institutions or organizations, is often associated with some regular activity (people go to school to study and go to a company to work). Notice that the locations of entities involved in such activities are always easily identified by speakers/hearers. For example, if a child says to his mother 我去学校了 *wo3 qu4 xue2xiao4 le0* 'I am going to school,' it is clear to the mother which school the child is going to. Furthermore, when people carry out activities that are typically associated with these locations, the activities are mainly conducted within the location of the institutions, for example, studying is generally done inside a school. Therefore, localizers such as 里 *li3* expressing "inside" can be optional. Similarly, although common nouns such as 山 *shan1* 'mountain' and

桌子 *zhuo1zi0* 'table' do not have inherent locative values, the locations denoted by these nouns may also become referential and identifiable if these NPs are explicitly marked as definite, as in [82b]. As a result, they can occur in 在 *zai4* PPs with or without localizers. As [87] illustrates, 页 *ye4* 'page' in both the [a] and [b] sentences are marked by demonstrative quantifiers, so a localizer such as 中 *zhong1* is optional.

[87]   a.   <u>在这同一页中</u>, 也刊登了汤子康和王宁的研究报告。

zai4   zhe4   tong2yi1   ye4   zhong1   ye3
PREP   this   same   page   in   also

kan1deng1   le0   tang1zi3kang1   he2
publish_in_periodical   LE   TANG_ZIKANG   and

wang2ning2   de0   yan2jiu1   bao4gao4
WANG_NING   DE   research   report

'On this same page, the research reports by TANG Zikang and WANG Ning were also published.'

b.   我<u>在这一页</u>发现我十月二十九日的借书收据。

wo3   zai4   zhe4   yi1   ye4   fa1xian4   wo3   shi2yue4
I   PREP   this   one   page   find   I   October

er2shi2jiu3ri4   de0   jie4   shu1   shou1ju4
29th   DE   borrow   book   receipt

'I found the receipt of the book loan on October 29 on this page.'

If a common noun is not explicitly marked as definite, then it has to co-occur with a localizer in order to be taken as an object by 在 *zai4*, as 山 *shan1* 'mountain' in [82b]. More examples of common nouns with localizers are given in [88].

[88]   山上 *shan1shang4* 'on top of the mountain,' 桌子上面 *zhuo1zi0shang4 mian4* 'on top of the table,' 书里 *shu1li3* 'in the book,' 桥下 *qiao2xia4* 'under the bridge,' 城市里 *cheng2shi4li3* 'in the city,' 国内 *guo2nei4* 'in the country,' 盒子里 *he2zi0li3* 'in the box'

The constraint that 在 *zai4* requires an indefinite common noun to co-occur with a localizer is generally true except for contexts where more than one 在 *zai4* PP is used for the purpose of contrast or listing. For instance, the bare noun 电梯 *dian4ti1* 'elevator' is not usually found in a 在 *zai4* PP without a localizer, but when it occurs in a listing, the localizer is optional, as in [89b].

[89]   a.   仅有两人<u>在电梯中</u>受困。

jin3you3   liang3   ren2   zai4   dian4ti1   zhong1
only   two   people   PREP   elevator   in

shou4kun4
be_trapped
'Only two people were trapped in the elevator.'

b. 无论是<u>在门诊</u>, <u>在电梯</u>还是<u>在病房</u>, 都没有人因他的「怪病」而歧视 他。

wu2lun4   shi4   zai4   men2zhen3   zai4   dian4ti1
no_matter   SHI   PREP   outpatient_services   PREP   elevator

hai2shi4   zai4   bing4fang2   dou1   mei2you3   ren2
still   PREP   ward   all   NEG   people

yin1   ta1   de0   guai4bing4   er2   qi2shi4   ta1
PREP   he   DE   strange_illness   thus   discriminate   he
'No matter if it was in the outpatient services, elevators, or wards, no one discriminated against him because of his rare disease.'

However, the exception above does not apply to monosyllabic common nouns. For instance, [89a] has two contrastive 在 *zai4* PPs, but localizers are only necessary for the disyllabic indefinite common noun 黑板 *hei1ban3* 'blackboard,' not for the monosyllabic indefinite common noun 纸 *zhi3*.

[90]   <u>老师在黑板</u>写学生<u>在纸上</u>临。

lao3shi1   zai4   hei1ban3   xie3   xue2sheng1   zai4
teacher   PREP   blackboard   write   student   PREP

zhi3   shang4   lin2
paper   on   mimic
'The teacher wrote on the blackboard, and the students mimicked on their paper.'

In addition to contrastive and listing 在 *zai4* PPs, monosyllabic nouns are also not allowed in 在 *zai4* PPs in non-contrastive and non-listing contexts. For instance, 东 *dong1* 'east' is a monosyllabic noun with inherent locative value, but it cannot be the object of 在 if it does not co-occur with a localizer such as 边 *bian1* 'side,' as in [91a]; however, the preposition 向 *xiang4* in [91b] can take 东 *dong1* 'east' directly as its object because 向 *xiang4* has a strong sense of direction and thus indicates a clear spatial reference.

[91]   a. <u>在东边</u>筑一条公路。

zai4   dong1bian1   zhu2   yi1   tiao2   gong1lu4
PREP   east   build   one   CL   highway
'Build a highway in the east.'

b. [他们] 向东行驶。
    ta1men0   xiang4   dong1   xing2shi3
    they   PREP   east   drive
    '[They] drove to the east.'

To summarize, the locative preposition 在 *zai4* takes NPs with locative values as its objects in non-contrastive and non-listing contexts. An indefinite common noun has to co-occur with a localizer to participate in forming a 在 *zai4* PP. Finally, the NP object of 在 *zai4* generally has to be polysyllabic.

14

Sentence types

Weidong Zhan and Xiaojing Bai

This chapter discusses sentence types. An overview of sentence properties is first given, followed by detailed descriptions of sentences, classified according to their communicative function and internal structure, respectively.

14.1. Sentences and clauses

A sentence is the largest syntactic unit with independent functions in the discourse. It consists of a main clause, which can have a complicated internal structure, and some peripheral elements, mainly sentence-final particles. A clause is comprised of a subject and a predicate. The subject is typically a nominal phrase, which represents some entity or entities, but it can also be a verb phrase or an adjective phrase. The predicate is predominantly a verb phrase or an adjective phrase, depicting the state or action of the entity or entities represented by the subject. The predicate does not display, in any specific form, agreement with the subject in terms of number, gender, and other grammatical categories. For instance, there is no distinction between the predicates in [1a] and [1b], even though the subject of [1a] is singular while the subject of [1b] is plural.

[1]   a.   那只鸟飞走了。

            na4   zhi1   niao3   fei1   zou3   le0

            that   CL   bird   fly   go   LE

            'That bird has flown away.'

    b.   那些鸟飞走了。

            na4xie1   niao3   fei1   zou3   le0

            those   bird   fly   go   LE

            'Those birds have flown away.'

A prominent property of clauses in Chinese is that their constituents, especially the subject, may be omitted or, in the terminology of contemporary linguistics, appear in a zero form. When the subject of the second clause in [2] appears as a zero form, the whole sentence remains grammatical and has the interpretation of one with the subject position filled with a pronoun. The most likely reading of

[2], with a zero form or a pronoun in the subject position of the second clause, is that the 乌鸦 *wu1ya1* 'crow' is looking for water.

[2]   有一只乌鸦口渴了, [它]到处找水喝。
       you3   yi1   zhi1   wu1ya1   kou3ke3   le0   ta1   dao4chu4
       YOU   one   CL   crow   thirsty   LE   it   everywhere

       zhao3   shui3   he1
       seek   water   drink
       'A crow was thirsty. It looked for water everywhere.'

Another property is that a clause can be part of another clause without any change in constituent order. In [3], both 房价高涨 *fang2jia4 gao1zhang3* 'house prices are soaring' and 经济很繁荣 *jing1ji4 fan2rong2* 'the economy is prosperous' are clauses that can appear independently as sentences. When functioning in [3] as the subject and the object respectively, they do not show any marking or any variation.

[3]   房价高涨说明经济很繁荣。
       fang2jia4   gao1zhang3   shuo1ming2   jing1ji4   hen3
       house_price   rise   show   economy   very

       fan2rong2
       booming
       'House prices are soaring, which suggests that the economy is booming.'

14.2. Overview of sentence classification

The classification of sentences can be based on either their communicative functions or their internal structures.

14.2.1. Sentence types and communication functions

According to their communicative functions, sentences can be classified into five types, as follows:

1   Declaratives: When a declarative sentence like [4a] is used, the speaker is characteristically making a statement that is believed to be an objective message, without much personal feeling being expressed.
2   Exclamatives: When an exclamatory statement like [4b] is used, the speaker is expressing some strong personal feeling to convey a forceful message to the listener.
3   Interrogatives: With an interrogative like [4c], the speaker asks for information from the listener, who is supposed to respond accordingly.

4 Directives: With a directive like [4d], the speaker typically issues a command asking for action from the listener.

5 Vocatives: With a vocative like [4e], the speaker gives a signal to the listener, suggesting that he is about to send or is ready to receive a particular message and the listener's response is expected.

[4]　　a.　我看过这部电影。
　　　　　wo3　kan4　guo4　zhe4　bu4　dian4ying3
　　　　　I　　see　　GUO　　this　　CL　　movie
　　　　　'I have watched this movie (before).'

　　　　b.　多好的人啊!
　　　　　duo1　hao3　de0　ren2　　a0
　　　　　so　　good　DE　　person　A
　　　　　'What a good man!'

　　　　c.　你是医生吗?
　　　　　ni3　shi4　yi1sheng1　ma0
　　　　　you　be　　doctor　　　　MA
　　　　　'Are you a doctor?'

　　　　d.　站住!
　　　　　zhan4　zhu4
　　　　　stand　　still
　　　　　'Stand still!'

　　　　e.　老张。
　　　　　lao3　zhang1
　　　　　old　　ZHANG
　　　　　'Lao Zhang.'

14.2.2. Sentence types and internal structures

Sentences can be classified as simplex, complex, and compound, according to their internal structures and the syntactic relation between constituents. A simplex sentence consists of one clause only. A complex sentence has a main clause that has some other clause(s) embedded inside it. A compound sentence is made up of two or more clauses that are related to each other but are not embedded within each other.

　　A simplex sentence contains only one clause and part of it may appear in zero form. In the conversation in [5], one person uses a simplex sentence as a question, whereas the other person responds with another simplex sentence that appears as part of a clause. It should be understood that the subject of the reduced clause is 我 *wo3* 'I,' while the predicate has a progressive marker 在 *zai4*.

[5]   Q: 你在干什么?
          ni3 zai4 gan4 shen2me0
          you ZAI   do   what
          'What are you doing?'

      A: 复印讲义。
          fu4yin4   jiang3yi4
          copy   handout
          'Copying the handouts.'

A clause can function as the subject, the object, or the adverbial, as well as the attributive of a nominal phrase or the object of a preposition in another clause. If a clause contains other clause(s) but is not contained in or coordinated with another clause, it is the main clause of a sentence and such a sentence is a complex one. The complex sentence in [3] has a subordinate clause as the subject and another one as the object, while the complex sentence in [6] has the clause 路上出了车祸 *lu4shang0 chu1 le0 che1huo4* 'have a car accident on the road' as the adverbial.

[6]   他们因为路上出了车祸不去上海了。
      ta1men0   yin1wei4   lu4shang0   chu1   le0   che1huo4
      they   because   en_route   occur LE   car_accident

      bu2   qu4   shang4hai3   le0
      NEG   go   SHANGHAI   LE
      'Because there was an accident on the way to Shanghai, they won't
      go to Shanghai now.'

A sentence often contains a main clause and a sentence-final particle, which typically appears in exclamatives like [4b], interrogatives like [4c], sentences with a perfective predicate, or sentences indicating a change of state, as in [6].

The subordinate clause in a complex sentence may not be contained inside the main clause but instead may occur outside of it. Such a clause would look like part of a compound sentence that typically consists of coordinated clauses. These types of complex sentences and compound sentences share many features and a prominent one is the use of connective adjuncts. In the conditional sentence in [7a], the conditional clause is marked with 如果 *ru2guo3* 'if' to indicate a hypothetic state and the consequence is expressed in the main clause, which is marked with 那么 *na4me0* 'then.' In the compound sentence in [7b], the two coordinated clauses are marked with the connective adjunct pair 不但…还…*bu2dan4…hai2…* 'not only…but also…' Compound sentences can also be connected with coordinators, such as 或者 *huo4zhe3* 'or' in [7c].

[7]   a.   如果姐夫真的喜欢手套，那么我就会送给他一双。

          ru2guo3   jie3fu1   zhen1de0 xi3huan1 shou3tao4

          if   brother-in-law   really   like   gloves

          na4me0   wo3   jiu4   hui4   song4gei3   ta1   yi1   shuang1

          then   I   thus   will   give_to   he   one CL

          'If my brother-in-law really likes gloves, I will give him a pair as a gift.'

    b.   他不但输光了所有的钱，还输掉了所有的房子。

          ta1   bu4dan4   shu1guang1   le0   suo3you3   de0   qian2

          he   not_only   lose_clean   LE   all   DE   money

          hai2   shu1diao4   le0   suo3you3   de0   fang2zi0

          yet   lose   LE   all   DE   house

          'He not only gambled away all his money but also all his houses.'

    c.   明天我去接你，或者你今天下午过来。

          ming2tian1   wo3   qu4   jie1   ni3   huo4zhe3   ni3

          tomorrow   I   go   pick_up   you   or   you

          jin1tian1   xia4wu3   guo4lai2

          today   afternoon   come

          'I will [go to] pick you up tomorrow, or you can come this afternoon.'

14.2.3. Clauses with non-canonical constituent order

Although the basic constituent order in a clause is for the subject to appear before the predicate, for the object to appear after the verb, and for the adverbial to occur before the predicate, there are cases where some non-canonical order is used. Such clauses typically are embedded in other clauses.

14.2.3.1. Preposing and postposing

In addition to the well-known topic–comment constructions discussed in Chapter 17, a constituent can be moved from its usual position to the very beginning of a clause, and this often occurs in oral communication when the speaker rushes to give the most important information first and then adds the less important information. The effect of such preposing is often similar to postposing a constituent to the end of the clause.

The predicate appears before the subject in [8a(i)], as against the usual order in [8a(ii)], because the speaker feels chilly and wanted to convey his feeling directly and immediately. The speaker then realizes that some more information was needed and added the location. No matter whether the speaker preposes the predicate or postposes the subject as an afterthought, the communicative effect

is the same. In [8b(i)], the verb appears before the adverbial; in [8c(i)], the object verb phrase occurs before the main verb; and in [8d(i)], the resultative expression appears before the verb, in comparison to the default order shown in all the [8ii] sentences.

[8]   a.   i.   怪冷的, 这儿。

guai4   leng3   de0   zhe4er0
pretty   cold   DE   here
'Pretty cold here.'

ii.   这儿怪冷的。

zhe4er0   guai4   leng3   de0
here   pretty   cold   DE
'It's pretty cold here.'

b.   i.   下班了, 已经。

xia4ban1   le0   yi3jing1
knock_off_work   LE   already
'Off work, already.'

ii.   已经下班了。

yi3jing1   xia4ban1   le0
already   knock_off_work   LE
'(I'm) already off work.'

c.   i.   去上班, 准备。

qu4   shang4ban1   zhun3bei4
go   be_on_duty   plan
'Go to work, be ready to.'

ii.   准备去上班。

zhun3bei4   qu4   shang4ban1
plan   go   be_on_duty
'(I'm) ready to go to work.'

d.   i.   走不动了, 累得。

zou3bu2dong4   le0   lei4   de0
cannot_move   LE   tired   DE
'Can't move, [being] too tired.'

ii.   累得走不动了。

lei4   de0   zou3bu2dong4   le0
tired   DE   cannot_move   LE
'(I'm) too tired to move.'

When a speaker is anxious to get an answer immediately, to prepose the predicate of an interrogative sentence, as in [9a], is a common way to do this in conversation. Another way to achieve the same effect is to repeat the subject at the end of the question, as in [9b].

[9]   a.   还去不去呀你?

            hai2   qu4   bu4   qu4   ya0   ni3

            yet   go   NEG   go   YA   you

            'Then (will) you still going or not?'

     b.   你还去不去呀你?

            ni3   hai2   qu4   bu4   qu4   ya0   ni3

            You   yet   go   NEG   go   YA   you

            'Then (will) you still go or not?'

14.2.3.2. Parenthetical expressions

Parenthetical expressions are those inserted into a clause, interrupting the normal flow of information to add supplements indirectly related to the clause. It is found in both spoken and written genres. In [10a], the parenthetical expression 还没过门呢 *hai2 mei2 guo4men2 ne0* 'not married yet' is put between 他媳妇 'his wife' and the predicate 老吵架 *lao3 chao3jia4* 'fight a lot' to correct some potential misperception. In [10b], the parenthetical expression appears between the subject 他的顶头上司 *ta1 de0 ding3tou2 shang4si1* 'his immediate boss' and the predicate 把他抓了个正着 *ba3 ta1 zhua1 le0 ge4 zheng4zhao2* 'caught him on the spot' to provide additional information about the subject. The parenthetical expression 听说 *ting1shuo1* 'hear (someone) say' is placed between the subject and the predicate in [10c] and at the very beginning of the sentence in [10d] to indicate that the content of the sentence is hearsay. In [10e], the parenthetical expression is placed between the verb 承诺 *cheng2nuo4* 'promise' and its object 保守这个秘密 *bao3shou3 zhe0ge4 mi4mi4* '(he will) keep this secret' to give the promise a time limit.

[10]   a.   栓子跟他媳妇－－**还没过门呢**－－老吵架。

            shuan4zi0   gen1   ta1   xi2fu4   hai2   mei2   guo4men2   ne0

            Shuanzi   and   he   wife   yet_not   marry   NE

            lao3   chao3jia4

            always   quarrel

            'Shuanzi and his wife, not married yet, fight a lot.'

     b.   他的顶头上司－－－**个多疑的人**－－把他抓了个正着。

            ta1   de0   ding3tou2shang4si1   yi1   ge4   duo1yi2   de0

            he   DE   one's_direct_superior   one   CL   suspicious   DE

        ren2   ba3   ta1   zhua1   le0   ge4   zheng4zhao2
        person BA   he   catch   LE   GE   on_the_spot
        'His immediate boss, a suspicious man, caught him on the spot.'

c.   语法考试**听说**很容易。
        yu3fa3   kao3shi4   ting1shuo1   hen3   rong2yi4
        grammar   test   allegedly   very   easy
        'The grammar test, it is said, was quite easy.'

d.   **听说**语法考试很容易。
        ting1shuo1   yu3fa3   kao3shi4   hen3   rong2yi4
        allegedly   grammar   test   very   easy
        'It is said that the grammar test is quite easy.'

e.   他承诺 (有效期一天) 保守这个秘密。
        ta1   cheng2nuo4 you3xiao4qi1   yi1   tian1   bao3shou3
        he   promise   time_of_efficacy one   day   keep

        zhe4   ge0   mi4mi4
        this   CL   secret
        'He promised that he would keep this secret (for one day).'

14.3. Declarative and exclamative sentences

Both declarative and exclamative sentences make a statement to convey a message, but they differ in that an exclamative adds strong personal feelings to the message.

14.3.1. Declarative sentences

The basic constituents of a declarative sentence are a clause, simplex or complex, and a sentence-final particle, which appears when the clause describes a particular type of event. Declarative sentences in general have an unmarked even-falling intonation. The adverbials in the clause usually occur between the subject and the predicate, as in [11a(i)] and [11a(ii)], but temporal or modal adverbials may appear at the sentence-initial position, as in [11b(i)] and [11b(ii)].

[11]   a.   i. 他当时戴着帽子。
              ta1   dang1shi2   dai4   zhe0   mao4zi0
              he   at_that_time   wear   ZHE   hat

          ii. 当时他带着帽子。
              dang1shi2   ta1   dai4   zhe0   mao4zi0
              at_that_time   he   wear   ZHE   hat
              'He was wearing a hat at that time.'

b. i. 他也许是个聋子。

    ta1   ye3xu3 shi4 ge0 long2zi0

    he   maybe   be   CL deaf_person.

ii. 也许他是个聋子。

    ye3xu3 ta1   shi4 ge0 long2zi0

    maybe   he   be   CL deaf_person

    'Perhaps he is deaf.'

Sentence-final particles appearing in declarative sentences are those that contribute to the proposition of the sentence and those that do not. The former typically mark the state of the proposition described by the clause, including 了 *le0*, 呢 *ne0*, and 来着 *lai2zhe0*, while the latter typically indicate the speaker's attitude or intention to express some non-propositional meaning, including 着呢 *zhe0ne0*, 嘛 *ma0*, 啊 *a0*, and 哟 *yo0*.

The speaker in [12a] intends to inform the listener that "he has had dinner" has become a fact at the time of reference, which is most likely to be the time of speech. The 呢 *ne0* in [12b] indicates that the state of "having dinner" is current or is in progress at the time of reference. The 来着 *lai2zhe0* in [12c] signals that the event described in the clause is in a continuous state at some time before the time of speech.

[12]   a. 我吃过晚饭了。

          wo3 chi1 guo4 wan3fan4 le0

          I   eat   GUO dinner   LE

          'I have had my dinner.'

   b. 他吃晚饭呢。

          ta1 chi1 wan3fan4 ne0

          he   eat   dinner   NE

          'He is having his dinner.'

   c. 他正跟人下棋来着。

          ta1 zheng4 gen1 ren2   xia4qi2   lai2zhe0

          he   right   PREP people play_chess LAIZHE

          'He was playing chess with someone.'

The 着呢 *zhe0ne0* in [13a] not only contributes to the proposition of the sentence but also conveys the speaker's intention. The speaker of [13a] tells the listener that the state of "being rich" persists at the time of reference and that the speaker is not shy saying this. The 嘛 *ma0* in [13b] emphasizes an obvious fact, which the speaker thinks the listener should have known, to encourage the listener to face

the challenge. The 啊 *a0* in [13c] reminds the listener of a possible problem. The 哟 *yo0* at the end of [13d] tells the listener to pay attention to the issue stated in the sentence, and if the listener does not, he will feel sorry afterward.

[13]   a.   这个人有钱着呢。
            zhe4   ge4   ren2   you3qian2   zhe0ne0
            this   CL   person   be_rich   ZHE_NE
            'This man is rich indeed.'

       b.   你不要灰心, 万事开头难嘛。
            ni3   bu4   yao4   hui1xin1   wan4shi4   kai1tou2
            you   NEG   will   lose_heart   everything   begin

            nan2   ma0
            hard   MA
            'Don't be disheartened. Everything is definitely hard at the very beginning.'

       c.   你们肩上的担子很重啊。
            ni3men0   jian1   shang4   de0   dan4zi0
            you   shoulder   on   DE   carrying_pole_plus_load

            hen3   zhong4   a0
            very   heavy   A
            'The burden on your shoulders is heavy indeed.'

       d.   我说的可是明天就兑现哟。
            wo3   shuo1   de0   ke3shi4   ming2tian1   jiu4   dui4xian4
            I   say   DE   actually tomorrow   thus   fulfill

            yo0
            YO
            'Tomorrow I will do what I said without delay.'

14.3.2. Exclamative sentences

The message conveyed by an exclamative sentence includes a statement of an event or state and some special features indicating the speaker's strong emotion with regard to the event or state, which causes surprise, admiration, or even skepticism. These features can be intonational, lexical, or structural.

14.3.2.1. Intonational features

Exclamative sentences are marked by a stressed falling intonation. In contrast with declarative sentences, exclamative sentences are typically uttered louder, with certain elements stressed. The stressed elements are predominantly those bearing exclamative features, such as special adverbs and interrogative expressions. The

determinative 这 *zhe4* 'this' in [14] is another such element being stressed to express the speaker's attitude.

[14]   你这没有骨气的文人!
        ni3   zhe4   mei2you3   gu3qi4   de0   wen2ren2
        you   this   NEG   backbone   DE   scholar
        'You spineless scholar!'

14.3.2.2. Lexical features

Certain adverbs, interrogative expressions, sentence-final particles, and interjections can be used in an exclamative sentence to express the speaker's feelings. In addition to adverbs like 太 *tai4* 'too (much),' 真 *zhen1* 'really,' and 好 *hao3* 'very' in [15a] and [15b], interrogative expressions like 多少 *duo1shao3* 'how much,' 多么 *duo1me0* 'how,' 多 *duo1* 'what,' 何 *he2* 'what,' and 怎 *zen3* 'how' are also used to mark exclamations. These interrogative expressions are used to indicate the speaker's surprise or skepticism, as in [15c]–[15f].

[15] a. 真了不起!
          zhen1   liao3bu4qi3
          really   amazing
          'Truly amazing.'

      b. 好一个"世外桃源"!
          hao3   yi1   ge4   shi4wai4tao2yuan2
          such   one   CL   Shangri-la
          'This is a true Shangri-la!'

      c. 多少个日日夜夜啊!
          duo1shao3   ge4   ri4ri4ye4ye4   a0
          many   CL   night_and_day   A
          'So many days and nights!'

      d. 多好的人哪!
          duo1   hao3   de0   ren2   na0
          so   good   DE   person   NA
          'What a good man!'

      e. 这是何等的英雄气概啊!
          zhe4   shi4   he2deng3   de0   ying1xiong2qi4gai4   a0
          this   be   how   DE   heroism   A
          'What heroism!'

f.   怎一个"愁"字了得!
 zen3   yi1   ge4   chou2   zi4   liao3de2
 why   one   CL   worry   word   terrible
 'How a single word of "sorrow" could convey all (my) suffering!'

The most commonly used sentence-final particle in exclamative sentences is 啊 *a0*, as in [15c] and [15e]. Its actual pronunciation can be influenced by the syllable before it and the two are sometimes merged to form a new particle; hence, variations like 呀 *ya0*, 哇 *wa0*, and 哪 *na0*, as shown in [16].

[16] a.   原来是我喜欢的鱼呀!
  yuan2lai2   shi4   wo3   xi3huan1   de0   yu2   ya0
  turn_out   be   I   like   DE   fish   YA
  'It's the kind of fish that I like!'

 b.   好哇!
  hao3   wa0
  great   WA
  'Great!'

 c.   难哪!
  nan2   na0
  hard   NA
  'Too hard!'

Interjections occurring in exclamative sentences include 唉 *ai1*, 哇 *wa1*, 啊 *a1*, 嗨 *hai1*, 呵 *he1*, etc. 唉 *ai1* expresses despair, as in [17a], while the other four depict excitement, as in [17b]. Interjections are used independently, followed by an exclamative sentence.

[17] a.   唉! 你太不幸了!
  ai1   ni3   tai4   bu4xing4   le0
  AI   you   too   unfortunate   LE
  'Oh! I am so sorry for you!'

 b.   哇! 真是太巧了!
  wa1   zhen1   shi4   tai4   qiao3   le0
  WA   really   be   too   coincident   LE
  'Wow! What a coincidence!'

14.3.2.3. Structural features

Exclamative sentences often contain a complete clause but they can also contain only part of a clause. The context will typically provide enough clues from which the listener can infer the necessary information.

A common pattern in exclamative sentences is to use a complicated nominal phrase in the form of 好(你)(一)个 NP *hao3 (ni3) (yi1) ge4 NP* 'Good (you) (one) GE−CL NP' to convey the speaker's disapproval of, or accusation and anger against, the person it denotes. The pleonastic pronoun 你 *ni3* is optional and does not refer to any particular person. The classifier 个 *ge4* can be followed by either a noun phrase or a proper name. When a proper name is used, as in [18a] and [18b], the disapproval characteristic of the exclamative is clearly expressed, though not directly.

[18] a. 好个贾雨村!
          hao3   ge4   jia3yu3cun1
          such   CL   JIA_YUCUN
          'JIA Yucun, (such a damn fox)!'

      b. 好你个贾雨村!
          hao4   ni3   ge4   jia3yu3cun1
          such   you   CL   JIA_YUCUN
          'JIA Yucun, (such a damn fox)!'

Sometimes a non-canonical constituent order can be used to convey personal emotion. The predicate−subject clause in [19] is a typical case.

[19]   太冷了, 这鬼地方!
         tai4   leng3   le0   zhe4   gui3   di4fang0
         too   cool   LE   this   ghost place
         'Terribly cold. This damned place!'

Reduplication is another way to express the speaker's strong emotion in an exclamative sentence. The reduplication can produce an identical copy, as in [20a], or it can produce a more complicated one, as in [20b].

[20] a. 了不起! 了不起!
          liao3bu4qi3   liao3bu4qi3
          amazing   amazing
          'Amazing! Amazing!'

      b. 好一个公爵! 好一个风流的公爵!
          hao3yi1ge4   gong1jue2   hao3yi1ge1   feng1liu2   de0
          what a   duke   what a   gallant   DE
          gong1jue2
          duke
          'What a Duke! What a gallant Duke!'

14.4. Interrogative and directive sentences

When an interrogative or a directive is used, the speaker is making a request to the listener. For the former, information from the listener as feedback is expected, while for the latter, action or compliance from the listener is expected.

14.4.1. Interrogative sentences

Interrogatives can be classified as open or closed, depending on the type of answer expected. The answer to a closed interrogative is chosen from a closed set, and the answer is typically presented as an alternative in the interrogative sentence itself, as in [21a] and [21b]. An open interrogative, like those in [21c]−[21d], conversely, expects various answers that do not appear in the interrogative sentences.

[21]　a.　你是医生吗? [closed interrogative]
　　　　　ni3　shi4　yi1sheng1　ma0
　　　　　you　be　doctor　　　MA
　　　　　'Are you a doctor?'

　　　b.　你是不是医生? [closed interrogative]
　　　　　ni3　shi4　bu2　shi4　yi1sheng1
　　　　　you　be　NEG　be　doctor
　　　　　'Are you a doctor or not?'

　　　c.　他今年几岁了? [open interrogative]
　　　　　ta1　jin1nian2　ji3　　　　sui4
　　　　　he　this_year　how_much　age
　　　　　'How old is he?'

　　　d.　他是干什么的? [open interrogative]
　　　　　ta1　shi4　gan4　shen2me0　de0
　　　　　he　be　do　what　　　DE
　　　　　'What does he do?'

　　Interrogative sentences have the same constituent order as declarative sentences, but they bear distinctive intonational, lexical, and structural features.

14.4.1.1. Intonational features

Interrogative sentences usually bear a rising intonation. The rising intonation at the end of an interrogative features expansion in pitch range and time duration. The intonational contrast between declaratives and interrogatives is shown in [22], with the pitch range of the interrogatives wider and their duration longer than those of declaratives, respectively.

[22] a. i. 明天他们开**学**。

ming2tian1 ta1men0 kai1xue2

tomorrow they begin_term

'Their new semester begins tomorrow.'

ii. 明天他们开**学**?

ming2tian1 ta1men0 kai1xue2

tomorrow they begin_term

'Does their new semester begin tomorrow?'

b. i. 他们一起**走**。

ta1men0 yi1qi3 zou3

they together go

'They go together.'

ii. 他们一起**走**?

ta1men0 yi1qi3 zou3

they together go

'Do they go together?'

14.4.1.2. Lexical features

Open interrogatives are typically variable questions marked by interrogative expressions. There are four types of interrogative expressions:

1 Interrogative nominal elements that typically replace nominal phrases in a clause, such as simple ones like 谁 *shui2* 'who' and 什么 *shen2me0* 'what' and complicated ones like 什么时候 *shen3me0 shi2hou0* 'what time, when' and 哪儿 *na3er0* 'where.'

2 Interrogative adjectives, such as 多少 *duo1shao3* 'how many/much,' 几 *ji3* 'how many,' and 怎么 *zen3me0* 'how,' which can function as modifiers or predicates.

3 Interrogative adverbs, such as 怎么样 *zen1me0yang4* 'how' and 怎样 *zen3yang4* 'how' for manner, means, state, or property; 怎么 *zen3me0* 'how' for means, property, or reason; 什么样 *shen2me0yang4* '(in) what manner, how' for state or property; 如何 *ru2he2* 'how' for manner or means; 为什么 *wei4shen2me0* 'why' for reason or purpose; and 多 *duo1* 'how' for questions of degree.

4 Interrogative determinative 哪 *na3* 'which' for the creation of complicated interrogative nominal phrases (see Chapter 8).

Sentence-final particles typically used in interrogative sentences include 吗 *ma0* 吧 *ba0*, and 呢 *ne0*. The first two are used in yes–no questions, but each has its own properties in terms of function, illocutionary force, and pragmatic requirement.

When a question with the particle 吧 *ba0*, like in [23a], is used, the speaker assumes something and is asking for confirmation. An auxiliary verb 应该 *ying1gai1* 'should' can be added to make the assumption stronger, as in [23b]. If the speaker uses a yes–no question with the particle 吗 *ma0* as in [23c], no such assumption is made.

[23]   a.   你是大三学生吧?

    ni3   shi4   da4san1   xue2sheng1   ba0
    you   be   college_third_year   student   BA
    'You are a junior, right?'

    b.   你应该是大三学生吧?

    ni3   ying1gai1   shi4   da4san1   xue2sheng1   ba0
    you   should   be   college_third_year   student   BA
    'You should be a junior, right?'

    c.   你是大三学生吗?

    ni3   shi4   da4san1   xue2sheng1   ma0
    you   be   college_third_year   student   MA
    'Are you a junior?'

The sentence-final particle 吗 *ma0* can be added to an open question to turn it into a closed one. The speaker of [24a] is asking about a place where the listener spent his holiday, and the listener could give a city name like Shanghai as the answer. The speaker of [24b] is asking what the listener wants to eat, and the listener could name a food like noodles. When a particle 吗 *ma0* appears at the final position of [24a], the yes–no question in [25a] is created and the interrogative expressions inside the question will have the reading of universal quantifiers instead of variables. The speaker in [25a] is asking whether the listener went anywhere for the holiday and either a yes or a no is expected as the answer. The same could be said about [25b].

[24]   a.   春节你去哪儿玩了?

    chun1jie2   ni3   qu4   na3er0   wan2   le0
    the_Chinese_New_Year   you   go   where   play   LE
    'Where did you go during the Chinese New Year?'

    b.   你吃点什么?

    ni3   chi1   dian3   shen2me0
    you   eat   some   what
    'What do you want to eat?'

[25]   a. 春节你去哪儿玩了吗?

        chun1jie2   ni3   qu4   na3er0 wan2 le0

        the_Chinese_New_Year you go   where   play   LE

        ma0

        MA

        'Did you go anywhere during the Chinese New Year?'

     b. 你吃点什么吗?

        ni3   chi1   dian3   shen2me0 ma0

        you   eat   some   what   MA

        'Do you want to eat something?'

The particle 呢 *ne0* is an optional marker for open interrogative sentences. In [26a] and [26b], the interrogatives in group (ii) mean the same as their counterparts in group (i). The only difference is that interrogatives in group (i) sound less blunt and less confrontational. On the other hand, when 呢 *ne0* is added to a nominal phrase, as in group (iii), a variable question is created. Even when there is no interrogative expression in such cases, the sentence will yield a reading as if it were a full interrogative with a variable. [26a(iii)] can be understood as 'where is my dictionary?,' while [26b(iii)] can be interpreted as 'how much is your hat?' Note that the actual meaning of such a question depends on the context and each question is naturally ambiguous, with many possible readings.

[26]   a. i. 我的字典在哪儿呢?

          wo3 de0 zi4dian3   zai4   na3er0 ne0

          I   DE   dictionary PREP where   NE

       ii. 我的字典在哪儿?

          wo3 de0 zi4dian3   zai4   na3er0

          I   DE   dictionary PREP where

      iii. 我的字典呢?

          wo3 de0 zi4dian3   ne0

          I   DE   dictionary NE

          'Where is my dictionary?'

     b. i. 你的帽子多少钱呢?

          ni3 de0 mao4zi0 duo1shao3 qian2   ne0

          you DE hat   how_much money NE

       ii. 你的帽子多少钱?

          ni3 de0 mao4zi0 duo1shao3 qian2

          you DE hat   how_much money

iii. 你的帽子呢?
    ni3   de0   mao4zi0   ne0
    you   DE   hat   NE
    'How much is your hat?'

The particle 呢 *ne0* can be used in other sentences to produce a similar effect. The variable question in [27a] is a conditional sentence and the variable 几点 *ji3dian3* 'which hour, when' is the temporal adverbial of the consequence clause. If the consequence clause is taken out of [27a] but the 呢 *ne0* is directly attached to the conditional clause to create [27b], the new sentence is still a variable question with an interpretation similar to that of [27a], even though some other variable question readings are also possible.

[27]   a.   如果我赶不回来, 你们最迟会等到几点呢?
            ru2guo3   wo3   gan3   bu4   hui2lai2   ni3men0   zui4chi2
            if   I   rush   NEG   back   you   latest

            hui4   deng3   dao4   ji3   dian3   ne0
            will   wait   PREP   which   o'clock   NE
            'If I cannot rush back in time, till when would you wait?'

    b.   如果我赶不回来呢?
            ru2guo3   wo3   gan3   bu4   hui2lai2   ne0
            if   I   rush   NEG   back   NE
            'What if I cannot rush back in time?'

The particle 呢 *ne0* can also be used in alternative questions, like in [28]. Note that although the answer to an alternative question should be chosen from a closed set that has been shown in the question itself, an alternative question is not the same as a yes–no question. The answer to [28a] is either 喝啤酒 *he1 pi2jiu3* 'drink beer' or 喝红酒 *he1 hong2jiu3* 'drink red wine,' while the answer to the yes–no question in [28c] is either 咱们吃 *zan2men0 chi1* 'we will eat' or 咱们不吃 *zan2men0 bu4 chi1* 'we will not eat.'

[28]   a.   你们喝啤酒还是喝红酒呢?
            ni3men0   he1   pi2jiu3   hai2shi4   he1   hong2jiu3   ne0
            you   drink   beer   or   drink   red_wine   NE
            'Do you drink beer or do you drink red wine?'

    b.   他们今晚走还是明早走呢?
            ta1men0   jin1wan3   zou3   hai2shi4   ming2zao3
            they   tonight   go   or   tomorrow_morning

zou3   ne0
go   NE
'Will they leave tonight or will they leave tomorrow morning?'

c.   咱们吃火锅吗?
zan2men0   chi1   huo3guo1   ma0
we   eat   hot_pot   MA
'Are we having hot pot?'

14.4.1.3. Structural features

Interrogative sentences in Chinese typically have the same constituent order as their declarative counterparts do. There are, however, two types of interrogative sentences that have special structural and morphological features. One type is the so-called V-not-V alternative question in which the first verbal element in a clause is reduplicated with a negative form. The V part of the V-not-V can be the main verb, as in [29a], the modal auxiliary, as in [29b], or the adjective of an adjectival predicate, as in [29c].

[29]   a.   你同意不同意这种说法?
ni3   tong2yi4   bu4   tong2yi4   zhe4   zhong3   shuo1fa3
you   agree   NEG   agree   this   CL   saying
'Do you agree with this saying or not?'

b.   你能不能吃辣椒?
ni3   neng2   bu4   neng2   chi1   la4jiao1
you   can   NEG   can   eat   chili_pepper
'Can you eat chili pepper?'

c.   干净不干净?
gan1jing4   bu4   gan1jing4
clean   NEG   clean
'Is it clean or not?'

When the V part is a disyllabic verb or adjective, the first V in the V-not-V can be just the first syllable, as in [30a] and [30b]. When the predicate is in an imperfective aspect, the "not" part of the V-not-V will be 没有 *mei2you3* 'not' or its shortened form 没 *mei2* 'not,' as in [30c].

[30]   a.   他们喜不喜欢游泳?
ta1men0   xi3bu4xi3huan0   you2yong3
they   like_not_like   swim
'Do they like swimming?'

b.   你的女朋友漂不漂亮?
     ni3   de0   nü3peng2you2   piao4bu4piao4liang0
     you   DE   girlfriend   pretty-not-pretty
     'Is your girlfriend beautiful?'

c.   你们去没去过上海?
     ni3men0   qu4mei2qu4   guo0   shang4hai3
     you   go_not_go   GUO   SHANGHAI
     'Have you ever been to Shanghai?'

Note that the answer to a V-not-V alternative question is derived from either the V part or the not-V part. The answer to a V-not-V alternative question is thus similar to that of a yes–no question, as shown in [31a] and [31b].

[31]   a.   Q: 他们同意不同意?
                 ta1men0   tong2yi4   bu4   tong2yi4
                 they   agree   NEG   agree
                 'Do they agree or not?'
            A: 不同意。
                 bu4   tong2yi4
                 NEG   agree
                 'They don't.'

       b.   Q: 他们同意吗?
                 ta1men0   tong2yi4   ma0
                 they   agree   MA
                 'Do they agree?'
            A: 不同意。
                 bu4   tong2yi4
                 NEG   agree
                 'They don't.'

Another type of interrogative sentence with special structural features is the so-called tag question, or AB-not-B question, in which the predicate is repeated in its negative form as a tag, like the 不开车 *bu4 kai1che1* 'not drive the car' in [32a]. The tag part can also be just the negated verb, as in [32b], or simply the negative morpheme, as in [32c]. The negative morpheme in the tag can also be 没有 *mei2you3* or its shortened form 没 *mei2*, depending on the aspect borne by the verb, as shown by [32d] and [32e].

[32] a. 你今天开车不开车?

      ni3   jin1tian1 kai1che1   bu4   kai1che1

      you   today   drive   NEG   drive

      'Will you drive the car today?'

    b. 你今天开车不开?

      ni3   jin1tian1 kai1che1bu4kai1

      you today   drive_not_drive

      'Will you drive the car today?'

    c. 你今天开车不?

      ni3   jin1tian1 kai1che1   bu4

      you   today   drive   NEG

      'Will you drive the car today?'

    d. 你今天吃过药没有?

      ni3   jin1tian1 chi2 guo4 yao4   mei2you3

      you   today   eat   GUO   medicine NEG

      'You took your medication today, didn't you?'

    e. 你今天吃过药没?

      ni3   jin1tian1 chi2 guo4 yao4   mei2

      you   today   eat   GUO   medicine NEG

      'You took your medication today, didn't you?'

Although the clause bearing the main interrogative feature can appear in different shapes if it is the main clause, such a clause typically has either the shape in [33a] or that in [33b] when it is embedded in a direct question. The V-not-V form in [33a] is inside the object clause but it is the whole sentence that should be interpreted as a V-not-V alternative question, namely, the V-not-V form in the embedded clause has a scope over the main clause. Similarly, [33b] should be interpreted as a direct question, even though the interrogative expression 什么 *shen3me0* 'what' is in its usual position inside an object clause.

[33] a. 你看咱们去不去上班?

      ni3   kan4   za2men0   qu4bu4qu4 shang4ban1

      you   see   us   go_not_go   go_to_work

      'Do you think we should go to work?'

    b. 他说妈妈想吃什么?

      ta3   shuo1   ma1ma0   xiang3   chi1   shen2me0

      he   say   mother   want   eat   what

      'What did he say mother wanted to eat?'

When the clause bearing the main interrogative feature is the main part of an indirect question, it will have either the shape in [34a] or that in [34b]. The V-not-V question form in [34a] is for indirect closed interrogatives, while the variable question form in [34b] is for indirect open interrogatives.

[34]   a.   奶奶问我去没去过天津。
   nai3nai0   wen4   wo3   qu4   mei2   qu4   guo4   tian1jin1
   grandma   ask   I   go   NEG   go   GUO   TIANJIN
   'Grandmother asked me whether I had been to Tianjin.'

  b.   他们在打听谁会当主角。
   ta1men0   zai4   da3ting1   shui2   hui4   dang1
   they   ZAI   gather_info   who   will   become

   zhu3jue2
   protagonist
   'They were trying to find out who would play the leading role.'

14.4.2. Directive sentences

With a directive sentence, the speaker asks the listener to perform or not to perform an action. The illocutionary force of directive sentences varies, covering commands, requests, suggestions, advice, etc. Directives have distinctive intonational, lexical, and structural features.

14.4.2.1. Intonational features

Directive sentences are marked by a stressed falling intonation. A forceful command or request is obviously louder than a declarative sentence when uttered. Commands and requests in written texts characteristically end with an exclamation mark.

14.4.2.2. Lexical items

Many directive sentences, especially those expressing commands and requests, have a sentence-final particle, which is typically 啊 *a0* or 吧 *ba0*. 啊 *a0* is often found in a command, like in [35a], to attract the listener's attention and to give more persuasive force. 吧 *ba0* is found mainly in requests, like in [35b], to make the request softer so it sounds like advice or even a plea.

[35]   a.   快跑啊!
   kuai4   pao3   a0
   fast   run   A
   'Run!'

b. 快走吧!
   kuai4   zou3   ba0
   fast   go   BA
   'Better hurry up!'

The pronunciation of the particle 啊 *a0* may be influenced by the preceding syllable and the two might merge to produce phonetic variations like 哇 *wa0* or 呀 *ya0*.

14.4.2.3. Structural features

Directive sentences are usually short, as they mainly occur in face-to-face conversation for a "the shorter, the better" communication effect. A few directive sentences take the form of a subject–predicate construction. The subject can be a second-person pronoun, as in [36a], a first-person plural pronoun, as in [36b], or an inclusive pronoun, like the 大家 *da4jia1* 'all people' in [36c]. In most cases, however, the subject does not show up, as in the cases of [36d] through [36g], since its referent is evident in the context. Such directive sentences consist of just a verb phrase, mainly with an activity verb, achievement verb, or accomplishment verb as the head. A few directive sentences are made of a single nominal phrase, as in [36h], typically as a request for an object.

[36] a. 你要用笔记下! [Command]
        ni3   yao4   yong4 bi3   ji4   xia4
        you   have_to   use   pen   note down
        'You should write this down with a pen!'

     b. 咱们明天再谈吧! [Request]
        zan2men0   ming2tian1   zai4   tan2   ba0
        we   tomorrow   then   talk   BA
        'Let's talk about it tomorrow!'

     c. 大家(所有人)都坐下! [Command]
        da4jia1   suo3you3 ren2   dou1   zuo4   xia4
        everyone   everyone   all   sit   down
        'Sit down, everyone!'

     d. 站住! [Command/request]
        zhan4   zhu4
        stand   still
        'Stop!'

e.   别理他! [Command/advice]
     bie2   li3   ta1
     NEG   be_heard   he
     'Leave him alone!'

f.   别着急, 慢慢找! [Advice]
     bie2   zhao2ji2   man4man4   zhao3
     not   worry   slow   look_for
     'No need to hurry, take your time!'

g.   请让我看看! [Request]
     qing3   rang4   wo3   kan4kan0
     please let   I   look
     'Let me have a look!'

h.   纱布! [Command]
     sha1bu4
     bandage
     'Bandage!'

A directive sentence can also be made of a 把 *ba3* construction, as in [37].

[37]   a.   把书拿上来。
            ba3   shu1   na2   shang4lai2
            BA   book   bring   up
            'Bring the book up here.'

       b.   把酒喝光。
            ba3   jiu3   he1   guang1
            BA   wine   drink   nothing_left
            'Finish your wine.'

       c.   把窗户开一下。
            ba3   chuang1hu0   kai1   yi1xia4
            BA   window   open   once
            'Open the window.'

       d.   把头抬高一点儿。
            ba3   tou2   tai2   gao1   yi1dian3er0
            BA   head   raise high   a_bit
            'Raise your head a little bit higher.'

When the speaker and the listener both know the identity of the object to be acted upon, the 把 *ba3* 'BA' phrase does not have to be overtly mentioned. [38a] thus can have the same interpretation as [37a] does, while [38b] can have the reading of [37d], among other possibilities.

[38] a. 拿上来!
      na2   shang4lai2
      bring   up
      'Bring it up here!'

  b. 抬高一点儿!
      tai2   gao1   yi1dian3er0
      raise   high   a_bit
      'Lift it up a little higher!'

When the speaker and the listener both know the action, the verb in the VP in [38b] can be omitted. The directive in [39] can mean the same as [38b] does, even though it can also mean something else, such as standing at a higher place.

[39]   高一点儿!
       gao1   yi1dian3er0
       high   a_bit
       'A little higher!'

The 一点儿 *yi1dian3er0* 'a little bit' in these directive sentences represents a small amount, with the numeral 一 *yi1* 'one' as the only choice. The speaker uses such a directive to indicate that the request is on a small scale only. In some cases, even the 一 *yi1* 'one' can be left out. [40a] thus can be interpreted as [39], while the two directives in [40b] and [40c] mean the same thing.

[40] a. 高点儿!
      gao1   dian3er0
      high   a_bit
      'A little higher!'

  b. 仔细一点儿!
      zi3xi4   yi1dian3er0
      careful   a_little
      'Be more careful!'

  c. 仔细点儿!
      zi3xi4   dian3er0
      careful   a_little
      'Be more careful!'

Directive sentences may also be used to ask the listener not to do something or to stop doing something. This is mainly achieved by using "别 VP (了)," where 别 *bie2* 'do not' can be replaced by 不要 *bu4yao4* 'should not,' 不必 *bu4bi4* 'no need,' 不用 *bu4yong4* 'no need,' or 甭 *beng2* 'do not,' which is the contracted form of

不用 *bu4yong4*. 别 *bie2* 'do not' and 不要 *bu4yao4* 'should not' are typically used in commands and requests as a warning against certain actions. 不必 *bu4bi4* 'no need' is typically used in advice as a recommendation that certain action is not necessary. 不用 *bu2yong4* 'no need' and 甭 *beng2* 'no need' are typically used in suggestions as a clear proposal that there is no need to do the action.

[41]   a.   别碰!
              bie2   peng2
              do_not   touch
              'Don't touch it!'

        b.   别吃光了!
              bie2   chi1   guang1   le0
              not_do   eat   nothing_left   LE
              'Don't eat up all [of it]!'

        c.   千万别去!
              qian1wan4   bie2   qu4
              absolutely do_not   go
              'Don't go! Never ever!'

        d.   你可别这么说!
              ni3   ke3   bie2   zhe4me0   shuo1
              you   surely do_not   so   say
              'You'd better not say so!'

Notice that "别 VP 了" can convey either a command or a wish. The directive 别吃光了 *bie2 chi1guang1 le0* thus can be a wish, meaning 'I hope that it has not been eaten up,' and it can also be a command, meaning 'don't eat all of it.' The verb phrase should be stressed in the first reading, while 别 *bie2* 'do not' is stressed in the second reading.

别 *bie2* 'do not' is occasionally used alone. In the conversation in [42], Speaker B utters 别 *bie2* 'do not' after Speaker A makes a proposal in the form of a suggestion.

[42]   A: 咱们早点走吧。
              zan2men0   zao3   dian3   zou3   ba0
              we   early   a_little go   BA
              'Let's leave earlier.'

        B: 别! 我还要等一位顾客呢。
              bie2   wo3   hai2yao4   deng3   yi1   wei4   gu4ke4   ne0
              don't   I   still   wait   one   CL   guest   NE
              'Don't do that! I still need to wait for a customer.'

An interesting feature of "别 VP (了)" is that the VP part can be a passive one, such as the 被 *bei4* 'BEI' construction in [43].

[43]　　　别被车子撞着了!
　　　　　bie2　　　bei4　　che1zi0　　zhuang4　　zhe0　　le0
　　　　　do_not　　BEI　　car　　　　hit　　　　　ZHE　　LE
　　　　　'Don't get hit by a car!'

14.5. Logic relations between clauses

In compound sentences and certain complex sentences, no clause is clearly embedded inside another and all clauses might be simply juxtaposed together without any marking. Such a sentence is potentially ambiguous, with many readings, and a common way to avoid ambiguity is to use coordinators, connective adjuncts, or connective prepositions to indicate the logic relationship between clauses.

14.5.1. Conjunctive and disjunctive relations

In both conjunctive and disjunctive relations, two clauses A and B are syntactically equal and relatively independent. However, conjunction requires that both statements be true or false at the same time, while disjunction does not, since in most cases, only one of the alternatives is true in a disjunctive relation.

The clauses in a conjunctive or disjunctive relation may not share any constituent, but each of them could have some constituent that refers to the same entity. It is quite common for the subject of all these clauses to refer to the same entity, and when this happens, the subject of the second clause and those after it typically do not appear overtly. Such a compound sentence will thus look similar to a clause with coordinated predicates.

14.5.1.1. Conjunctive relation

Four subtypes of conjunctive relation can be distinguished, which are now discussed.

CONJUNCTION OF EQUIVALENT CLAUSES Clauses in such a conjunction represent events or states of logically equal status. They are often marked with the coordinator 并且 *bing4qie3* 'and,' and their order is typically reversible. The two compound sentences in [44a] and [44b] thus have the same meaning.

[44]　　a.　天天下雨, 并且气温偏低, 所以庄稼大部分失收。
　　　　　　　tian1tian1　　xia4yu3　　bing4qie3　　qi4wen1　　　pian1　　di1
　　　　　　　everyday　　　rain　　　　and　　　　　temperature　　deviate　　low

suo3yi3　zhuang1jia0　da4bu4fen0　shi1shou1
so　　　crops　　　　most　　　　lose_harvest
'It was raining every day, and the temperature was on the low side.
Most of the crops were thus lost.'

b.　气温偏低, 并且天天下雨, 所以庄稼大部分失收。

qi4wen1　　　pian1　di1　bing4qie3　tian1tian1　xia4yu3
temperature　deviate　low　and　　　　everyday　　rain

suo3yi3　zhuang1jia0　da4bu4fen0　shi1shou1
so　　　crops　　　　most　　　　lose_harvest
'The temperature was on the low side, and it was raining every day.
Most of the crops were thus lost.'

If the two clauses linked by 并且 *bing4qie3* 'and' have an identical subject, the subject of the second clause characteristically will not appear, as in [45a]. Sometimes 并且 *bing4qie3* 'and' will not appear overtly either, as in [45b].

[45]　a.　工厂一直坚持生产, 并且不断改进工艺。

gong1chang3　yi1zhi2　　　jian1chi2　sheng1chan3
factory　　　　all_the_time　insist_on　produce

bing4qie3　bu2duan4　　gai3jin4　gong1yi4
and　　　　unceasingly　improve　craft
'The factory has been keeping [up] production, and improving its technology.'

b.　工厂一直坚持生产, 不断改进工艺。

gong1chang3　yi1zhi2　　　jian1chi2　sheng1chan3
factory　　　　all_the_time　insist_on　produce

bu2duan4　　gai3jin4　gong1yi4
unceasingly　improve　craft
'The factory has been keeping [up] production, and improving its technology.'

The logic relation between clauses in this type of conjunction can also be marked with connective adjunct pairs, which typically have a syntactic role to play in the clause and contribute to the overall proposition of the clause. Connective adjunct pairs used in such conjunctions are mainly of three kinds:

1　既 . . . 又 . . . *ji4 . . . you4 . . .* 'not only . . . but also . . .'
　　也 . . . 也 . . . *ye4 . . . ye4 . . .* 'also . . . also . . . both . . . and . . .'
　　又 . . . 又 . . . *you4 . . . you4 . . .* 'again . . . again . . . both . . . and . . .'

2 一面…一面…*yi1mian4…yi1mian4…* 'at the same time…at the same time…'

   一边…一边…*yi1bian1…yi1bian1…* 'at the same time…at the same time…'

3 一方面…(另)一方面…*yi1fang1mian4…(ling4) yi1fang1mian4…* 'on the one hand…on the other hand…'

Connective adjuncts in group [1] and group [2] are adverbs, typically appearing between the subject and the predicate. Those in group [1] can appear in clauses with verbal or adjectival predicates, while those in group [2] appear in clauses with a verbal predicate only. Clauses marked by connective adjuncts in group [1] characteristically describe a state like that in [46a], a property like that in [46b], or an ability like that in [46c], while those marked by connective adjuncts in group [2] usually describe an ongoing action like that in [46d].

[46] a. 他**既**没有工作, **又**没有朋友帮忙。
          ta1 ji4   mei2you3 gong1zuo4 you4 mei2you3
          he   also NEG   job   also NEG

          peng2you0   bang1mang2
          friend   aid
          'He has neither a job nor a friend to help him.'

      b. 他的工作**既**辛苦, **又**危险。
          ta1 de0 gong1zuo4 ji4   xin1ku3 you4 wei1xian3
          he   DE   job   also hard   also dangerous
          'His job is hard and dangerous.'

      c. 小提琴**也会拉**, 大提琴**也会拉**, 她还真是个天才。
          xiao3ti2qin2 ye3   hui4 la1   da4ti2qin2 ye3   hui4
          violin   also can   play cello   also can

          la1   ta1 hai2   zhen1 shi4 ge4 tian1cai2
          play she still really be   CL   genius
          'She can play violin, she can also play cello. She is really a genius.'

      d. 他**一面**说话, **一面**打字。
          ta1 yi1mian4   shuo1hua4 yi1mian4   da3zi4
          he   on_one_hand   talk   on_one_hand   type
          'He was talking while typing.'

Clauses marked by those in group [3] typically describe two sides of the same story, as in [47a] and [47b].

[47]   a.   一方面我们会为香港带来商机, 另一方面香港也为我们提供资金。

        yi1fang1mian4   wo3men0   hui4   wei4   xiang1gang3

        on_one_hand   we   will   PREP   HONG_KONG

        dai4lai2   shang1ji1   ling4yi1fang1mian4

        bring   business_opportunity   on_the_other_hand

        xiang1gang3   ye3   wei4   wo3men0   ti2gong4   zi1jin1

        HONG_KONG   also   PREP   we   provide   capital

        'On the one hand, we provide Hong Kong with business opportunity, and on the other hand, Hong Kong provides us with capital.'

    b.   北京一方面干旱缺水, 另一方面每逢大雨则又多处积水。

        bei3jing1   yi1fang1mian4   gan1han4   que1   shui3

        Beijing   on_one_side   dry   lack   water

        ling4yi1fang1mian4   mei3feng2   da4yu3   ze2   you4

        on_the_other_hand   whenever   heavy_rain   then   also

        duo1chu4   ji1shui3

        many_places   stagnant_water

        'On the one hand, Beijing suffers from water shortage and drought, but on the other hand, many places will be flooded after heavy rain.'

Note that the pair 一方面 ... 一方面 ... *yi1fang1mian4 ... yi1fang1mian4* ... 'on the one hand ... on the other hand' differs in many aspects from the group [2] pairs 一面 ... 一面 ... *yi1mian4 ... yi1mian4* ... 'at the same time ... at the same time ... ' and 一边 ... 一边 ... *yi1bian1 ... yi1bian1* ... 'at the same time ... at the same time ... ,' even though all three are metaphorically derived from the similar locative expressions 面 *mian4* 'side,' 边 *bian1* 'side,' and 方面 *fang1mian4* 'side.' The group [2] pairs are typically used as manner adverbials to describe doing two things at the same time. The pair 一方面 ... 一方面 ... *yi1fang1mian4 ... yi1fang1mian4* ... 'on the one hand ... on the other hand ... ' is typically used as a clause-oriented adverbial of evaluation.

CONJUNCTION OF CLAUSES WITH A TEMPORAL SEQUENCE Connective pairs like 一 ... 就 ... *yi1 ... jiu4* ... 'as soon as ... then ... ' and connective adjuncts like 接着 *jie1zhe0* 'then,' 然后 *ran2hou4* 'then,' and 后来 *hou4lai2* 'then' suggest a sequential relation between the events described by the clauses in a compound sentence, like those in [48].

[48]   a.   "妻子"原是短语, 后来变成了词。

        qi1zi3   yuan2   shi4   duan3yu3   hou4lai2   bian4cheng2

        wife   use_to   be   phrase   later   change_into

le0　ci2

LE　word

'"妻子" used to be a phrase but became a word later on.'

b.　食物经过消化, 然后变成营养被吸收。

shi2wu4　jing1guo4　xiao1hua4　ran2hou4　bian4cheng2

food　　pass　　　digest　　　and_then　change_to

ying2yang3　bei4　xi1shou1

nutrition　　BEI　draw

'After food is digested, it becomes nutrients and is then absorbed.'

c.　那屋里发出一声巨响, 接着跑出一个人来。

na4　wu1　li0　fa1chu1　yi1　sheng1　ju4xiang3

that　house　in　occur　one　CL　　loud_sound

jie1zhe0　pao3　chu1　yi1　ge4　ren2　　lai2

then　　　run　out　one　CL　person　come

'There was a big bang in the house, and then a man dashed out.'

d.　野鸭一到秋天, 就南移越冬。

ye3ya1　yi1　dao4　qiu1tian1　jiu4　nan2　yi2

mallard　once　arrive　fall　　　thus　south　move

yue4dong1

survive_the_winter

'Once autumn comes, wild ducks migrate to the south.'

When a speaker uses the pair 一 . . . 就 . . . *yi1 . . . jiu4 . . .* 'as soon as . . . then . . .' to indicate the logic relation between two clauses, he indicates that the event in one clause takes place immediately after that in another clause. When the speaker uses connective adjuncts like 接着 *jie1zhe0* 'then,' 然后 *ran2hou4* 'then,' or 后来 *hou4lai2* 'then,' no immediacy is implied and there could be an interval between the events described in the two clauses.

CONJUNCTION OF CLAUSES WITH A PROGRESSIVE SEQUENCE Clauses marked with connective adjunct pairs like 不但 . . . 而且 . . . *bu4dan4 . . . er2qie3 . . .* 'not only . . . but also . . .' and 尚且 . . . 何况 . . . *shang4qie3 . . . he2kuang4 . . .* 'even . . . let alone . . . ,' or connective adjuncts like 况且 . . . *kuang4qie3 . . .* 'and moreover . . . ,' are of unequal status but the second clause typically describes an event or status that is more important to the speaker.

When the speaker in [49a] uses 不但 . . . 而且 . . . *bu2dan4 . . . er2qie3 . . .* 'not only . . . but also . . . ,' the second clause provides new information on the basis of the first. The speaker in [49b] is presenting an argument and the 尚且 . . . 何况 . . . *shang4qie3 . . . he2kuang4 . . .* 'even . . . let alone . . .' indicates that he thinks the

second clause represents the main issue. Similarly, the speaker in [49c] considers the fact in the second clause more important.

[49] a. 不但我的家人会为我高兴, 而且所有中国人都会为我高兴。

bu4dan4   wo3   de0   jia1ren2   hui4   wei4   wo3
not_only I   DE   family   will   PREP   I

gao1xing4   er2qie3   suo3you3   zhong1guo2ren2   dou1
happy   and   all   Chinese   all

hui4   wei4   wo3   gao1xing4
will   PREP   I   happy

'Not only will my family be happy for me, but all the Chinese people will also be happy.'

  b. 蝼蚁尚且贪生, 更何况人呢。

lou2yi3   shang4qie3   tan1sheng1   geng4 he2kuang4   ren2
ants   even   indulge_life   let_alone   human

ne0
NE

'Even ants want to stay alive, let alone humans.'

  c. 这种手机信号好, 况且也不贵。

zhe4   zhong3   shou3ji1   xin4hao4   hao3   kuang4qie3
this   CL   cell_phone   signal   good   besides

ye3   bu2   gui4
also   NEG   expensive

'This type of cellphone has reliable reception, and moreover, it is not expensive.'

CONJUNCTION OF CLAUSES OF CORRELATIVE COMPARISON A special type of compound sentence can be used to indicate comparison and these sentences are marked with connective adjunct pairs like 越...越...*yue4...yue4...* 'the more...the more...' or 愈...愈...*yu4...yu4...* 'the more...the more....' The former is found in both oral communication and written texts, whereas the latter occurs mainly in written texts. Both 越 *yue4* 'the more' and 愈 *yu4* 'the more' are adverbials in the clause in which they appear, but the former sometimes can be used to compare three or more elements, as in [50b], while the latter is predominantly used for the comparison of two elements.

[50] a. 我们越着急, 他越开心。

wo3men0   yue4   zhao2ji2   ta1   yue4   kai1xin1
we   more   worry   he   more   happy

'The more anxious we are, the more pleased he will be.'

b. 你准备得越充分, 开始得越早, 成功的机会就越大。

ni3	zhun3bei4	de0	yue4	chong1fen4	kai1shi3	de0
you	prepare	DE	more	full		start	DE

yue4	zao3	cheng2gong1	de0	ji1hui4	jiu4	yue4	da4
more	early	succeed		DE	chance	thus	more	big

'The better you are prepared and the earlier you start, the better chance you will have to succeed.'

c. 水塔愈高, 水的压力愈大。

shui3ta3	yu4	gao1	shui3	de0	ya1li4	yu4
water_tower	more	tall	water	DE	pressure	more

da4
big

'The higher a water tower is, the greater the water pressure it produces.'

14.5.1.2. Disjunctive relation

The clauses in a disjunctive compound sentence have equal syntactic status but not the same semantic status, because in most cases only one of the alternatives in a disjunctive relation can be true.

DISJUNCTION OF EQUIVALENT CLAUSES When a speaker uses this type of disjunctive, he believes that all clauses are logically equal but only one of them can be true, even though he does not make it clear which one should be true.

A common coordinator for such disjunctives is 或者 *huo4zhe3* 'or.' It can link two clauses together, as in [51a], but it can also link three or more clauses, as in [51b]. Like their counterparts in conjunctive relation, clauses in disjunctive relation may have some constituents in common and such constituents may not always show up overtly. When the subject of these clauses refers to the same entity, the subjects of the second and following clauses, if any, are typically not overt. This type of disjunctive relation can also be marked with connective adjunct pairs like 要么...要么...*yao4me0...yao4me0...* 'either...or...,' as in [51c], 不是...就是...*bu2shi4...jiu4shi4...* 'if not be...then will be...,' as in [51d] or 是...还是...*shi4...hai2shi4...* 'it is...or it is...,' as in [51e].

[51] a. 我们可以去苏州见你, 或者你可以来上海看我们。

wo3men0	ke3yi3	qu4	su1zhou1	jian4	ni3	huo4zhe3
we	can	go	SUZHOU	see	you	or

ni3	ke3yi3	lai2	shang4hai3	kan4	wo3men0
you	can	come	SHANGHAI	see	we

'We could go to Suzhou to visit you, or you could come to visit us in Shanghai.'

b. 对不利于我们的观点, 或者掩埋之, 或者批判之, 或者干脆无视之。

dui4   bu2   li4yu2   wo3men0   de0   guan1dian3
PREP   NEG   favor   we   DE   viewpoint

huo4zhe3   yan3mai2   zhi1   huo4zhe3   pi1pan4   zhi1
or   bury   it   or   critique it

huo4zhe3   gan1cui4   wu2shi4   zhi1
or   simply   ignore   it

'As to those views not favoring us, we may bury them, or criticize them, or simply ignore them.'

c. 要么迫降, 要么弃机跳伞!

yao4me0   po4jiang4   yao4me0   qi4   ji1   tiao4san3
or   forced_landing   or   idle plane   parachute

'Forced landing, or parachuting!'

d. 我不是在咖啡馆, 就是在去咖啡馆的路上。

wo3   bu4shi4   zai4   ka1fei1guan3   jiu4shi4   zai4   qu4
I   NEG   be_at   coffee_shop   or   be_at   go

ka1fei1guan3   de0   lu4shang0
coffee_shop   DE   en_route

'I might be in the coffee shop or on my way to the coffee shop.'

e. 是爸爸更了解儿子, 还是妈妈更了解儿子?

shi4   ba4ba0   geng4   liao3jie3   er2zi0   hai2shi4
be   father   more   understand   son   or

ma1ma0   geng4   liao3jie3   er2zi0
mother   more   understand   son

'Is it the father or the mother who knows more about their son?'

Note that 是...还是... *shi4...hai2shi4...* 'it is...or it is...' typically appears only in interrogative sentences, either direct or indirect.

DISJUNCTION OF NON-EQUIVALENT CLAUSES There are typically two clauses in such a disjunctive compound sentence and the two clauses do not have the same status in terms of logic relation. There are two possibilities:

1 The two clauses represent two statements contradictory to each other and the speaker thinks that either one is true but the other is not or one is preferred over the other. Such a relation is typically marked with connective adjunct pairs like 与其...(还)不如... *yu3qi2...(hai2) bu4ru2...* 'rather than...it is better...' or 与其...宁可... *yu3qi2...ning4ke3...* 'rather than...it is better...'

The former is found in both written and oral genres, while the latter is mainly used in written contexts.

[52] a. 你与其<u>为失败找借口</u>, 不如努力<u>为成功找办法</u>。
ni3   yu3qi2   wei4   shi1bai4 zhao3 jie4kou3 bu4ru2
you   rather_than PREP   fail   seek   excuse   rather

nu3li4   wei4   cheng2gong1 zhao3   ban4fa3
work_hard PREP   success   seek   way
'Rather than to look for excuses, it would be better for you to find a way to success.'

b. 你与其<u>这么写</u>还不如<u>不写</u>。
ni3   yu3qi2   zhe4me0   xie3   hai2bu4ru2   bu4   xie3
you   rather_than so   write   rather   NEG   write
'Rather than for you to write in this way, it is better not to write anything.'

c. 与其<u>他去参加这次比赛</u>, 不如<u>我去参加</u>。
yu3qi2   ta1   qu4   can1jia1   zhe4ci4   bi3sai4
rather_than he   go   participate   this_time   game

bu4ru2   wo3   qu4   can1jia1
rather   I   go   participate
'Rather than for him to attend the contest, it would be better for me to attend it.'

d. 与其<u>跪着生</u>, 宁可<u>站着死</u>。
yu3qi2   gui4   zhe0   sheng1   ning4ke3   zhan4   zhe0
rather_than kneel   ZHE   live   rather   stand   ZHE
si3
die
'Better [to] die standing than live kneeling.'

Of the two pairs of connective adjuncts, 与其...(还)不如...*yu3qi2...(hai2) bu4ru2*...'rather than...it is better...' is typically used in mild persuasion, while 与其...宁可...*yu3qi2...ning4ke3*...'rather than...it is better...' is often used in protest or as a strong statement of one's preference.

2 The clauses in the disjunctive compound sentence represent two statements of which only one is true, and the speaker is making a strong claim about which one is true. The connective adjunct pairs that mark these two clauses are 不是...而是...*bu4shi4...er2shi4*...'it is not...it is...,' as in [53a] and [53b], or 不

但(不/没有)...反而...*bu4dan4 (bu4/mei2you3)...fan3er2...* 'not only (not)...but on the contrary...,' as in [53c].

[53]   a.   女主角不是演不好, 而是不想演。

nü3zhu3   bu4shi4   yan3   bu4   hao3
female_lead   NEG   act   NEG   good

er2shi4   bu4   xiang3   yan3
rather   NEG   want   act

'It is not the case that the leading actress cannot perform, but it is that she doesn't want to perform.'

   b.   不是我车速快, 而是你闯红灯。

bu4shi4   wo3   che1su4   kuai4   er2shi4   ni3
NEG   I   vehicle_speed   fast   rather   you

chuang3hong2deng1
run_a_red_light

'It is not me that drove too fast, but it is you that ran the red light.'

   c.   骚乱不但没有停止, 反而不断升级。

sao1luan4   bu4dan4   mei2you3   ting2zhi3   fan3er2
riot   not_only   NEG   stop   instead

bu4duan4   sheng1ji2
unceasingly   escalate

'The riot didn't stop, but on the contrary, it escalated.'

Note that when the speaker uses the connective adjunct pair 不但(不/没有)...反而...*bu2dan4 (bu4/mei2you3)...fan3er2...* 'not only (not)...but on the contrary...' to mark the two clauses in a disjunctive relation, he is making a very clear statement that although the clause marked 不但不 *bu2dan4* 'not only not...' is supposed to be true, the clause marked with 反而 *fan3er2* 'but on the contrary...' is actually true.

14.6. Concessive complex sentences

When a speaker uses a concessive complex sentence, he characteristically presents two statements, one as the main clause and the other as the concessive adjunct. The clauses in such a sentence are typically marked with connective adjunct pairs like the 虽然...但是...*sui1ran2...dan4shi4...* 'although...but...' in [54a] and the 即使...也...*ji2shi3...ye3...* 'even though...still...' in [54b] and [54c]. Of these pairs 虽然 *sui1ran2* 'although' or 即使 *ji2shi3* 'even though' marks the

adjunct clause, while 但是 *dan4shi4* 'but' or 也 *ye3* 'still' marks the main clause. Although the truth of the adjunct clause seems to indicate that the main clause will be false, it actually does not detract from the truth of the main clause.

If the first clause in [54a] 房租这么低 *fang2zu1 zhe4me0 di1* 'the rent is so low' is true, it indicates that everyone should be able to afford it. Since [54a] is marked with the connective pair 虽然…但是…*sui1ran2…dan4shi4…* 'although…but…,' it has a specific reading that there are still people who cannot afford the rent in spite of its all-time low. The sentences in [54b] and [54c] have the same type of interpretation.

[54] a. 虽然房租这么低, 但是也有人交不起。

    sui1ran2 fang2zu1 zhe4me0 di1 dan4shi4 ye3 you3
    although rent so low but also have

    ren2 jiao1bu4qi3
    people cannot_afford
    'Although the rent is so low, some people still cannot afford it.'

  b. 即使房租这么低, 也有人交不起。

    ji2shi3 fang2zu1 zhe4me0 di1 ye3 you3
    even_though rent so low also have

    ren2 jiao1bu4qi3
    people cannot_afford
    'Even though the rent is so low, some people cannot afford it.'

  c. 即使房租再低些, 也还是有人交不起。

    ji2shi3 fang2zu1 zai4 di1 xie1 ye3 hai2shi4
    even_though rent more low some also still

    you3 ren2 jiao1bu4qi3
    have people cannot_afford
    'Even if the rent went lower, there are still people who could not afford it.'

Other connective adjuncts marking the concessive clause include 尽管 *jin3guan3* 'though,' 固然 *gu4ran2* 'though,' and 纵然 *zong4ran2* 'though,' and connective adjuncts marking the main clause include 却 *que4* 'but,' 可是 *ke3shi4* 'but,' 不过 *bu4guo4* 'but,' 然而 *ran2er2* 'but,' and 只是 *zhi3shi4* 'but.' Note that 然而 *ran2er2* and 只是 *zhi3shi4* typically mark the main clause alone without any marker on the concessive adjunct clause. The difference between [55a] and [55b] thus does not affect the concessive reading.

[55]   a.   这幅画固然不错, 但是我没有钱买。

     zhe4   fu2   hua4   gu4ran2   bu4cuo4   dan4shi4   wo3

     this   CL   painting   although   good   but   I

     mei2you3   qian2   mai3

     NEG   money   buy

     'The painting is good, but I don't have money to buy it.'

    b.   这幅画的确不错, 只是太贵了。

     zhe4   fu2   hua4   di2que4   bu4cuo4   zhi3shi4   tai4

     this   CL   painting   indeed   good   only   too

     gui4   le0

     expensive   LE

     'The painting is pretty good, only the price is too high.'

14.7. Conditional complex sentences

A conditional complex sentence predominantly consists of two clauses, a conditional adjunct clause that expresses a condition, real or imagined, and a main clause that explains the consequence of the condition. Conditional complex sentences are typically marked with connective adjunct pairs to indicate the logic relation between the two clauses, and they can be categorized into four subtypes according to their logical relation:

1   Sufficient condition

   Connective adjunct pairs like 只要…就…zhi3yao4…jiu4…'as long as…then…' and 一旦…就…yi1dan4…jiu4…'as soon as…then…' are common ones to mark sentences of sufficient condition, in which if the conditional clause is true, the main clause will also be true.

2   Necessary condition

   Connective adjunct pairs like 只有…才…*zhi2you3…cai2…*'only if… then…' and 除非…才…*chu2fei1…cai2…*'unless…then…' are commonly used to mark necessary condition sentences in which the main clause will not be true unless the conditional clause is true.

3   Hypothetical condition

   Connective adjunct pairs like 如果/假使/假如…就…*ru2guo3/jia2shi3/jia3ru2…jiu4…*'if…then…,' 要是…就…*yao4shi4…jiu4…*'if… then…,' and 要不是…早就…*yao4bu2shi4…zao3jiu4…*'if not that… then…' are markers for hypothetical conditions, in which the conditional clause expresses an imaginary situation while the main clause spells out

the consequence, and it is not possible for the conditional to be true and for the main clause to be false.

4   Exhaustive condition

Connective adjunct pairs like 无论/任凭/不管 . . . 都 . . . *wu2lun4/ren4ping2/ bu4guan3 . . . dou1 . . .* 'no matter . . . all . . .' and 无论/任凭/不管 . . . 也 . . . *wu2lun4/ ren4ping2/bu4guan3 . . . ye3 . . .* 'no matter . . . also . . .' are markers for exhaustive conditionals, in which the main clause will be true regardless of which option of the conditional is realized.

The sufficient condition in [56a] means that if the condition "you join us" is satisfied, the speakers will definitely start the project. It is also implied that among all the conditions, "you join us" is the easiest to satisfy. The necessary condition in [56b] means that only if "you join us" is satisfied will the speakers start the project, and it is also implied that among all the conditions, it is the hardest to satisfy. The sentence in [56c] has a hypothetical condition "you join us," which the speakers hope will be realized, and what is being conveyed is that a project will be started if the condition is satisfied. The exhaustive condition in [56d] makes it clear that the project will start, regardless of whether the condition is satisfied or not.

[56]   a.   只要你参加，我们就启动这个计划。

zhi3yao4   ni3   can1jia1   wo3men0   jiu4   qi3dong4
as_long_as   you   join   we   thus   switch_on
zhe4   ge0   ji4hua4
this   CL   plan
'As long as you join us, we will start this project.'

b.   只有你参加，我们才启动这个计划。

zhi3you3   ni3   can1jia1   wo3men0   cai2   qi3dong4
only_if   you   join   we   just   switch_on
zhe4   ge0   ji4hua4
this   CL   plan
'We will start the project only if you join us.'

c.   如果你参加，我们就启动这个计划。

ru2guo3   ni3   can1jia1   wo3men0   jiu4   qi3dong4   zhe4
if   you   join   we   thus   switch_on   this
ge0   ji4hua4
CL   plan
'If you join us, we will start the project.'

d. 无论你参不参加, 我们都要启动这个计划。

wu2lun4	ni3	can1	bu4	can1jia1	wo3men0	dou1
no_matter	you	join	NEG	join	we	all

yao4	qi3dong4	zhe0	ge4	ji4hua4
will	switch_on	this	CL	plan

'Whether you join us or not, we will start this program.'

A conditional sentence typically does not distinguish what is being planned from what has actually happened. An exception is those marked with 要不是 . . . *yao4bu2shi4* . . . 'if not . . .' in which the conditional clause describes a past event and the main clause presents a state or event that is counterfactual. The 律师鼓励 *lu4shi1 gu3li4* 'being pushed by the lawyer' in [57] is a past event, while 我真不想打这个官司 *wo3 zhen1 bu4xiang3 da3 zhe4ge4 guan1si1* 'I did not want to go to the court' describes something contrary to the fact. What the sentence conveys is that the speaker actually went to the court even though he had had some reservations about doing so.

[57]   要不是律师鼓励, 我真不想打这个官司。

yao4bu2shi4	lü4shi1	gu3li4	wo3	zhen1	bu4	xiang3
if_not	lawyer	urge	I	really	Neg	want

da3	zhe4	ge0	guan1si0
do	this	CL	lawsuit

'If I had not been pushed by the lawyer, I would not have gone to the court.'

14.8. Causative and purposive complex sentences

Causatives and purposives are both complex sentences consisting of an adjunct clause and a main clause. The two clauses typically form a temporal sequence, with one describing an event or state happening earlier than that in the other. The main difference between these two types of sentences is that purposives involve some intentional behavior while causatives do not necessarily involve such an intention.

Causatives are marked with connective adjunct pairs, such as 因为 . . . 所以 . . . *yin1wei4* . . . *suo2yi3* . . . 'because . . . therefore . . . ,' as in [58a], 之所以 . . . 是因为 . . . *zhi1suo3yi3* . . . *shi4 yin1wei4* . . . 'with such a result . . . it is because . . . ,' as in [58b], or 既然 . . . 于是/则/那就/那么/可见 . . . *ji4ran2* . . . *yu2shi4/ze2/na4jiu4/na4me0/ke3jian4* . . . 'given that . . . therefore . . . ,' as in [58c]. A prominent feature of causatives is that the sentence can be marked with either a connective adjunct pair or half of the pair, as shown in [58d] and [58e].

[58]   a.   因为忙, 所以我一直没有给他回信。

yin1wei4   mang2   suo3yi3   wo3   yi1zhi2   mei2you3
because   busy   so   I   all_the_time   NEG

gei3   ta1   hui2xin4
PREP   he   reply

'Because I have been busy, I have not given him a reply yet.'

b.   比赛之所以输掉, 是因为准备不充分。

bi3sai4   zhi1suo3yi3   shu1diao4   shi4   yin1wei4
game   the_reason_why   lose   be   because

zhun3bei4   bu4   chong1fen4
preparation   NEG   adequate

'They lost the game because they did not prepare for it well.'

c.   既然他还能骑马, 可见他的病并不严重。

ji4ran2   ta1   hai2   neng2   qi2   ma3   ke3jian4   ta1
since   he   still   can   ride   horse   therefore   he

de0   bing4   bing4bu4   yan2zhong4
DE   ill   not_at_all   serious

'Since he could still ride a horse, he should not be seriously ill.'

d.   他们因志趣相投, 很快就成了朋友。

ta1men0   yin1   zhi4qu4xiang1tou2   hen3kuai4   jiu4
they   because   have_common_interests   soon   thus

cheng2   le0   peng2you3
become   LE   friend

'They soon became friends because of their common interests.'

e.   鹿对灰色的识别力最强, 所以能迅速逃避大灰狼的袭击。

lu4   dui4   hui1se4   de0   shi2bie2li4   zui4   qiang2
deer   PREP   gray   DE   recognition   most   strong

suo3yi3   neng2   xun4su4   tao2bi4   da4   hui1   lang2   de0
hence   can   rapid   shirk   big   gray   wolf   DE

xi2ji1
surprise_attack

'Because deer are sensitive to gray, they can quickly escape from gray wolves.'

The causative relation marked with 既然…可见…*ji4ran2…ke3jian4*… 'since…therefore…' is based on an indirect inference, while the causative relation marked with 因为…所以…*yin1wei4…suo2yi3*… 'because…therefore…' is based on a direct cause−effect correlation. The inference relation of the

former is sensitive to the temporal sequence of events, as well as to the order of presentation. The sentence in [59a] first presents "given the fact that the ground is wet" and then presents the inferred conclusion "it must have rained," and such an order should normally not be reversed. If the speaker wants to present the story in a reversed order, a possible choice would be [59b], in which a hedge phrase 看来 *kan4lai2* 'it looks like' is used.

[59]   a.   既然地上是湿的, 可见昨晚肯定下过雨。
            ji4ran2   di4shang4   shi4   shi1   de0   ke3jian4   zuo2wan3
            since   ground   be   wet   DE   therefore   last_night
            ken3ding4   xia4   guo4   yu3
            must   fall   GUO   rain
            'Since the ground is wet, it must have rained last night.'
        b.   看来昨晚下过雨了, 地上都湿了。
            kan4lai2   zuo2wan3   xia4   guo4   yu3   le4   di4shang4
            looks_like   last_night fall   GUO   rain   LE   ground
            dou1   shi1   le0
            all   wet   LE
            'It might have rained last night, since the ground is wet.'

In comparison, the direct cause–effect relation marked with 因为...所以...*yin1wei4...suo2yi3...* 'because...therefore...' is typically not affected by the order of presentation. Both [60a] and [60b] are thus acceptable and have the same interpretation.

[60]   a.   因为昨晚下过雨, 地上是湿的。
            yin1wei4   zuo2wan3   xia4   guo4   yu3   di4shang4   shi4
            because   last_night fall   GUO   rain   ground   be
            shi1   de0
            wet   DE
            'Because it rained last night, the ground is wet.'
        b.   地上是湿的, 因为昨晚下过雨。
            di4shang4   shi4   shi1   de0   yin1wei4   zuo2wan3   xia4
            ground   be   wet   DE   because   last_night fall
            guo4   yu3
            GUO   rain
            'The ground is wet, because it rained last night.'

既然...*ji4ran2...* 'given the fact that...' can pair with the adverbs 也 *ye3* 'as well,' 就 *jiu4* 'then,' or 还 *hai2* 'still' to mark a causative relation. When a speaker uses 既然...也(就)...*ji4ran2...ye3(jiu4)...* 'given the fact that...it'd be better

also . . . ' in [61a], he conveys two ideas with the main clause. On the one hand, he says that the listener should not pursue the case anymore, and on the other hand, he hints that there is an additional issue that the listener should also take care of. The speaker in [61b] uses 既然 . . . 还 . . . *ji4ran2 . . . hai2 . . .* 'given that . . . still . . .' to indicate two things as well. On the one hand, he says that the listener should not take the examination, and on the other hand, he tells the listener that this should be given up a long time ago.

[61]   a.   既然已经和解, 也就不要再追究了。

ji4ran2   yi3jing1   he2jie3   ye3   jiu4   bu2yao4   zai4
since   already   settle   also   thus   do_not   again

zhui1jiu1   le0
find_out   LE
'Since it's already settled, just let it go.'

   b.   你既然把握不大, 还去考什么?

ni3   ji4ran2   ba3wo4   bu4   da4   hai2   qu4   kao3
you   since   certainty   NEG   big   yet   go   exam

shen2me0
what
'Since you have no confidence [in the result], why do you bother to take the exam?'

Purposives are typically marked with a preposition, such as the 为了 . . . *wei4le0 . . .* ' in order to achieve . . .' in [62a] and the 以免 . . . *yi3mian3 . . .* 'in order to avoid . . .' in [62b]. 以免 . . . *yi3mian3 . . .* 'in order to avoid . . .' has some variations in spoken genres, such as 免得 . . . *mian3de0 . . .* 'in order to avoid . . .' and 省得 . . . *sheng3de0 . . .* 'in order to avoid . . . .' Given their usage in different genres, it is appropriate to use 以免 . . . *yi3mian3 . . .* 'in order to avoid . . .' in [62b], which is a police warning, and it is also fine to use 省得 . . . *sheng3de0 . . .* 'in order to avoid . . .' in [62c], which is a casual exchange between close friends. However, it is not proper to switch the two prepositions, since that would constitute an inappropriate mixture of styles.

[62]   a.   为了不增加家里的负担, 她辍学了。

wei4le0   bu4   zeng1jia1   jia1li3   de0   fu4dan1   ta1
PREP   NEG   add   family   DE   load   she

chuo4xue2   le0
drop_out   LE
'In order to ease the burden on her family, she dropped out of school.'

b. 严禁酒后驾车, 以免酿成交通事故。

yan2jin4		jiu3	hou4	jia4che1		yi3mian3
strictly_prohibit	wine	after	drive_a_vehicle		lest

niang4cheng2	jiao1tong1	shi4gu4
lead_to	traffic	accident

'To stay away from traffic accidents, don't drink and drive.'

c. 你带本书在车上看吧, 省得闷得慌。

ni3	dai4	ben3	shu1	zai4	che1	shang4	kan4	ba0
you	take	CL	book	PREP	car	on	see	BA

mian3de0	men4de0huang1
so_as_not_to	bored

'Take a book with you, so you won't feel bored on the train.'

14.9. Strategies of clause linking

The main function of coordinators, connective adjuncts, and connective preposi-tions is to indicate the logic relation between clauses in compound sentences and certain types of complex sentences. However, when such logic relation is clearly understood, these connective elements may not be obligatory and the interpreta-tion of the sentence will depend on the context.

14.9.1. Connective words

In addition to coordinators, connective adjuncts, and connective prepositions, certain adverbs also have the function of indicating the logic relation between clauses in compound sentences and certain complex sentences, such as 也 *ye3* 'as well,' 又 *you4* 'again,' and 都 *dou1* 'all.'

A few other words or phrases are sometimes used to indicate the logic relation between these clauses. A typical example is 的话 *de0hua4* 'if,' which can be used as part of a complex nominal phrase like 你说的话 *ni3 shuo1 de0 hua4* 'the words you said,' but can also be placed immediately after a clause to indicate a hypothetic condition, as in [63a]. Interrogative pronouns like 谁 *shui2* 'who,' 什么 *shen2me0* 'what,' 怎么 *zen3me0* 'how,' and 哪儿 *na3er0* 'where' can help to establish the logic relation between clauses, as in [63b]. Even determinatives like the 那 *na4* 'in that case, then' in [63c] can be used as connectives to indicate a possible cause–effect relation.

[63]   a. 你不去的话, 我也不去。

ni3	bu4	qu4	de0	hua4	wo3	ye3	bu4	qu4
you	NEG	go	DE	if	I	also	NEG	go

'If you don't go there, I won't either.'

b. 谁先做完, 谁先走。

shui2   xian1   zuo4   wan2   shui2   xian1   zou3

who   early   do   finish   who   early   go

'Whoever finishes earlier leaves earlier.'

c. 你听不懂, 那你就别在这儿碍事。

ni3   ting1   bu4   dong3   na4   ni3   jiu4   bie2

you   listen   NEG   understand   that   you   thus   do_not

zai4   zhe4er0   ai4shi4

PREP   here   matter

'If you don't understand it, then just stay away.'

14.9.1.1. Position of connective words

Coordinators and connective prepositions predominantly appear at the beginning of the clause they mark. Some connective adjuncts are adverbs and some of them are modal auxiliaries. As such, connective adjuncts can appear at the beginning of a clause, and some of them can appear between the subject and the predicate.

There are cases where a coordinator or a connective preposition apparently appears after the subject, as shown in [64], [65], and [66], but they characteristically have a different interpretation. The coordinator 不但 *bu2dan4* 'not only' in [64a] appears at the beginning of the first clause but appears between the subject and predicate in the first clause of [64b]. The difference represents the fact that the subject of the second clause in [64b] refers to the same person as the subject of the first clause does, while the subject of the two clauses in [64a] refers to different persons.

[64]   a.   不但你要去, 而且我也要去。

bu4dan4   ni3   yao4   qu4   wo3   ye3   yao4   qu4

not_only   you   will   go   I   also   will   go

'Not only you have to go there, I also have to.'

b.   你不但要去, 而且要马上去。

ni3   bu4dan4   yao4   qu4   er2qie3   yao4   ma3shang4   qu4

you   not_only   will   go   and   will   at_once   go

'Not only you have to go there, but you also have to go immediately.'

14.9.1.2. Connective words with multiple functions

Some connective words are polysemous and can be used to represent different logical relations. The 就是 *jiu4shi4* in [65a] marks a concessive relation and means 'even if.' The same word indicates a contrastive relation in [65b] and means 'except for.' It marks a disjunctive relation in [65c] and should be understood as 'or.'

[65]   a.   就是天塌下来, 他也不怕。

   jiu4shi4   tian1   ta1   xia4lai2   ta1   ye3   bu4   pa4
   even_if   sky   fall down   he   also NEG   fear

   'Even if the sky is falling, he will not be scared.'

   b.   他什么都好, 就是脾气坏了点。

   ta1   shen2me0   dou1   hao3   jiu4shi4   pi2qi4   huai4
   he   what   all   good   except_for temper   bad

   le0   dian3
   LE   a_little

   'Everything about him is fine except for his temper.'

   c.   到了北京, 不是参观故宫, 就是游览长城。

   dao4   le0   bei3jing1   bu4shi4   can1guan1   gu4gong1
   arrive LE   Beijing   NEG   tour   palace

   jiu4shi4   you2lan3   chang2cheng2
   or   tour   Great_Wall

   'What you will do in Beijing is to visit either the Forbidden City or the Great Wall.'

The pair 一 . . . 就 . . . *yi1* . . . *jiu4* . . . 'as soon as . . . then . . . ' in [66a] indicates a temporal sequence of events, whereas the pair in [66b] indicates a sufficient condition relation derived from the temporal relation.

[66]   a.   他一到办公室, 就给学生打了一个电话。

   ta1   yi1   dao4   ban4gong1shi4   jiu4   gei3   xue2sheng1
   he   once   reach   office   thus   PREP   student

   da3   le0   yi1   ge4   dian4hua4
   make   LE   one   CL   telephone

   'As soon as he arrived at the office, he gave the student a phone call.'

   b.   水一到零度, 就会结冰。

   shui3   yi1   dao4   ling2du4   jiu4   hui4   jie2bing1
   water   once reach   zero_degree   thus   will   freeze

   'Once the temperature drops below 0°C, water freezes.'

Certain polysemous connective words may have the syntactic functions of more than one category. The 或者 *huo4zhe3* in [67a] is a coordinator that marks a disjunctive relation and should be understood as 'or.' The 或者 *huo4zhe3* in [67b] is an adverb with the meaning of 'perhaps.' The 尽管 *jin3guan3* 'even though' in [68a] is a connective adjunct marking a concessive relation, while the 尽管 *jin3guan3* 'just' in [68b] is an adverb, which functions as an adverbial but marks the logic relation between clauses.

[67] a. 他去或者不去, 都由他自己决定。

　　ta1　qu4　huo4zhe3　bu4　qu4　dou1　you2　ta1
　　he　go　or　　　NEG　go　all　PREP　he

　　zi4ji3　jue2ding4
　　self　decide

　　'It is up to him to decide whether or not to go.'

　　b. 他去得早, 或者还有救。

　　ta1　qu4　de0　zao3　huo4zhe3　hai2　you3　　jiu4
　　he　go　DE　early　or　　　still　have　　save

　　'If he goes earlier, there might be hope of being saved.'

[68] a. 尽管我很轻, 还是把他惊动了。

　　jin3guan3　　wo3　hen3　qing1　hai2shi4　ba3　ta1
　　even_though　I　very　light　still　　BA　he

　　jing1dong4　le0
　　alarm　　LE

　　'Even though my movement was light, he was alerted anyway.'

　　b. 你有什么需要, 尽管告诉我。

　　ni3　you3　shen2me0　xu1yao4　jin3guan3　gao4su4　wo3
　　you　have　what　　need　　just　　　tell　　I

　　'If you need any help, just let me know.'

The connective adjunct pair 既…也…*ji4…ye3…* 'either…or…' in [69a] marks a conjunctive relation. The 既…也…*ji4…ye3…* in [69b], on the other hand, is the shortened form of 既然…也…*ji4ran2…ye3…* which marks a causative relation and should be understood as 'given the fact that… therefore….'

[69] a. 我们既反对保守, 也反对冒进。

　　wo3men0　ji4　fan3dui4　bao3shou3　　ye3　fan3dui4
　　we　　also　oppose　conservation　also　oppose

　　mao4jin4
　　rash_advance

　　'We are against being either too conservative or too radical.'

　　b. 事情既已败露, 我也不再隐瞒了。

　　shi4qing2　ji4　yi3　bai4lu4　　wo3　ye3　bu4
　　thing　　since　already　be_exposed　I　also　NEG

　　zai4　yin3man2　le0
　　again　hide　　LE

　　'Given that it has been exposed, I don't have to hide it anymore.'

14.10. Compound sentences without overt marking

Although coordinators and connective adjuncts are commonly used to indicate the logic relation between clauses in compound sentences and certain types of complex sentences, there are cases where the logic relation is marked by other means. One possibility is to use clauses with identical structures and with corresponding lexical items to create a parallelism. The two clauses in [70a] have an identical structure with a linking verb 是 *shi4* 'be' as the head of the predicate. What is more, several lexical items in the two clauses are antonyms, such as 直线 *zhi2xian4* 'straight line' versus 曲线 *qu3xian4* 'curve' and 流畅 *liu2chang4* 'smooth' versus 婉转 *wan3zhuan3* 'uneven,' and they appear in corresponding positions. These clauses are thus in a conjunctive relation without any overt marking. The two clauses in [70b] describe two events with a clear temporal sequence, and they form a conjunction without overt marking.

[70] a. 直线是流畅的美, 曲线是婉转的美。

zhi2xian4   shi4   liu2chang4   de0   mei3   qu1xian4
straight_line   be   easy_and_smooth   DE   beauty   curve

shi4   wan3zhuan3   de0   mei3
be   tactful   DE   beauty
'While a straight line illustrates the beauty of free-flow directness, a curved line displays the grace of round-aboutness.'

b. 孩子们讨论了一上午, 通过了一个决议。

hai2zi0men0   tao3lun4   le0   yi1   shang4wu3   tong1guo4
children   discuss   LE   one   morning   pass

le0   yi1   ge4   jue2yi4
LE   one   CL   decision
'The children had spent the whole morning discussing it, and they made a decision.'

Another way to indicate the logic relation without a coordinator or connective adjunct is to use interrogative pronouns or their compounds in corresponding positions. The 谁 *shui2* 'who' in the first clause of [71a] represents whoever causes the pollution and should be understood as 'anyone,' while the 谁 *shui2* 'who' in the second clause refers back to the first 谁 *shui2* 'who' and should be understood as 'he.' The first clause is therefore a conditional clause and the second one is the main clause. The two clauses in [71b] form a sequential conjunction and such a relation is indicated by the two 什么时候 *shen3me0 shi2hou0* 'what time,' which should be interpreted as 'any time when . . .' in the first clause and as 'at that time' in the second. Similarly, the 怎么样 *zen3me0yang4* 'how' in [71c] should be

understood as 'any manner' in the first clause and as 'in that manner' in the second. The two clauses form a conditional sentence.

[71] a. 谁造成的污染, 谁负责治理。
       shui2   zao4cheng2   de0   wu1ran3   shui2
       who   cause   DE   pollution who

       fu4ze2   zhi4li3
       be_responsible_for   govern
       'If someone causes the pollution, he should do the cleaning up.'

      b. 钱什么时候到账, 我什么时候开工。
       qian2   shen2me0   shi2hou0   dao4   zhang4   wo3
       money   what   when   reach account I

       shen2me0   shi2hou0   kai1gong1
       what   when   start_to_work
       'I will start the work when the money is in my account.'

      c. 我怎么说, 你怎么写。
       wo3   zen3me0   shuo1   ni3   zen3me0   xie3
       I   how   say   you   how   write
       'You should write it in the same way as I say it.'

Since these compound or complex sentences are not marked by coordinators or connective adjuncts, it is possible for them to have more than one reading. The sentence in [72a] does not bear any overt marker and therefore can be understood in several ways, such as the causative in [72b] and the conditional in [72c].

[72] a. 你不是我们的员工, 新股就没你的份。
       ni3   bu4shi4   wo3men0   de0   yuan2gong1   xin1gu3
       you   NEG   we   DE   employee   new_stock

       jiu4   mei2   ni3   de0   fen4
       then   NEG   you   DE   share
       'You are not our staff member, hence you have no share in the new stock options.'

      b. 因为你不是我们的员工, 所以新股就没你的份。
       yin1wei4   ni3   bu4shi4   wo3men0   de0   yuan2gong1
       because   you   NEG   we   DE   employee

       suo3yi3   xin1gu3   jiu4   mei2   ni3   de0   fen4
       so   new_stock   then   NEG   you   DE   share
       'Since you are not our staff member, you have no share in the new stock options.'

    c. 如果你不是我们的员工, 新股就没你的份。

        ru2guo3   ni3   bu4shi4   wo3men0   de0   yuan2gong1

        if   you NEG   we   DE   employee

        xin1gu3   jiu4   mei2   ni3   de0   fen4

        new_stock   then   NEG   you DE   share

        'If you are not our staff member, then you have no share in the new stock options.'

Sometimes such clauses are uttered without any pause and they will sound like one simple sentence, such as the ones in [73a] and [73c]. Sentence [73a] is ambiguous, with a number of readings, and one of them is [73b]. Similarly, [73c] has several possible readings and [73d] is one of them.

[73]   a. 钟不敲不响。

        zhong1   bu4   qiao1   bu4   xiang3

        bell   NEG   knock NEG   ring

        'The bell will not ring unless it is struck.'

    b. 钟如果不敲, 就不响。

        zhong1   ru2guo3   bu4   qiao1   jiu4   bu4   xiang3

        bell   if   NEG   knock   then   NEG   ring

        'If the bell is not struck, it will not ring.'

    c. 他不哭不闹。

        ta1   bu4   ku1   bu4   nao4

        he   NEG   cry   NEG   whine

        'He is not crying or whining.'

    d. 他既不哭, 又不闹。

        ta1   ji4   bu4   ku1   you4   bu4   nao4

        he   also   NEG   cry   also   NEG   whine

        'He is neither crying nor whining.'

15

Major non-canonical clause types: *ba* and *bei*

Hilary Chappell and Dingxu Shi

This chapter focuses on two major non-canonical clause types that are both unique and frequently used in Chinese: the *ba* constructions and various passive constructions represented by *bei* constructions. Both of these clause types share the feature of a complex predicate.

15.1. The *ba* constructions

15.1.1. Introduction

The term 把 *ba3* 'BA' constructions refers to clauses like those in [1], in which the nominal phrase 我写的字 *wo3 xie3 de0 zi4* 'the words I wrote,' which represent the entity affected by the event, does not appear in its typical post-verbal object position but occurs before the verb with a 把 *ba3* 'BA' marker. Such a nominal phrase is commonly known as the *ba* NP.

[1]　　她**把**我写的字擦掉了。
　　　ta1　ba3　wo3　xie3　de0　zi4　　　　ca1diao4　le0
　　　she　BA　I　　write　DE　character　erase　　　LE
　　　'She erased the characters I wrote.'

Although a *ba* NP can sometimes appear in the post-verbal object position as well, the option of appearing in either position is not always available. The predicate in [2] is an idiom with an object position filled with 一谈 *yi1tan2* 'same discussion' and it is not possible for the *ba* NP to appear in the post-verbal object position.

[2]　　我们不要把自由和散漫混为一谈。
　　　wo3men0　bu4　yao4　ba3　zi4you2　he2　san3man4
　　　we　　　　NEG　will　BA　freedom　and　undisciplined
　　　hun3wei2yi1tan2
　　　confuse_with
　　　'We should not confuse freedom with lack of discipline.'

15

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　　　we　　　　NEG　will　BA　freedom　and　undisciplined
　　　hun3wei2yi1tan2
　　　confuse_with
　　　'We should not confuse freedom with lack of discipline.'

A *ba* construction like that in [3], which has a locative preposition phrase following the verb, typically does not allow the *ba* NP to occur in the object position either.

[3]   天黑了, 我就能 . . ., **把**辫子放在兜里。
　　　　tian1   hei1   le0   wo3   jiu4   neng2   ba3   bian4zi0   fang4
　　　　sky   dark   LE   I   then   can   BA   plait   put
　　　　zai4   dou1   li3
　　　　PREP   pocket in
　　　　'When night falls, I can (take off my cap and) put my plait in a pocket.'

Such a distribution is determined by the syntactic and semantic properties of the *ba* NP, as well as the properties of the predicate.

15.1.2. Major features of the *ba* construction

The information represented by the *ba* NP is typically given or old, namely, known or shared by the speaker and the hearer. It can refer to an entity that has been mentioned in the previous discourse or is known as a consequence of contextual or pragmatic factors. Sentence [3] is taken from the middle of a narration by a woman talking about her extraordinarily long plait, which is now known information and appropriately represented by a *ba* NP. Sentence [4] comes from a conversation at the beginning of a fiction piece describing the decline of a factory. The 厂长 *chang3zhang3* 'manager of the factory' represents a person known to everyone in the story and represents a piece of given information for contextual reasons. It is therefore natural for it to function as a *ba* NP.

[4]   听说没有? 上头**把**厂长撤了。
　　　　ting1shuo1   mei2you3   shang4tou2   ba3   chang3zhang3
　　　　hear   NEG   boss   BA   factory_director
　　　　che4   le0
　　　　fire   LE
　　　　'Have you heard it? The boss fired the manager.'

The *ba* NP, such as those in [1] through [4] above, characteristically bears the semantic role of patient, which is understood as being highly affected by the event so undergoing an observable change of state. There are certain *ba* NPs that look like exceptions, such as 我们 *wo3men0* 'we, us' in [5], as the verb 忘 *wang4* 'forget' seems to be non-volitional and should not affect the *ba* NP. However, the sentence is about how the speakers went to their hometown to look for a lost relative but they encountered an obstacle because most people did not recognize them. In [5], the *ba* NP 我们 *wo3men0* 'we, us' is thus indeed affected by the event. [6] presents

a slightly different case. Although 吓了一跳 *xia4 le0 yi1tiao4* 'startled' typically requires a reading where the subject is the party affected, it has a causative reading instead in [6]. That is, the story caused 那一家老小 *na4 yi1 jia1 lao3xiao3* 'members of that family' to be startled. It is thus appropriate to put 那一家老小 *na4 yi1 jia1 lao3xiao3* 'members of that family' into the *ba* NP slot.

[5]   这么多年过去了, 好多人都**把**我们忘了。

    zhe4me0   duo1   nian2   guo4qu4   le0   hao3duo1   ren2
    so   many   year   pass   LE   many   people

    dou1   ba3   wo3men0   wang4   le0
    all   BA   we   forget LE

    'So many years have passed by, and most people no longer remember us.'

[6]   那小说里爬山的事儿也是真的, 也**把**那一家老小吓了一跳。

    na4   xiao3shuo1   li3   pa2shan1   de0   shi4er0   ye3
    that novel   in   mountain_climb   DE   thing   also

    shi4   zhen1de0   ye3   ba3   na4   yi1jia1lao3xiao3
    be   true   also BA   that members_of_the_family

    xia4   le0   yi1   tiao4
    frighten   LE   one   jump

    'The story in the novel about mountain climbing was true. It did startle everyone in the family, young and old.'

A declarative *ba* construction typically represents an event that has taken place before the time of reference and has affected the *ba* NP. This completive property is encoded in the dependents of the verb, including post-verbal nouns, post-verbal expressions of extent or result, and perfective aspect marking.

15.1.3. Predicate types in *ba* constructions

A completive predicate can be a verb with an aspect marker, a verb with 得 *de0,* 'DE,' and a descriptive or resultative expression, or an expression of frequency or duration.

15.1.3.1. Verb + perfective aspect markers

Of all the aspect markers found in *ba* constructions from the corpus, perfective 了 *le0* 'LE' has the highest frequency of appearance, especially in declarative sentences with a monosyllabic verb as the predicate head, such as the 吃 *chi1* 'eat' in [7], the 包 *bao1* 'book the whole shop' in [8], and the 烧 *shao1* 'burn' in [9]. Such sentences would not usually be acceptable, if the aspect marker were not used.

[7]   她**把**饭吃**了**。
       ta1   ba3   fan4   chi1   le0
       she   BA   meal   eat   LE
       'She has eaten the meal.'

[8]   当然是我们下江帮**把**最高级的理发店包**了**。
       dang1ran2   shi4   wo3men0   xia4jiang1   bang1   ba3
       of_course   be   we   Lower_YangTze   group   BA

       zui4   gao1ji2de0   li3fa4dian4   bao1   le0
       most   deluxe   barber_shop   book_the_whole   LE
       'Of course, it was us from the Lower YangTze region who patronized the
       classiest barber shops almost exclusively.'

[9]   把和尚赶走, 并放火**把**庵堂烧**了**。
       ba3   he2shang4   gan3zou3   bing4   fang3huo3   ba3
       BA   monk   chase_away   and   set_fire   BA

       an1tang2   shao1   le0
       temple   burn   LE
       '(They) chased away the monks, and then set fire to the temple and burned
       it down.'

Although perfective marker 过 *guo4* also indicates the completion of an event,
it is only occasionally used in *ba* constructions, exemplified by [10].

[10]   林宅的佣人几天前已经**把**林宅上下打扫**过**一遍 . . .
       lin2zhai2   de0   yong1ren2   ji3tian1   qian2
       Lin_residence   DE   servant   several_days   ago

       yi3jing1   ba3   lin2zhai2   shang4xia4   da3sao3
       already   BA   Lin_residence   from_top_to_down   clean

       guo4   yi1bian4
       GUO   once
       'The servants at the Lin house already cleaned the house from top to
       bottom several days ago . . .'

In spite of the almost obligatory use of aspect markers, imperative *ba* sentences
(i.e., strong requests or commands), like the one in [11], do not take aspect markers.
Another context where aspect markers are not usually allowed is when an attribu-
tive or resultative complement occurs after the verb, such as 明白 *ming2bai2* 'clear'
in [12]. In such sentences, a modal like 可(以) *ke3(yi3)* 'may,' 能(够) *neng2(gou4)* 'can,'
or 会 *hui4* 'will, be likely' typically occurs before the verb, as in the case of [12].

[11]   来!**把**嘴巴张开!
      lai2   ba3   zui3ba0   zhang1kai1
      come   BA   mouth   open
      'Come on! Open your mouth wide!'

[12]   他一定(能)**把**事情说明白。
      ta1   yi1ding4   neng2   ba3   shi4qing2   shuo1   ming2bai2
      he   surely   can   BA   thing   say   clear
      'He can certainly explain the issue.'

When a *ba* construction is part of a series of coordinated clauses describing a sequence of events, the aspect marker can be left out except in the last clause. The four events described by the four declarative clauses in [13] form a sequence in which one event will not happen until the previous one has ended. A typical way to present such events is to attach the perfective aspect marker 了 *le0* 'LE' to the last predicate only. The three *ba* constructions in [13] thus do not carry any aspect marker, even though they convey a perfective meaning.

[13]   . . . 牙医拿一些工具**把**阿明的蛀牙拔掉, 然后用纱布**把**伤口压住, 止住了血。
      ya2yi1   na2   yi1xie1   gong1ju4   ba3   a1ming2   de0
      dentist take   some   tool   BA   A_MING   DE
      zhu4ya2   ba2diao4   ran2hou4   yong4   sha1bu4   ba3
      cavity_tooth extract   then   use   gauze   BA
      shang1kou3 ya1zhu4   zhi3zhu4   le0   xue3
      wound   press   stop   LE   blood
      ' . . . The dentist extracted A-Ming's tooth with a cavity with some
      instruments, pressed the wound with gauze, and stopped the bleeding.'

15.1.3.2. Verb + imperfective aspect markers
The use of imperfective markers 在 *zai4* and 着 *zhe0* in *ba* constructions is quite limited for the simple reason that they code an ongoing situation but not a completed event. In the corpora there are only a small number of *ba* constructions with a marker 在 *zai4* or 着 *zhe0*, and they typically carry special illocutionary force. The *ba* construction in [14] is a strong warning, stating that the listener is doing something suicidal, while that in [15] is an instruction, telling the listener what to do on a trip.

[14]   行了, 阿宏, 你在**把**自己往死路上逼。
      xing2   le0   a1hong2   ni3   zai4   ba3   zi4ji3   wang3
      okay   LE   A_HONG   you   ZAI   BA   self   PREP

si3lu4   shang4   bi1
death   on   force
'Stop it, A Hong. You are pushing yourself into an impasse.'

[15] **把**重要物品贴身带着。
ba3   zhong4yao4   wu4pin3   tie1shen1   dai4   zhe0
BA   important   belongings close   bring   ZHE
'Keep your important belongings close to you.'

15.1.3.3. Verb compounds with a resultative or directional expression

The predicate of *ba* constructions is often headed by a verb compound formed with a verb and a resultative expression. The verb in such a compound is typically an activity verb but it is occasionally an achievement or accomplishment verb, while the resultative expression is typically a stative verb. The compound 惊醒 *jing1xing3* 'disturb-awake' in [16] has a stative verb 醒 *xing3* 'awake' as the resultative expression, while the 玩掉 *wan2diao4* 'play-lost' in [17] has an achievement verb as the resultative expression.

[16] 动也没敢动, 就怕**把**茶桌挪动了, 会**把**他惊醒。
dong4   ye3   mei2   gan3   dong4   jiu4   pa4   ba3
move   also   NEG   dare   move   then   fear   BA

cha2zhuo1   nuo2dong4   le0   hui4   ba3   ta1   jing1xing3
tea_table   move   LE   will   BA   he   awake
'(I) just didn't dare to move, afraid that if I moved the coffee table, I would disturb him and awaken him.'

[17] 就是因为我们太会玩游戏, 结果**把**时间玩掉了, 也**把**事业玩掉了。
jiu4shi4   yin1wei4   wo3men0   tai4   hui4
exactly   because   we   too   be_good_at

wan2you2xi4   jie2guo3   ba3   shi2jian1   wan2diao4   le0
play_games   as_a_result   BA   time   play_out   LE

ye3   ba3   shi4ye4   wan2diao4   le0
also   BA   career   play_out   LE
'It's all because we've indulged ourselves too much in playing games, so that we've ended up wasting our time and destroying our careers.'

Sometime the resultative expression is a directional verb indicating motion or trajectory, such as 上 *shang4* 'go up,' 下 *xia4* 'go down,' 过 *guo4* 'cross over,' 回 *hui2* 'return,' 到 *dao4* 'arrive,' 出 *chu1* 'exit,' and so on. The 送到 *song4dao4* 'send-arrive' in [18] is such a case.

[18]   为掩人耳目，玄宗先**把**她送到太真宫修行。
　　　wei4   yan3ren2er3mu4   xuan2zong1   xian1   ba3   ta1
　　　PREP   cover_up   　　　　　　Xuanzong   　first   BA   she

　　　song4dao4   tai4zhen1gong1   xiu1xing2
　　　send   　　　Taizhen_Temple   practice
　　　'To cover up, Xuanzong sent her to the Taizhen Temple (to be a nun) at
　　　first.'

The resultative expression can occasionally be a combination of two verbs of
motion, such as those in 送回去 *song4hui2qu4* 'send-return-go' in [19].

[19]   天黑下去前就**把**苦根**送回去**。
　　　tian1   hei1   xia4qu4   qian2   jiu4   ba3   ku3gen1   song4
　　　sky   dark   XIAQU   before   then   BA   Kugen   　send

　　　hui2qu4
　　　back
　　　'Before it got dark, (I) would take Kugen home.' [literally, 'accompany-
　　　return-go']

15.1.3.4. Verb + 得 *de0* 'DE' + resultative or extent expression

The predicate of a *ba* construction can also have a resultative expression occurring
after 得 *de0* 'DE.' Such an expression can be an adjectival phrase like those in [20]
and [21].

[20]   这短短的一句话，已**把**禅的本质说**得**很明确。
　　　zhe4   duan3duan3   de0   yi1   ju4   hua4   yi3   ba3
　　　this   short   　　　DE   one   CL   words   already   BA

　　　chan2   de0   ben3zhi4   shuo1   de0   hen3   ming2que4
　　　Zen   DE   nature   　say   　DE   very   clear
　　　'This very succinct sentence could explain the nature of Zen unequivocally
　　　on its own.'

[21]   《诗经》有许多地方**把**感情描写**得**相当泛滥。
　　　shi1jing1   　　　you3   xu3duo1   di4fang1   ba3
　　　Book_of_Odes   have   many   　　place   　BA

　　　gan3qing2   miao2xie3   de0   xiang1dang1   fan4lan4
　　　emotion   　describe   　DE   quite   　　　inundate
　　　'Description of emotion in the Book of Odes can be overly sentimental
　　　occasionally.'

The resultative expression in [22] is a verb phrase illustrating the status of the affected person Jiazhen, who is too tired to say anything after work. Similarly, [23] describes the desired result state of cooking the food, designated by the *ba* NP. The expression 太早也太满 *tai4zao3 ye3 tai4man3* 'too early and with too much certainty' in [24] does not describe the resultative status of the *ba* NP, but instead describes how far the bragging has gone, as an expression of extent.

[22]   田里的活已经**把**家真累得说话都没力气了。
        tian2 li3 de0 huo2 yi3jing1 ba3 jia1zhen1 lei4
        field in   DE   work already   BA   Jiazhen   tired

        de0 shuo1hua4 dou1 mei2 li4qi4   le0
        DE   talk   all   NEG   strength   LE
        'Working in the fields had already made Jiazhen so tired that she had no strength to talk.'

[23]   **把**菜烧得味道鲜美。
        ba3   cai4   shao1   de0   wei4dao4   xian1mei3
        BA   dish   cook   DE   taste   delicious
        'To cook the food well such that it tastes delicious.'

[24]   他**把**肯定出成绩的话说得太早也太满。
        ta1   ba3   ken3ding4   chu1cheng2ji4   de0   hua4   shuo1
        he   BA   definitely   obtain_outcome   DE   words   say

        de0   tai4   zao3   ye3   tai4   man3
        DE   too   early   also   too   full
        'He made the claim that (he/the team/ . . .) will obtain the desired outcome too early and with too much certainty.'

15.1.3.5. Verb + frequency or duration phrase

The *ba* construction is very often used with a phrase of frequency or duration following the verb to imply the completion of the event, since it states that the event has taken place for the indicated number of times or duration. Such examples are well attested in various corpora. Frequency phrases are constructed with event classifiers like 顿 *dun4*, 下 *xia4*, 遍 *bian4*, 回 *hui2*, and 番 *fan1*, while duration phrases are constructed with standard measure words of time like 小时 *xiao3shi2* 'hour,' 天 *tian1* 'day,' 月 *yue4* 'month,' and 年 *nian2* 'year.' The 一顿 *yi1dun4* 'one time' in [25] indicates that the rebuke happened once, the 几下 *ji3xia4* 'several times' in [26] means that the dribbling of the ball was done several times, and the 几年 *ji3nian2* 'several years' in [27] is the length of the jail time.

[25]   教练**把**他骂了**一顿**后, 要强行把他赶回去。
       jiao4lian4   ba3   ta1   ma4   le0   yi1dun4   hou4   yao4
       coach   BA   he   scold LE   one_time after will
       qiang2xing2   ba3   ta1   gan3hui2qu4
       force   BA   he   drive_back
       'After giving him a scolding, the coach tried to force him to return (home).'

[26]   他接着**把**球拍了几下, 跨步上篮。
       ta1   jie1zhe0   ba3   qiu2   pai1   le0   ji3xia4
       he   then   BA   ball   bounce LE   several_times
       kua4bu4   shang4lan2
       stride   lay_up_the_shot
       'He then dribbled the ball a few steps and strode to lay the ball up.'

[27]   国王把他关了几年。
       guo2wang2   ba3   ta1   guan1   le0   ji3   nian2
       king   BA   he   lock_up LE   several year
       'The King jailed him for several years.'

15.1.4. *Ba* constructions with a nominal element in the post-verbal position

The main feature of *ba* constructions is that the nominal phrase bearing the patient role appears before the verb as the *ba* NP. This leaves the canonical position for the object open; thus, it can be occupied by another nominal expression, including an extra nominal phrase with a patient role, a locative phrase, and a nominal phrase that is the complement of an equative verb or a verb of fabrication.

15.1.4.1. Verb + extra object

The post-verbal position of a *ba* construction can sometimes be filled with an extra object. The verb and the extra object together describe an action that affects the *ba* NP. The 刮鳞 *gua1lin2* 'peel/remove scales' in [28] describes a procedure that affects the 鱼 *yu2* 'fish,' while the 少写一点 *shao3 xie3 yi1dian3* 'write one dot less' describes an action affecting the Chinese character 太 *tai4* 'too.' There is a part-whole relation between the scales and the fish in [28] and between the stroke and the character it belongs to in [29]. Because of such semantic relations, the extra object is often termed a 保留宾语 *bao3liu2 bin1yu3* 'retained object.' However, there are also examples like [30], where the extra object does not seem to have a direct relation with the *ba* NP but the verb still forms a unit with the extra object to depict an activity affecting the *ba* NP. 打 *da3* 'make' takes 包 *bao1* 'package' as the patient to mean the action of packaging, which applies to the *ba* NP 剩下的饭菜 *sheng4xia4 de0 fan4cai4* 'leftover food.'

[28]   两人就动手忙起来, **把**鱼刮了**鳞**。
  liang3 ren2 jiu4 dong4shou3 mang2 qi3lai2 ba3
  two   people then start_work busy QILAI BA

  yu2 gua1 le0 lin2
  fish remove LE scale
  'The two then got busy scaling the fish.' [literally, 'took the fish and
  scraped its scales off']

[29]   他老老实实地承认自己太粗心了, **把**太字少写了一**点**。
  ta1 lao3lao3shi2shi2 de0 cheng2ren4 zi4ji3 tai4
  he candidly   DE admit   self too

  cu1xin1 le0 ba3 tai4 zi4   shao3 xie3 le0
  careless LE BA TAI character less write LE

  yi1 dian3
  one dot
  'He candidly admitted that he was too careless, and had written the
  character *tai* with one dot less.'

[30]   吃过饭后, 薛凤又叫来服务生, 把剩下的饭菜都打了包。
  chi1 guo4 fan4 hou4 xue1feng4 you4 jiao4 lai2
  eat GUO meal after Xue_Feng again ask come

  fu2wu4sheng1 ba3 sheng4xia4 de0 fan4 cai4 dou1
  waitress   BA left   DE rice dish all

  da3 le0 bao1
  make LE pack
  'After dinner, Xue Feng asked the waitress to pack the leftovers.'

It is important to note that even though most of these V + N sequences can be treated as a compound, such as 打包 *da3bao1* 'to doggy-bag,' they also appear to fulfill the syntactic requirement of a verb plus an object configuration. For instance, the aspect marker *-le* can be attached to the verb, as shown in all three examples above. In addition, in [29], the object is a full numeral–classifier phrase that cannot be incorporated into a compound.

15.1.4.2. Verb + locative phrase
The post-verbal position can also be filled with a prepositional locative phrase. Such a locative phrase typically expresses the final destination of the *ba* NP. The 头 *tou2* 'head' in [31] has moved toward 我 *wo3* 'I' and finally rested on 我的肩胛 *wo3 de0 jian1jia3* 'my shoulder blade.' Similarly, 孤儿院 *gu1er2yuan4* 'orphanage' in [32] is supposed to be the final destination of the 小孩 *xiao3hai2* 'child.' These locative

phrases provide a clear endpoint for displacement and code the completeness of the predicate.

[31]   起先, 她是斜着身子, **把**头倚**在**我的肩胛上。

    qi3xian1   ta1   shi4   xie2   zhe0   sheng1zi0   ba3   tou2
    firstly   she   SHI   lean   ZHE   body   BA   head

    yi3   zai4   wo3de0   jian1jia3   shang4
    rest_on   PREP   my   shoulder_blade   on

    'At first, she leaned over, and rested her head on my shoulder blade.'

[32]   他不是真的希望**把**小孩关**在**孤儿院里。

    ta1   bu4shi4   zhen1de0   xi1wang4   ba3   xiao3hai2
    he   NEG   really   hope   BA   child

    guan1   zai4   gu1er2yuan4   li3
    lock_up   PREP   orphanage   in

    'He didn't really want to lock up the children in an orphanage.'

15.1.4.3. Ditransitive verb + indirect object

If the predicate of a *ba* construction is headed by a ditransitive verb, the indirect object typically remains in the post-verbal position, while the direct object is the *ba* NP. Such sentences are typically headed by a verb of transaction, such as 给 *gei3* 'give' in [33], a compound consisting of a ditransitive verb and 给 *gei3* 'give,' such as the 送给 *song4gei3* 'send-give' in [34], or a transaction verb compound consisting of an activity verb and 给 *gei3* 'give,' such as the 交给 *jiao1gei3* 'pass-give' in [35].

[33]   大哥, **把**地图给了**他们**, 咱们认输便是。

    da4ge1   ba3   di4tu2   gei3   le0   ta1men0   zan2men0
    elder_brother   BA   map   give   LE   they   we

    ren4shu1   bian4shi4
    accept_defeat   so_be_it

    'Elder brother, please just give the map to them, and accept that we lost this one.'

[34]   这对儿女, **把**旧玩具维尼小熊送给了**爸爸**。

    zhe4   dui4   er2   nü3   ba3   jiu4   wan2ju4
    this   pair   son   daughter   BA   old   toy

    wei2ni2xiao3xiong2   song4gei3   le0   ba4ba0
    Winnie_the_Pooh   give_to   LE   father

    'The son and the daughter gave their old toy, Winnie the Pooh, to their father.'

[35]   店长泪盈满眶地**把**这盆花交给了**她**。

dian4zhang3   lei4   ying2   man3   kuang1   de0   ba3
shop_manager   tear   well_up   full   eyelids   DE   BA

zhe4   pen2   hua1   jiao1gei3   le0   ta1
this   CL   flower   send_give   LE   she
'The shop manager handed the pot of flowers to her with tears welling up in his eyes.'

Ditransitive verbs of saying also occur in a *ba* construction, with the addressee in the post-verbal object position, as in [36].

[36]   村干部**把**原因**告诉**了**她**。

cun1   gan4bu4   ba3   yuan2yin1   gao4su4   le0   ta1
village   cadre   BA   reason   tell   LE   she
'The village cadre told her the reason.'

15.1.4.4. Equative verb + complement

Equative verbs such as 当(作) *dang1(zuo4)* 'act as, treat as' and 成为 *cheng2wei4* 'become' and verbs of creation that form a compound with 成 *cheng2* 'become, as' express the basic meaning of "treating or viewing the 把 *ba3* 'BA' NP as something else," or turning the 把 *ba3* 'BA' NP into something else. Such verbs require a post-verbal noun with which the 把 *ba3* 'BA' NP is being compared or equated, as in [37] and [38].

[37]   不过爸妈倒不会**把**我们**当**摇钱树。

bu2guo4   ba4   ma1   dao4   bu4   hui4   ba3
but   father   mother   nonetheless   NEG   will   BA

wo3men0   dang1   yao2qian2shu4
we   treat_as   money_tree
'Nonetheless, Mum and Dad certainly won't treat us as a money tree.'

[38]   …**把**公司当成是自己的。

ba3   gong1si1   dang1cheng2   shi4   zi4ji3   de0
BA   company   treat   be   self   DE
'…(they) treated the company as if it was their own.'

15.1.5. Negation and modal verbs

In negation, a negator, either 不 *bu4* 'NEG' or 没(有) *mei2(you3)* NEG_YOU, typically appears before the 把 *ba3* NP, as shown in [39]–[41]. 没(有) *mei2(you3)* negates the presupposition of an event having ever taken place, while 不 *bu4* 'NEG'

negates events located in either present, future, or hypothetical time contexts (see Chapter 6).

[39]   小王没有**把**饭吃完。
　　　 xiao3wang2   mei2you3   ba3   fan4   chi1   wan2
　　　 little_Wang   NEG　　 BA   meal   eat   finish
　　　 'Little Wang hasn't finished eating his meal.'

[40]   所以你把他当好朋友, 但是他从来没有**把**你当好朋友。
　　　 suo3yi3   ni3   ba3   ta1   dang1   hao3peng2you3
　　　 so　　 you   BA   he   treat_as   good_friend

　　　 dan4shi4   ta1   cong2lai2   mei2you3   ba3   ni3   dang1
　　　 but　　 he   ever　　 NEG　　 BA   you   treat_as

　　　 hao3peng2you3
　　　 good_friend
　　　 'This is why even though you treat him as a close friend, he has never treated you as a close friend.'

[41]   为什么不**把**居住的环境改善得更好?
　　　 wei4shen2me0   bu4   ba3   ju1zhu4   de0   huan2jing4
　　　 why　　　　 NEG   BA   live　　 DE   environment

　　　 gai3shan4   de0   geng4   hao4
　　　 improve   DE   more   good
　　　 'Why don't they further improve the residential environment?'

The negator itself can be part of the predicate, such as the idiomatic expression 不放在眼里 *bu4 fang4 zai4 yan3 li3* (literally, 'not put in eyesight') 'not take seriously.' In this case, the negator 不 *bu4* may either stay as part of the predicate, or occur before the 把 *ba3*NP, as in [42], to mark the negation focus. Note that although the idiomatic predicate 放在眼里 *fang4 zai4 yan3 li3* 'take seriously' cannot typically be used in a sentence in non-negative form, the negative focus marked on 把 *ba3*NP is able to resolve such a potential problem.

[42]   我们不**把**解放, 重汽放在眼里。
　　　 wo3men0   bu4   ba3   jie3fang4   zhong4qi4   fang4
　　　 we　　 NEG   BA   JIEFANG   ZHONGQI   put

　　　 zai4   yan3   li3
　　　 PREP   eye   inside
　　　 'We do not consider either the company Jiefang or Zhongqi as our serious competitor.'

The negative morpheme 别 *bie2* 'don't' is used in imperative persuasion or prohibition only and it typically appears before the 把 *ba3* NP, as in [43].

[43]   我妈老说：「别**把**身体搞坏了。」
　　　　wo3　ma1　　lao3　　shuo1　bie2　　ba3　shen1ti3
　　　　I　　　mother　always　say　　do_not　BA　body

　　　　gao3huai4　le0
　　　　damage　　　LE
　　　　'My mother always said: "Don't ruin your health."'

Modal verbs express ability, capacity, obligation, and possibility, among other meanings, and they typically precede the 把 *ba* NP to take the whole predicate in their scope. Consider the examples in [44]–[47].

[44]   他要**把**家里好好整理一**下**。
　　　　ta1　yao4　ba3　jia1　　li3　　　hao3hao3　zheng3li3
　　　　he　　will　BA　home　inside　good　　　　arrange

　　　　yi1xia4
　　　　once
　　　　'He will tidy up his house properly.'

[45]   他们可以**把**系统内其他频道都关掉。
　　　　ta1men0　ke3yi3　ba3　xi4tong3　nei4　　qi2ta1　pin2dao4
　　　　they　　　can　　　BA　system　　inside　other　channel

　　　　dou1　guan1diao4
　　　　all　　shut_off
　　　　'They can turn off all the other channels within the system.'

[46]   你们不要**把**国内大跃进想得那么好。
　　　　ni3men0　bu2yao4　ba3　guo2nei4　da4yue4jin4
　　　　you　　　do_not　　BA　domestic　Great_Leap_Forward

　　　　xiang3　de0　na4me0　hao4
　　　　think　　DE　　that　　　good
　　　　'You shouldn't paint such a rosy picture of the Great Leap Forward in China.'

[47]   那么文字是否能**把**语言表现得完全准确呢?
　　　　na4me0　wen2zi4　shi4fou3　　　　　neng2　ba3　yu3yan2
　　　　that　　　word　　whether_or_not　can　　BA　language

　　　　biao3xian4　de0　wan2quan2　zhun3que4　ne0
　　　　represent　　DE　completely　accurate　　NE
　　　　'Then can writing represent language completely accurately?'

15.1.6. Other construction types

15.1.6.1. Intransitive verbs in the 把 *ba3* 'BA' construction

The predicate of a 把 *ba3* 'BA' construction can sometimes contain an intransitive verb, especially when the verb forms a resultative compound with a stative verb to produce a causative reading. Sentence [48] means that the ghost story made 我 *wo3* 'I' frightened, sentence [49] means that the bad weather made the speaker's wife feel frozen, and sentence [50] means that someone caused the child to die of hunger.

[48]   唉! 这闹鬼的事可**把**我吓坏了。
     ai1   zhe4   nao4gui3   de0   shi4   ke3   ba3   wo3
     AI   this   haunting   DE   thing   eventually   BA   I

     xia4huai4   le0
     scare   LE
     'My! The ghost story gave me the fright of my life.'

[49]   可**把**我老婆冻坏了。
     ke3   ba3   wo3   lao3po0   dong4huai4   le0
     eventually   BA   I   wife   freeze   LE
     '(Just one overnight stay), it got my wife frozen to the teeth.'

[50]   **把**孩子饿死了。
     ba3   hai2zi0   e4si3   le0
     BA   child   starve_to_death   LE
     '(Someone) starved the child to death.'

15.1.6.2. 把 *ba3* 'BA' construction with 给 *gei3* 'GEI' + verb

The main verb in a 把 *ba3* 'BA' construction is sometimes preceded by a prefix like 给 *gei3* 'GEI,' which is homophonous with the verb 给 *gei3* 'give.' This particular usage is common in Northern dialects and can be treated as a free variant of the more common usage without the pre-verbal 给 *gei3* 'give,' as in [51].

[51]   一**把**火就把阿房宫(**给**)废了。
     yi1   ba3   huo3   jiu4   ba3   a1fang2gong1   gei3   fei4
     one   CL   fire   thus   BA   Epang_Palace   GEI   ruin

     le0
     LE
     'It just took a fire to burn down the Epang Palace.'

15.1.6.3. Markers other than 把 *ba3* 'BA'

In different styles and genres of Chinese, there are some other markers with a function similar to that of 把 *ba3* 'BA': 将 *jiang1*, 给 *gei3*, 拿 *na2*, and 管 *guan3*. Among all these variants, the use of 将 *jiang1* 'BA' is the most common. (Except for 将 *jiang1*, the other prepositions also have other functions and we keep the transliterations as the glosses to avoid confusion.) Although mainly used in formal speech and writing, it can be traced back to Medieval Chinese. This is exemplified in [52].

[52]   我写好一个短篇，**将**原稿放在书桌上。

wo3	xie3hao3	yi1	ge4	duan3pian1	jiang1	yuan2gao3
I	write	one	CL	short_story	BA	manuscript

fang4	zai4	shu1zhuo1	shang4
put	PREP	desk	on

'I finished a short story and then placed the manuscript on the desk.'

In the vernacular dialect of Beijing and adjacent regions, the 给 *gei3* 'GEI' marker is the preferred form, as in [53].

[53]   我攥住豹尾，**给**它撂到三丈开外的崖下去了。

wo3	zuan4zhu4	bao4	wei3	gei3	ta1	liao4	dao4
I	grip	panther	tail	GEI	it	throw	PREP

san1	zhang4	kai1wai4	de0	ya2	xia4	qu4	le0
three	10_feet	more_than	DE	cliff	down	go	LE

'I grabbed the leopard's tail and threw it down thirty feet away from the cliff.'

The verb 拿 *na2* 'hold' can also be used as a replacement for 把 *ba3* 'BA,' and such usage is common in many dialects of Central and Southern China, as in [54].

[54]   字模厂**拿**我的字当母字，作字模子。

zi4mu2chang3	na2	wo3	de0	zi4	dang1	mu3
type_foundry	NA	I	DE	character	treat_as	mother

zi4	zuo4	zi4mu2zi0
character	make	matrix

'The Chinese character type foundry used my characters as the matrix for their character types.'

Another *ba* construction variant involves 管 *guan3* 'GUAN' in place of *ba* in the fixed construction of "管 *guan3* 'GUAN' X 叫 *jiao4* 'call' Y," literally meaning 'to take X and call it Y,' as in [55].

[55]　村里的人都**管**两只小鸡子**叫**「革命鸡」。

　　　cun1　li3　de0　ren2　dou1　guan3　liang3　zhi1
　　　village　inside　DE　people　all　GUAN　two　CL

　　　xiao3　ji1zi0　jiao4　ge2ming4ji1
　　　small　chicken　call　revolution_chicken

　　　'The village people called the two chicklets "revolutionary chickens."'

15.2. Passive constructions

Passive constructions in Chinese are marked with 被 *bei4*, 让 *rang4*, or 叫 *jiao4*. Some verbs, such as 挨 *ai2* 'suffer' and 遭 (受) *zao1* (*shou4*) 'suffer,' also convey a passive meaning.

15.2.1. The passive

In passive constructions the nominal phrase bearing the patient role appears in the subject position, while the agent phrase either appears in a position marked by the passive marker or simply does not show up. Since the subject of the passive typically has the patient role, the verb is predominantly a two-argument verb of activity, accomplishment, or achievement, and occasionally a three-argument verb. The passive with an agent phrase is often referred to in the literature as a "long passive," while the one without the agent phrase is referred to as a "short passive."

15.2.2. Arguments of the passive

The passive constructions found in the corpora are typically formed with 被 *bei4* 'BEI' and a large portion of them do not have an agent phrase. The more colloquial variants with 让 *rang4* or 叫 *jiao4* generally co-occur with an agent phrase. The 被 *bei4* 'BEI' marker has its origins in a verb meaning 'cover' but is no longer used as a verb, while 让 *rang4* and 叫 *jiao4* still have a separate use as verbs.

　　Passives with two arguments have the patient in the clause-initial position as the subject, while the agent is introduced by one of the passive markers. The 那只猫 *na4 zhi1 mao1* 'that cat' in [56] and the 我妈 *wo3 ma1* 'my mother' in [57] are both agents.

[56]　那群老鼠仍然**被**那只猫追得死去活来呢。

　　　na4　qun2　lao3shu3　reng2ran2　bei4　na4　zhi1　mao1
　　　that　CL　rat　still　BEI　that　CL　cat

　　　zhui1　de0　si3qu4huo2lai2　ne0
　　　chase　DE　half_dead_half_alive　NE

　　　'The mice were nonetheless chased to the point of exhaustion by that cat.'

[57]   你别急, 大姐已经**被**我妈劝回去了 。

    ni3   bie2   ji2   da4jie3   yi3jing1   bei4   wo3

    you   do_not   worry   elder_sister   already   BEI   I

    ma1   quan4   hui2qu4   le0

    mother   persuade   return   LE

    'Don't get upset. Eldest sister has already been persuaded by my mother to go back.'

It is common for a *bei* passive to have the patient phrase only, as in [58] and [59]. The agent phrase need not show up in [58] because its identity can be readily recovered in the story of a ghost-hunting witch doctor. The agent phrase does not appear in [59] because no one knows who the agent is. Agentless *bei* passives are much more common in usage, as attested in the corpus data, than those with an agent.

[58]   那个鬼就**被**赶出来了。

    na4   ge4   gui3   jiu4   bei4   gan3chu1lai2   le0

    that   CL   ghost   thus   BEI   drive_out   LE

    'That ghost was chased out.'

[59]   或者脚**被**踩了一下。

    huo4zhe3   jiao3   bei4   cai3   le0   yi1   xia4

    or   foot   BEI   step_on   LE   one   CL

    'Or else (you) had your foot trodden on.'

The passives in [60] and [61] present a different case. Regardless of whether the agent phrase appears, the subject position is occupied by a zero anaphora, identified with an antecedent in the context (see Chapter 16). The subject of the passive clause in [60] refers to 砍柴的人 *kan3chai2 de0 ren2* 'people collecting firewood,' while that in [61] refers to 娼妓 *chang1ji4* 'prostitute.'

[60]   砍柴的人过了好几天还没回来, 当地人就传说是**被**狮子吃掉了。

    kan3chai2   de0   ren2   guo4   le0   hao3ji3tian1

    chop_firewood   DE   person   past   LE   quite_a_few_days

    hai2   mei2   hui2lai2   dang1di4   ren2   jiu4

    yet   NEG   come_back   local   people   thus

    chuan2shuo1   shi4   bei4   shi1zi0   chi1   diao4   le0

    spread   be   BEI   lion   eat   drop   LE

    'When the firewood collectors had not come back after quite a few days, the locals spread the tale that (they) had been eaten by lions.'

[61]   娼妓一但进入性工作，便**被**贴上了罪恶的标签。

chang1ji4   yi1dan4   jin4ru4   xing4   gong1zuo4   bian4
prostitute   once   enter   sex   job   then

bei4   tie1   shang4   le0   zui4e4   de0   biao1qian1
BEI   stick   on   LE   sin   DE   label

'As soon as a prostitute starts as a sex worker, s/he's given the label of a sinner.'

15.2.3. Verbs in the passive construction

The range of verb classes compatible with *bei* passives is wider than that found in the transitive *ba* constructions. In addition to the typical transitive activity verbs, many verbs of cognition and perception, as well as experiencer verbs, occur in *bei* passives, including 知道 *zhi1dao4* 'know,' 看见 *kan4jian4* 'see,' 折磨 *zhe2mo2* 'torment,' 恨 *hen4* 'hate,' 喜欢 *xi3huan1* 'like,' and 爱上 *ai4shang4* 'fall in love,' as in [62].

[62]   如果你不想一辈子**被**悔恨折磨，就不要听她的。

ru2guo3   ni3   bu4   xiang3   yi1bei4zi0   bei4   hui3hen4
if   you   NEG   want   all_one's_life   BEI   remorse

zhe2mo2   jiu4   bu4yao4   ting1   ta1   de0
torment   thus   do_not   listen   she   DE

'If you do not want to be tormented by remorse for the rest of your life, don't listen to her.'

Certain cognition or emotion verbs are possible in the *bei* passive when they are interpreted as an activity verb as opposed to a purely stative one. The 知道 *zhi1dao4* 'know' in [63] takes on the intentional meaning of 'find out,' instead of the usual stative meaning of 'know,' and regularly depicts an adversative outcome for the subject NP.

[63]   可惜，这一切都**被**巫婆知道了。

ke3xi1   zhe4   yi1qie4   dou1   bei4   wu1po2   zhi1dao4
pity   this   everything   all   BEI   witch   know

le0
LE

'Unfortunately, all of this was found out by the witch.'

Similarly, stative 看见 *kan4jian4* 'see' is interpreted as 'catch sight of (to somebody's detriment)' when it appears in a *bei* passive. Predicative adjectives typically do not head the predicate of the passive, unless they are used as the resultative part of a compound, like the 模糊 *mo2hu0* 'blurred' in [64].

[64] 眼睛**被**激动的泪水弄模糊了。

yan3jing1　bei4　ji1dong4　de0　lei4shui3　nong4　mo2hu0
eye　　　　BEI　stirred　　DE　tear　　　do　　blurred

le0
LE
'(Her) eyes became blurred by tears of excitement.'

Intransitive verbs typically do not function as the head of the predicate in *bei* passives, either. However, when such a verb forms a resultative compound with another verb or adjective to indicate a change of status, like the 走尽 *zou3 jin4* 'walk-exhaust' in [65], it can appear in a *bei* passive.

[65] ...拼命寻找自己的独特风格, 路好像**被**人走尽了。

pin1ming4　xun2zhao3　zi4ji3　de0　du2te4　feng1ge2
risk_life　　seek　　　　self　　DE　unique　style

lu4　hao3xiang4　bei4　ren2　　zou3　jin4　　le0
way　seem　　　　BEI　people　go　　exhaust　LE
'(I) tried really hard to find my own distinct style, but it seemed that the pathways had all been fully explored by others.'

15.2.4. Predicate types in passives

In declarative passive clauses, the event being described is typically a completed one. The completeness is marked on the predicate by attaching an aspect marker to the main verb, using a resultative compound that denotes a change of status, using a post-verbal predicative expression, or using an expression of frequency or duration.

15.2.4.1. Predicate with perfective aspect marker

The aspect marker commonly used to code completeness is the perfective 了 *le0* 'LE,' especially in predicates containing just one single verb, like the one in [66].

[66] 这个预算**被**立法院删了。

zhe4　ge4　yu4suan4　bei4　li4fa3yuan4　　　shan1　le0
this　CL　budget　　BEI　Legislative_Yuan　cut　　LE
'The budget was cut by the Legislative Yuan.'

A perfective 过 *guo4* 'GUO' may also be used in the *bei4* passive, as in [67] and [68], to indicate that the subject has experienced the passive event at least once before the time of reference.

[67] 我一生从未**被**别人如此侮辱过。
      wo3 yi1sheng1 cong2wei4 bei4 bie2ren2 ru2ci3
      I   life   never   BEI   others   so

      wu1ru3   guo4
      humiliate GUO
      'I've never in my life been humiliated by other people like this.'

[68] 毛寿先也**被**蛇咬过。
      mao2shou4xian1   ye3   bei4 she2   yao3 guo4
      MAO_SHOUXIAN   also BEI   snake bite GUO
      'Mao Shouxian has also been bitten by a snake.'

If the perfective marker does not appear in [66]–[68], people will consider the clause part of a compound sentence and wait for the next clause. This explains why a *bei* clause without a perfective aspect marker is acceptable, if it is the first part of a compound sentence, as shown in [69].

[69] 那时就感到国家弱, **被**人欺, 光是游行, 烧东西不行。
      na4shi2   jiu4 gan3dao4 guo2jia1 ruo4 bei4
      at_that_time thus feel   country   weak BEI

      ren2   qi1   guang1shi4 you2xing2   shao1 dong1xi0
      human bully just   demonstrate burn   things

      bu4xing2
      be_no_good
      'At that time, I realized that our country was weak and was being
      bullied by others. Just joining a rally on the street and burning things was
      not enough.'

15.2.4.2. Imperfective aspect marker 着 *zhe0* 'ZHE'

Although *bei* passives typically describe completed events, a small number of cases are found in the corpus where the *bei* predicate is marked with the imperfective 着 *zhe0* 'ZHE.' Such a passive typically describes the continuation of a situation that accompanies another situation or event. The *bei* passive in [70] states the reason for not being able to enter, while that in [71] describes a situation going on at the time of the investigation.

[70] 门**被**锁着进不去啊!
      men2 bei4 suo3 zhe0 jin4bu4qu4   a1
      door BEI   lock ZHE   cannot_get_in A
      'The door has been locked and we can't get in!'

[71]   大部分的寺庙都还**被**占用着, 尚未归还。

    da4bu4fen0   de0   si4miao4   dou1   hai2   bei4   zhan4yong4

    most   DE   temple   all   still   BEI   occupy

    zhe0   shang4   wei4   gui1huan2

    ZHE   still   NEG   return

    'Most of the temples were still being occupied by others and had not been returned.'

15.2.4.3. Resultative and directional verb compounds

The predicate of *bei* passives is commonly found to have a resultative or directional verb compound as the head, since it characteristically signifies the completeness of the situation. The verb 破 *po4* 'break' in [72] describes an activity, while 坏 *huai4* 'broken' denotes its result, and they both signify an activity with an endpoint. The 问 *wen4* 'ask' and 烦 *fan2* 'annoyed' combination in [73] also denotes an endpoint, namely, the gay man being annoyed.

[72]   长城 . . . **被**人以及大自然破坏了。

    chang2cheng2   bei4   ren2   yi3ji2   da4zi4ran2   po4huai4

    Great_Wall   BEI   human   and   nature   destroy

    le0

    LE

    'The Great Wall has been ruined by both people and nature.'

[73]   大家都知道他是同志, **被**问烦了。

    da4jia1   dou1   zhi1dao4   ta1   shi4   tong2zhi4   bei4

    everyone   all   know   he   be   gay   BEI

    wen4fan2   le0

    question_until_annoyed   LE

    'Everyone knew he was gay, so he was asked questions to the point of annoyance.'

The directional verbs 回 *hui2* 'back' and 来 *lai2* 'come' in [74] entail a new location for the subject noun 情书 *qing2shu1* 'love letter,' as the result of a motion event 退 *tui4* 'return.' Similarly, the 出 *chu1* 'out' in [75] indicates the direction of the activity 诊断 *zhen3duan4* 'diagnose' to mean that the result of the medical examination had been announced.

[74]   他写的情书都**被**退回来了!

    ta1   xie3   de0   qing2shu1   dou1   bei4   tui4hui2lai2   le0

    he   write   DE   love_letter   all   BEI   send_back   LE

    'The love letters he wrote were all sent back!'

[75] 四年前, 我**被**医生诊断出患了胃癌。

si4   nian2   qian2   wo3   bei4   yi1sheng1   zhen3duan4
four   year   ago   I   BEI   doctor   diagnose

chu1   huan4   le0   wei4ai2
out   get   LE   stomach_cancer

'Four years ago, I was diagnosed with stomach cancer by the doctor.'

Resultative or directional verb compounds have a potential form marked by the infix 得 *de0* 'able' or its negative counterpart 不 *bu4* 'unable' (see Chapter 4), but such a form typically does not appear in *bei* passives since it does not indicate a completed event. There are a few exceptions, such as the 看不起 *kan4 bu4 qi3* 'look-unable-up' in [76] and its counterpart 看得起 *kan4 de0 qi3* look-able-up, but these are actually not potential forms. They are instead resultative compounds, in which 看不起 *kan4bu4qi3* is a lexicalized compound with the meaning of 'to look down upon.'

[76] 我们的家庭**被**人看不起, 所以孩子的心态上有些自卑。

wo3men0   de0   jia1ting2   bei4   ren2   kan4bu4qi3
we   DE   family   BEI   people   scorn

suo3yi3   hai2zi0   de0   xin1tai4   shang4   you3   xie1
so   child   DE   mentality   regarding   have   some

zi4bei1
self_abasement

'Our family was despised by others, so the children always had low self-esteem.'

15.2.4.4. 得 *de0* + resultative or extent expression

The completeness of a *bei4* passive can also be described by a resultative expression following the extent marker 得 *de0*. The 满满的 *man3man3 de0* 'fully covered' in [77] indicates the status of 墙壁 *qiang2bi4* 'wall' as a result of 画 *hua4* 'paint,' while the 脸红 *lian3hong2* 'flush' in [78] describes the status of 少女 *shao4nü3* 'girl' as a result of 问 *wen4* 'ask.' Both events have a clear endpoint.

[77] 家里的墙壁总是**被**她画得满满的。

jia1   li3   de0   qiang2bi4   zong3shi4   bei4   ta1   hua4
home   in   DE   wall   always   BEI   she   paint

de0   man2man3   de0
DE   full   DE

'The walls at home were always fully painted over by her.'

[78]   少女**被**问得脸红了。

shao4nü3   bei4   wen4   de0   lian3hong2   le0
young_girl   BEI   ask   DE   blush   LE
'The young girl blushed from the questioning.'

15.2.5. Negation in passives

When the *bei* passives are involved in negation, *bei* predominantly appears after the negator, which is typically 没有 *mei2you3*, as in [79] and [80]. What 没有 *mei2you3* conveys is that the event described by the *bei* predicate has not taken place and the result is not a reality.

[79]   只有青蛙族**没有被**拍摄过。

zhi3you3   qing1wa1zu2   mei2you3   bei4   pai1she4   guo4
only   Frog_Clan   NEG   BEI   film   GUO
'It was only the Frog Clan who had not been filmed.'

[80]   像我从来没有**被**人家欺负过。

xiang4   wo3   cong2lai2   mei2you3   bei4   ren2jia1   qi1fu0
like   I   ever   NEG   BEI   others   bully

guo4
GUO
'For example, I was never bullied by others.'

The negator 不 *bu4* can also be used in the negation of *bei* passives, especially in a conditional clause describing a hypothetical situation, as in [81], or negating a modal, such as 会 *hui4* 'be able to' in [82].

[81]   海豹不**被**切割成两截, 也会身受重伤。

hai3bao4   bu4   bei4   qie1ge1cheng2   liang3   jie2   ye3
seal   NEG   BEI   cut_into   two   CL   also

hui4   shen1shou4   zhong4shang1
will   experience_personally   seriously_injured
'Even if the seal is not cut into two, it could still be seriously injured.'

[82]   甜度为蔗糖的 100 至 200 倍, 没有热量也不会**被**人体吸收。

tian2du4   wei4   zhe4tang2   de0   100   zhi4   200   bei4
sweetness   be   sucrose   DE   100   PREP   200   times

mei2you3   re4liang4   ye3   bu4   hui4   bei4   ren2ti3
NEG   calorie   also   NEG   will   BEI   human_body

xi1shou1
absorb
'Its sweetness is 100 to 200 times that of cane sugar, yet there are no calories and it is not absorbed by the body.'

15.2.6. Modal verbs and modality

15.2.6.1. Modal verbs in passives

When modal verbs are found in *bei* passives, they predominantly appear before the passive marker. The 会 *hui4* 'be likely, will' in [83] is an epistemic modal stating the possibility that the result will be realized, the deontic modal verb 能 *neng2* refers to the ability to do something due to having fulfilled the right preconditions, as in [84], and the 可能 *ke3neng2* 'may, could' in [85] expresses less certainty about a future event that might take place.

[83] 可不能把论文留在他们单位, 更不能寄给刊物, 否则一个无名小
辈的成果会**被**人偷去的。

ke3   bu4   neng2 ba3 lun4wen2 liu2   zai4
eventually NEG   can   BA   paper   leave   PREP

ta1men0 dan1wei4 geng4 bu4   neng2 ji4gei3
they   unit   more   NEG   can   post

kan1wu4   fou3ze2   yi1 ge4 wu2ming2   xiao3bei4
periodical if_not   one CL   unknown   junior

de0 cheng2guo3 hui4 bei4 ren2   tou1 qu4 de0
DE   outcome   can   BEI   people steal go   DE
'Don't leave your paper at work and never send it to a journal. Otherwise, the results of an unknown younger generation (like you) could be stolen by others.'

[84] 唯有采用干邑区葡萄, 才能**被**称作干邑白兰地。
wei2you3   cai3yong4 gan4yi4   qu1   pu2tao0   cai2
only   use   Cognac   region grape   just

neng2 bei4 cheng1 zuo4 gan4yi4bai2lan2di4
can   BEI   call   PREP cognac
'Only with the use of Cognac region grapes can it be called cognac.'

The modal verb 可能 *ke3neng2* 'may, could,' which also has a use as the adverb 'maybe, possibly' express less certainty about a future event taking place than either 会 *hui4* 'be likely' or 能 *neng2* 'can,' as shown in [85].

[85]   谁要是 "耍油条", 不好好工作, 就可能**被**换回去。
        shui2   yao4shi4   shua3   you2tiao2
        who   if   do   deep-fried_twisted_dough_sticks

        bu4   hao3hao3   gong1zuo4   jiu4   ke3neng2   bei4
        NEG   good   work   thus   maybe   BEI

        huan4   hui2qu4
        trade   back
        'Whoever takes it easy, and doesn't work properly, could be replaced.'

15.2.6.2. Imperatives and the passive

The only imperative passive sentences attested in the corpora are marked with 不
要 *bu4yao4* or its contracted form 别 *bie2* 'don't.' The imperative in [86] serves the
purpose of an admonition or warning.

[86]   别**被**我的话吓住了, 其实没有你想的那么难。
        bie2   bei4   wo3   de0   hua4   xia4zhu4   le0   qi2shi2
        do_not   BEI   I   DE   words   scared   LE   in_fact

        mei2you3   ni3   xiang3   de0   na4me0   nan2
        NEG   you   think   DE   that   hard
        'Don't be overawed by what I said. In fact, it's not as difficult as you
        imagine.'

15.2.7. Post-verbal nominal phrases in the passive

A variety of different semantic categories of nominal phrases may be found in the
post-verbal position of the 被 *bei4* predicate.

15.2.7.1. Extra objects in passives

An extra nominal phrase sometimes can appear in the object position to form a *bei*
passive like those in [87]–[90]. The extra object and the verb together describe an
activity that affects the subject. Such an activity can affect the subject in various
ways. The extra objects in [87] and [88] are body parts of the subjects such that any
damage to the body part will affect the subject. The subjects in [89] and [90] are
possessors of the extra object and the loss of possession affects the possessor.

[87]   七岁的 Lahai 两年前**被**叛军戳烂一条**腿**。
        qi1   sui4   de0   Lahai   liang3   nian2   qian2   bei4
        seven   year   DE   Lahai   two   CL   before   BEI

pan4　jun1　chuo1　lan4　yi1　tiao2　tui3
rebel　army　stab　rot　one　CL　leg
'Two years ago, seven-year-old Lahai had his leg badly stabbed by the rebel army.'

[88]　他已**被**吓破了胆。
ta1　yi3　　　bei4　xia4　　po4　　le0　dan3
he　already　BEI　scared　break　LE　gallbladder
'S/he was already scared out of her/his wits.'

[89]　一次我**被**人偷了十块钱。[Possession]
yi1　ci4　wo3　bei4　ren2　　tou1　le0　shi2　kuai4
one　CL　I　　BEI　person　steal　LE　ten　CL

qian2
money
'Once I had 10 dollars stolen from me by someone.'

[90]　杨某自称在台中**被**窃了五百万元。
yang2mou3　　　　　　　zi4　cheng1　zai4　tai2zhong1
someone_named_Yang　self　say　　PREP　Taichung
bei4　qie4　le0　wu3bai3wan4　yuan2
BEI　steal　LE　five_million　yuan
'A Mr. Yang claimed that he had five million yuan stolen from him in Taichung.'

However, such a close relationship between the subject and the extra object is not a necessary condition for the activity to affect the subject. The 贴罚单 *tie1 fa2dan1* 'stick on a fine ticket' in [91] is clear enough in its affect on the subject 车子 *che1zi0* 'car,' even though the two have no previously existing relationship.

[91]　马路两旁的车子都**被**贴了罚单。
ma3lu4　liang2pang2　de0　che1zi0　dou1　bei4　tie1　le0
road　　two-side　　DE　car　　all　BEI　stick　LE

fa2dan1
ticket
'The cars on both sides of the street were given tickets.'

Similarly, the 打了一巴掌 *da3 le0 yi1 ba1zhang3* 'hit a slap' in [92] is an activity that could affect the subject, although there is no existing relation between the subject and the object prior to the activity. The 绊了一跤 *ban4 le0 yi1 jiao1* 'trip a twist' in [93] does affect the subject 她 *ta1* 'she,' even though there is no existing relation between 一跤 and 她.

[92]   所有的民意调查**像**是被打了一巴掌。
        suo3you3 de0 min2yi4   diao4cha2   xiang4shi4
        all   DE   popular_will   investigation   seem_to

        bei4 da3 le0 yi1 ba1zhang3
        BEI   hit   LE   one   palm_of_hand
        'All the opinion polls seemed to have been openly rebuffed.' [literally, 'given a slap']

[93]   不料因没注意到门槛的高度, 她**被**硬生生绊了一跤。
        bu2liao4   yin1   mei2 zhu4yi4dao4
        unexpectedly because NEG   notice

        men2kan3   de0 gao1du4 ta1 bei4
        threshold_to_door DE   height   she BEI

        ying4sheng1sheng1 ban4 le0 yi1 jiao1
        forcedly   trip   LE   one twist
        'Unexpectedly, as she didn't take any notice of the height of the threshold to the door, she got unavoidably tripped up by it.'

15.2.7.2. Post-verbal locative expressions

The post-verbal position in passives can be occupied by a locative expression to indicate the activity that affects the subject. The locative expression can be a nominal phrase, like the 山东老家 *shan1dong1 lao3jia1* 'hometown Shandong' in [94], but it can also be part of a preposition phrase, such as the 在越南河内北部 *zai4 yue4nan2 he2nei4 bei3bu4* 'in the northern part of Hanoi' in [95].

[94]   因此**被**遣返回山东老家去。
        yin1ci3   bei4 qian3fan3 hui2 shan1dong1   lao3jia1
        therefore BEI   repatriate back Shandong   old_home

        qu4
        go
        'As a consequence, (my father) was sent back to his hometown in Shandong.'

[95]   和另外三名台胞**被**留在越南河内北部。
        he2 ling4wai4 san1   ming2 tai2bao1
        and   other   three CL   Taiwan_compatriots

        bei4 liu2 zai4 yue4nan2 he2nei4 bei4bu4
        BEI   leave ZAI Vietnam Hanoi   northern_part
        'With three other compatriots from Taiwan, (he) was detained in North Hanoi in Vietnam.'

15.2.7.3. Complement of copular verbs

The complement of copular class verbs and compounds, which include a copula such as 成 *cheng2* 为 *wei4* 'be, become,' may occur in the post-verbal 'become' position of the predicate in 被 *bei4* passives. The 剑桥讲师 *jian4qiao2 jiang3shi1* 'lecturer of Cambridge' in [96] is such a complement.

[96]   **被**聘为剑桥讲师之后,...

bei4   pin4   wei4   jian4qiao2   jiang3shi1   zhi1hou4
BEI   be_appointed   as   Cambridge   lecturer   after
'After he had been appointed as a Cambridge lecturer . . .'

15.2.8. Adversity feature

The traditional view of the 被 *bei4* 'BEI' passive is that it is an adversative passive; in other words, it is one that must express an unfortunate or undesirable event that happens to its subject. This is clearly the interpretation of the majority of the examples presented in this chapter. Nonetheless, there are plenty of attested uses of *bei* passives in which neutral or desirable events are expressed when the agent noun is absent, as in the case of [97].

[97]   早在希腊时代即已**被**提出。

zao3   zai4   xi1la4   shi2dai4   ji2yi3   bei4   ti2chu1
early   be_at   Greece   time   already   BEI   propose
'(This type of question) had already been proposed as early as the time of Ancient Greece.'

It can be observed from corpus data that it is the *bei4* passive with an agent phrase that tends to retain its overall adversative meaning. Moreover, it is significant to find that in the corpora, the neutral agentless form of the 被 *bei4* passive outnumbers the adversative form with an agent.

15.2.9. Other kinds of passive constructions

In addition to the *bei4* passive, there are several variant structures of the *bei* passive and passive constructions that use markers other than *bei4*.

15.2.9.1. 被 *bei4 . . .* 给 *gei3* + verb

A variant of the *bei4* passive has a morpheme 给 *gei3* that acts like a prefix on the main verb and serves to reinforce the passive meaning of the whole construction, as shown in [98].

[98]   这种关系本来是天生的, 但不幸往往**被**父母自己**给破坏**了。

zhe4   zhong3   guan1xi4   ben3lai2   shi4   tian1sheng1
this   CL   relationship   originally   be   innate

de0   dan4   bu4xing4   wang3wang3   bei4   fu4mu3
DE   but   unfortunate   often   BEI   parents

zi4ji3   gei3   po4huai4   le0
self   GEI   damage   LE

'This kind of relationship is innate, but, unfortunately, it is often
damaged by the parents themselves.'

15.2.9.2. 让 *rang4* passive

让 *rang4* is another marker that characteristically appears in passives with an
agent phrase. Apart from the fact that its use characterizes informal speech, the
让 *rang4* passive bears very similar properties to the *bei4* passive, as shown in [99].

[99]   这牲口不好抓, **让**人惯怀了。
        zhe4   sheng1kou3   bu4   hao4   zhua1   rang4   ren2
        this   animal   NEG   easy   catch   BEI   people

        guan4huai2   le0
        spoil   LE
        'This animal was not easy to catch, as it had become spoiled by people.'

It is relatively less frequent as a passive marker than the *bei4* passive is, as shown
in the statistics for contemporary corpora.

15.2.9.3. 叫 *jiao4* passive

The 叫 *jiao4* passive, similar to the 让 *rang4* passive, mainly occurs with an agent,
as confirmed in the corpus data. Identical to 让 *rang4*, the 叫 *jiao4* passive tends to
be used in informal genres of speech and writing, as shown in [100].

[100]   美差全**叫**他的老乡占了。
         mei3   chai1   quan2   jiao4   ta1   de0   lao3xiang1
         good   job   all   BEI   he   DE   fellow_villager

         zhan4   le0
         take   LE
         'All the cushy jobs are occupied by other people from the same village
         as him.'

15.2.9.4. 挨 *ai2* and 遭 (受) *zao1 (shou4)* passives

The passive formed with 挨 *ai2* 'suffer, endure' belongs to a more literary and for-
mal register. The 挨 *ai2* passive has been called an "inflictive" passive, as it almost
always expresses a misfortune that has been inflicted upon its subject. Further-
more, unlike 被 *bei4*, 挨 *ai2* takes an obligatory object noun in its complement,

which either denotes some kind of aggressive action or destructive event, or a nominal denoting a weapon. An agent phrase may be present, as in [101], but it is not syntactically or semantically required by the 挨 *ai2* passive, as in [102].

[101] 老說**挨**人打, 也丟人。
      lao3   shuo1   ai2   ren2   da3   ye3   diu1ren2
      always   say   suffer people beat also lose_face
      'It is shameful too, to always be talking about how you've been beaten up by others.'

[102] 社員們在台下吃瓜子, 笑, 看我們**挨**鬥。
      she4yuan2men0   zai4   tai2   xia4   chi1
      commune_members PREP   stage down   eat

      gua1zi0   xiao4   kan4   wo3men0   ai2   dou4
      melon_seeds smile see   we   suffer denounced
      'Below the stage, the commune members were eating melon seeds, laughing, and watching us getting denounced.'

Passives marked with 遭 (受) *zao1 (shou4)* and 受 *shou4* are not as frequently used. Both are verbs meaning 'to suffer,' and both precede a nominal phrase. They typically do not have an agent phrase, as shown in [103].

[103] 回來就受審查。
      hui2lai2 jiu4   shou4   shen3cha2
      return   then   SHOU   investigate
      '(We) were investigated after our return.'

15.2.9.5. 给 *gei3* passive

It is also possible for the verb 给 *gei3* 'give' to be used as a marker of the passive. While this general source is typical of the Southern dialects, it can nonetheless be sometimes found as a passive marker introducing the agent phrase in certain Northern dialects. It is rarer in standard Chinese, as exemplified by [104].

[104] 蘇普**给**父親打得很可憐。
      su1pu3   gei3   fu4qin1 da3   de0   hen3   ke3lian2
      Supu   GEI   father   beat DE   very   pathetic
      'Supu had been beaten into a miserable state by his father.'

It is important to observe that the 给 *gei3* passive typically appears without an agent phrase, as in [105].

[105]   爹妈老了，**给**背到山上扔了。

        die1ma1   lao3   le0   gei3   bei1   dao4   shan1

        parents   old   LE   GEI   carry   PREP   mountain

        shang4   reng1   le0

        on   discard   LE

        'The parents grew old and they were taken up to the mountain and abandoned.'

15.2.9.6. 被 *bei4* + verb[_{<noun>}]

A recent development in the use of 被 *bei4* has seen it collocated increasingly with a verb that typically does not show up in passives. The overall meaning represented by this new construction concerns the reporting of false information about the subject NP, including the padding out of official figures and other types of cover-ups, such as the cause of unexplained deaths and disappearances. Although clearly a form without an agent phrase, the typical implication is that the unnamed agent is some kind of official source, as the following examples reveal.

[106]   被代表   *dai4biao3*   'falsely reported as a representative'

        被捐款   *juan1kuan3*   'falsely reported as having donated money'

        被失踪   *shi1zong1*   'falsely reported as missing (e.g., as a cover-up for an arrest)'

        被就业   *jiu4ye4*   'falsely reported as employed (but in fact jobless)'

        被自杀   *zi4sha1*   'falsely reported as having committed suicide (but may in fact have died in prison)'

        被小康   *xiao3kang1*   'falsely reported as being well-off'

        被结婚   *jie2hun1*   'falsely reported as married'

15.2.9.7. 被 *bei4* passives in relative clauses

There is a preponderance of the 被 *bei4* passive embedded into relative clauses in both the headless and headed variety (see Chapter 9), as opposed to the other main types of passive constructions. In the nominal phrase in [107], the head noun phrase is 人 *ren2* 'people,' while in [108] the noun phrase is headless, with its referent found in the preceding discourse: 隐藏的事 *yin3cang2 de0 shi4* 'hidden affairs.'

[107]   所有**被**北宋山水感动过**的**人 . . .

        suo3you3   bei4   bei3song4   shan1shui3   gan3dong4

        all   BEI   Northern_Song   landscape   moved

guo4   de0   ren2
GUO   DE   people
'All those (people) who have been moved by the landscape paintings of the
Northern Song...'

[108]   隐藏的事, 没有不**被**人知道**的**。

yin3cang2   de0   shi4   mei2you3   bu4   bei4   ren2
hidden   DE   thing   NEG   NEG   BEI   people

zhi1dao4   de0
know   DE

'Hidden affairs, there are none which are not found out about by others.'

16

Deixis and anaphora

Yan Jiang

This chapter describes the main types and usages of deictics and anaphors. The phenomenon of deixis involves the use of a word or phrase whose interpretation is determined through considerations of the physical properties in the situation of utterance, from the perspective of the speaker or the addressee who are engaged in the act of communication. When the need to make further structural distinctions is in order, a deictic consisting of one single word is referred to as a "deictic term," while a larger deictic built around a deictic term is referred to as a "deictic expression."

Anaphora as a phenomenon is defined as a co-referential relationship between an anaphor and its antecedent. Such a relation can be established either within a clause or beyond, resulting in unification or partial overlap in reference. For ease of exposition, an anaphor consisting of one single word is given the label "anaphoric term," while a larger one built around an anaphoric term is labeled "anaphoric expression."

Deixis and anaphora are studied together because, given the existence of a few dedicated deictics (such as 我 *wo3* 'I,' 你 *ni3* 'you,' and 现在 *xian4zai4* 'now') and prototypical anaphors (such as 他 *ta1* 'he'), there also exists a closed set of common terms and expressions that can have both usages (such as 那里 *na4li3* 'there' and 那时 *na4shi2* 'then'). The distinctive properties of deixis and anaphora are as listed below.

1 Deictics and anaphors typically take the form of pronouns, nouns, and, to a lesser extent, verbs and adverbs. Some deictic expressions can take the form of fixed idiomatic constructions.

2 The very basic deictics and anaphors are pronouns, whose usages form a cluster of systematic variations that bear language-specific characteristics.

3 Both deictics and anaphors have under-specified content that needs to be fully instantiated in actual language use, with reference to syntactic and discourse information.

4 Different manners of instantiation lead to distinctions between deictic and anaphoric uses. The value of a deictic is specified with reference to some

non-linguistic information gathered from the situation of utterance. On the other hand, the value of an anaphor is determined through total or partial co-reference with an antecedent, which is identified in the linguistic context.

5   Some terms can be used either deictically or anaphorically, depending on the context.

6   Deictics and anaphora are closely related to determinative phrases, which are typically composed of the demonstratives 这 *zhe4* 'this' or 那 *na4* 'that,' followed by a head noun. Demonstratives can be used as either deictics or anaphors. Moreover, some inherently non-demonstrative words or expressions can acquire an occasional demonstrative use through ostensive or symbolic pointing. Such demonstrative uses are also deictic, albeit in a marginal way.

16.1. Overview of deixis

Deictics embody the indicating function of referential expressions, which constitutes a fundamental aspect of language use. The very basic usages of deixis are naturally associated with pointing gestures, at entities within the physically observable range, in the situation of utterance. The more sophisticated ones can be displaced, encoding symbolic rather than physical acts of indication, ranging from nodding toward a direction to giving a noticeable gaze, the use of stress, and analogical uses like pointing out a spot on a map.

Compared with anaphors, deictics are more basic: there are dedicated deictic terms, but no dedicated anaphoric terms. That is to say, there are terms that are exclusively deictic in the sense that no anaphoric use is available. These terms can be exemplified by first- and second-person pronouns. On the other hand, a prototypical anaphoric term such as the third-person singular pronoun can always receive a demonstrative use through emphatic mentioning or with an accompanying pointing gesture, thereby acquiring deictic properties.

Deictics can be classified in two ways, according to their lexical categories (pronouns, nouns, verbs, and adverbs) or according to their semantic types (person, place, time, manner, social, and discourse deictics). Representative examples of both types are given in Tables 16.1 and 16.2.

Social deictics encode information pertaining to differences in perceived status and degrees of intimacy. The nominal ones deviate from the more neutral address terms in being either deferential or pejorative, or either intimate or distanced. Such information is also encoded in deictic verbs reflecting social values. Discourse deictic terms refer to previously occurring segments of discourse.

A deictic expression can be built in one of three ways. First, it can be built around a noun head, which is a deictic term (see the underlined part in the examples), resulting in attributive-head deictic compounds: 大前天 *da4 qian2tian1* 'the day

Table 16.1 Types of deictic terms by lexical category

Type	Example
Pronoun	我 *wo3* 'I' first-person singular 你 *ni3* 'you' second-person singular 您 *nin2* 'you' second-person singular (polite use) 这 *zhe4* 'this' 那 *na4* 'that'
Noun	左边 *zuo3bian1* 'left' 上级 *shang4ji2* 'senior' 下级 *xia4ji2* 'junior' 人家 *ren2jia1* 'other person' 现场 *xian4chang3* '(on) the scene' 现在 *xian4zai4* 'now'
Verb	来 *lai2* 'come' 去 *qu4* 'go' 出 *chu1* 'exit' 进 *jin4* 'enter' 入 *ru4* 'enter' 回 *hui2* 'return' 返 *fan3* 'return' 送 *song4* 'see off'
Adverb	这么 *zhe4me0* 'so' 那么 *na4me0* 'in that way'

before the day before yesterday' and 右后方 *you4 hou4fang1* 'backward to the right.' Second, it can be built in the form of Det + N, where the Det is a demonstrative and the N is non-deictic: 这些天 *zhe4 xie1 tian1* 'these days,' 那东西 *na4 dong1xi1* 'that stuff,' and 这地方 *zhe4 di4fang1* 'this place.' Third, there are also conjoined compounds, consisting of one or both deictic terms: 如是再三 *ru2shi4 zai4san1* 'like this repeatedly' (where 如是 *ru2shi4* is a deictic) and 如此这般 *ru2ci3 zhe4ban1* 'like this; in such a way' (where both 如此 *ru2ci3* and 这般 *zhe4ban1* are deictic terms). These deictic terms often contain roots that are deictic terms themselves in Classic Chinese, such as 是 *shi4* 'this' and 此 *ci3* 'this.'

Deictics can be characterized with three basic and related notions: the "origo" is the deictic center from which a referent is perceived to be either "proximal" (i.e., physically near the origo) or "distal" (i.e., further away). What is proximal and distal can also be perceived as psychologically close or distant, respectively. These notions, together with notions such as the speaker and the hearer (i.e., the participant roles), are generally referred to in this chapter as "parameters of the utterance act."

Table 16.2 Types of deictic terms by meaning

Type	Example
Person	我 *wo3* 'I' first-person singular 你 *ni3* 'you' second-person singular 咱们 *zan2men0* 'we' first-person plural inclusive 大家 *da4jia1* 'all'
Place	这儿 *zhe4er0* 'here' 那儿 *na4er0* 'there'
Time	现在 *xian4zai4* 'now' 最近 *zui4jin4* 'recently' 明天 *ming2tian1* 'tomorrow' 那时 *na4shi2* 'that time'
Manner	这么 *zhe4mo0* 'so' 那么 *na4mo0* 'in that way' 这样 *zhe4yang4* 'such' 那样 *na4yang4* 'like that'
Social	阁下 *ge2xia4* 'your honor' 敝人 *bi4ren2* 'the humble I' 府上 *fu3shang4* 'your honored residence' 光临 *guang1lin2* 'honored presence'
Discourse	这 *zhe4* 'this' 那 *na4* 'that'

The proximal is demonstrated by 这 *zhe4* 'this' and the distal by 那 *na4* 'that.' Both can either stand alone, as in [1], or be followed by a noun and optionally with a classifier, as in [2] and [3] (this was also discussed in Chapter 8, section 8.2). The proximal 此 *ci3* and the distal 彼 *bi3* form a pair and are used mainly in written genres and in idiomatic expressions, as in [4] through [6].

[1]　　这已是难以改变的事实。
　　　　zhe4　yi3　　　shi4　nan2yi3　gai3bian4　de0　shi4shi2
　　　　this　already　be　difficult　change　　DE　fact
　　　　'This is an irreversible situation.'
　　　　(这 *zhe4*: single deictic)

[2]　　如果这细胞是一个细菌呢?
　　　　ru2guo3　zhe4　xi4bao1　shi4　yi1　ge4　xi4jun4　ne0
　　　　if　　　　this　cell　　be　one　CL　germ　　NE
　　　　'What will happen if this cell is a bacterium?'
　　　　(这 *zhe4* 'this' deictic + 细胞 *xi4bao1* 'cell')

[3] 她打开了<u>那把有点变形的雨伞</u>。
     ta1 da3kai1 le0 na4 ba3 you3dian3 bian4xing2
     she open   LE   that CL   some   be_out_of_shape

     de0 yu3san3
     DE   umbrella
     'She opened that rather deformed umbrella.'
     (那 *na4* deictic + 把 *ba3* CL + 有点 *you3dian3* 'a little' 变形 *bian4xing2*
     'deform' 的 *de0* + 雨伞 *yu3san3* 'umbrella')

[4] 许多国际会议在<u>此</u>举行。
     xu3duo1 guo2ji4   hui4yi4   zai4 ci3   ju3xing2
     many   international conferences   PREP here hold
     'Many international conferences are held here.'

[5] 两者的默契已到了<u>此呼彼应</u>的地步。
     liang3 zhe3 de0 mo4qi4   yi3   dao4
     two   CL   DE   tacit_understanding already reach

     le0 ci3hu1bi3ying4   de0 di4bu4
     LE   mutually_responsive DE   stage
     'The tacit understanding between the two sides has reached a mutually
     responsive stage.' (idiomatic usage)

[6] 股市与债市呈现<u>此消彼长</u>的现象。
     gu3shi4   yu3 zhai4shi4   cheng2xian4 ci3
     stock_market and bond_market   exhibit   this

     xiao1   bi3   zhang3 de0 xian4xiang4
     decrease that increase DE   phenomenon
     'When the stock market booms, the bond market wanes.'
     (idiomatic usage)

[7] 艺术馆位置偏僻, <u>到此一游</u>的人潮有限。
     yi4shu4guan3   wei4zhi4 pian1pi4 dao4 ci3   yi1
     The_Arts_Museum   location rare   come this one

     you2 de0 ren2chao2   you3xian4
     visit DE   stream_of_people   limited
     'The Arts Museum is out of the way, and not many people will come here
     to visit.' (idiomatic expression)

Some common verbs can encode directional deictic features, such as 来 *lai2*
'come' and 去 *qu4* 'go,' which, in addition to their primary senses as verbs, have
also been semantically bleached to convey a deictic sense of directionality or
tendency, as shown in [8]–[10].

[8] 客人从哪里来? 要去很远的地方吧?

ke4ren2 cong2 na3li3 lai2 yao4 qu4 hen3 yuan3
guest PREP where come will go very far

de0 di4fang1 ba0
DE place BA

'Where do (you) guest come from? Will you go to a place far away?'
(deictic verb)

[9] 我不明白你们为什么到这里来。

wo3 bu4 ming2bai2 ni3men0 wei4shen2me0 dao4
I NEG understand you why come

zhe4li3 lai2
here come

'I don't understand why you have come here.' (verbal deictic)

[10] 小女儿要跟她父亲上京城去。

xiao3nü3er2 yao4 gen1 ta1 fu4qin1 shang4
the_youngest_daughter want PREP she father go

jing1cheng2 qu4
capital_of_country go

'The youngest daughter wanted to go to the capital with her father.'
(verbal deictic)

Deictics as a whole exhibit a gradient of utterance-dependent properties. Strong deictics, that is, dedicated deictics, encode parameters of the utterance act, while weaker deictics are merely occasionally used as demonstratives for emphatic purposes, like the demonstrative use of third-person pronouns with pointing gestures. Positional words such as 前 *qian2* 'front' and 后 *hou4* 'back' are not deictic if they are used to describe absolute directions related to a static object such as a house or a building, as in 房前屋后 *fang2qian2 wu1hou4* 'in the front and back of the house.' Here, the utterance act offers no variable perspectival choices. Yet 在你身后 *zai4 ni3 shen1hou4* 'behind you' has deictic meaning, as the positioning of the listener is usually understood to be changeable and cannot be fixed once and for all. Moreover, 在我左边 *zai4 wo3 zuo3bian1* 'on my left' is much more deictic because "left" and "right" are always decided by the exact direction the speaker is facing at the moment of speaking, which is person-oriented and ever-changeable.

16.1.1. Person deixis

Person deictics form a closed set, with first-person singular 我 *wo3* 'I' and plural 我们 *wo3men0* 'we' and second-person singular 你 *ni3* 'you' and plural 你们 *ni3men0* 'you' as the most basic. The third-person singular 他 *ta1* 'he' and plural 他们

ta1men0 'they' can sometimes be demonstratively used with an emphatic pointing gesture, giving them deictic properties.

The first-person inclusive plural 咱们 *zan2men0* 'we' is used to include both the speaker and the addressee, with or without the inclusion of other parties on the scene or in the speaker's mind. On the other hand, 我们 *wo3men0* 'we' can be used either inclusively or exclusively, with the latter use excluding the addressee. The dedicatedly inclusive 咱们 *zan2men0* 'we' is mainly used in oral language.

Since the totality-denoting 大家 *da4jia1* 'all the people' shares the deictic features of 咱们 *zan2men0* 'we,' it can be used alone as a first-person inclusive plural, as shown in [11]. 大家 *da4jia1* 'all the people' can also appear after first-person plural pronouns as an appositive element, resulting in both an inclusive meaning and an emphasis on totality like that in [12]. It is occasionally used after the second-person plural 你们 *ni3men0* 'you,' as in [13], and characteristically does not appear after the third-person plurals 他们 *ta1men0* 'they,' 她们 *ta1men0* 'they,' or 它们 *ta1men0* 'they' as an appositive element.

[11]   过去六年来, 大家的日子并不好过。
       guo4qu4   liu4   nian2   lai2   da4jia1   de0   ri4zi0
       past   six   CL   come   all_the_people   DE   day

       bing4bu4   hao3guo4
       not_at_all   having_an_easy_time
       'Over the past six years, we have all had a hard time.' (first-person inclusive plural deictic)

[12]   社会是我们大家的, 环境也是我们大家的。
       she4hui4   shi4   wo3men0   da4jia1   de0   huan2jing4
       society   be   we   everyone   DE   environment

       ye3   shi4   wo3men0   da4jia1   de0
       also   be   we   all_the_people   DE
       'This society belongs to us all, so does this environment.'
       (大家 *da4jia1* as apposition to 我们 *wo3men0*)

[13]   我为什么这样傻?还不是为了你们大家的幸福?
       wo3   wei4shen2me0   zhe4yang4   sha3   hai2   bu4   shi4
       I   why   like_this   stupid   still   not   be

       wei4le0   ni3men0   da4jia1   de0   xing4fu2
       PREP   you   all_the_people   DE   happiness
       'Why am I so silly? Am I not doing it for the happiness of you all?'
       (大家 *da4jia1* as apposition to 你们 *ni3men0*)

Table 16.3 Corpus frequency of second-person pronouns

Corpus Word Form	Sinica	Gigaword2all	Gigaword2cna (TW)	Gigaword2xin (CN)	Gigaword2zbn (SIN)	Gigaword_alt
您 *nin2*	2,391	15,638	7,248	7,637	753	11,522
您们 *nin2men0*	0	180	125	0	0	107
你 *ni3*	25,432	82,936	30,601	37,780	14,555	58,720
你们 *ni3men0*	2,549	23,883	7,492	15,093	1,298	6,283

大家 *da4jia1* can also be used as a noun with only a totality meaning, which is non-deictic and does not involve any parameters of the utterance act, not even the speaker/writer, as shown in [14], in which 大家 *da4jia1* is equivalent to 人人 *ren2ren2* 'everyone.' A more colloquial variant of the first-person plural 大家 *da4jia1* is 大伙(儿) *da4huo3 (er0)* 'all the people,' which is only used in casual oral language, as in [15].

[14] 小孩子十几岁就去学生意了, 大家都觉得理所当然。
xiao3hai2zi0   shi2   ji3   sui4   jiu4   qu4   xue2
child   ten   some   year   then   go   learn

sheng1yi4   le0   da4jia1   dou1   jue2de0   li3suo3dang1ran2
business   LE   everyone   all   feel   of_course
'Children started to learn business as teenagers. This was taken as the norm by everyone.' (totality and non-deictic use of 大家 *da4jia1*)

[15] 一条鱼就够咱们大伙吃一个月。
yi1   tiao2   yu2   jiu4   gou4   zan2men0   da4huo3
one   CL   fish   then   enough   we   all_the_people

chi1   yi1   ge4   yue4
eat   one   CL   month
'One fish could sustain us for a whole month.'

您 *nin2* 'you' is a dedicated deferential term for second-person singular reference, sometimes also used to show estrangement or to achieve a distancing effect. In oral language, the plural form of 您 *nin2* 'you' is 您二位 *nin2 er4 wei4* 'you two,' 您三位 *nin2 san1 wei4* 'you three,' and 您几位 *nin2 ji3 wei4* 'you all' (for more than two people). In written language, there is no plural form of 您 *ni3*, and the neutral second-person plural 你们 *ni3men0* is used instead. The use of 您们 *nin2men0* in written language is exceptional and not commonly accepted, as attested by its extremely low frequency in several corpora (see Table 16.3).

人家 *ren2jia1*, 别(的)人 *bie4 (de0) ren2*, 其他(的)人 *qi2ta1 (de0) ren2*, and 他人 *ta1ren2*, all meaning 'other person(s),' serve as residual deictic person reference, that is, terms addressing or referring to individuals other than the speaker and the hearer.

As an exception, 人家 *ren2jia1* is sometimes coquettishly used as a self-addressing term by young women or entertainers.

16.1.2. Place deixis

The basic proximal and distal place deictics constitute the following contrastive pairs: 这里 *zhe4li3* 'here,' 那里 *na4li3* 'there'; 这儿 *zhe4er0* 'here,' 那儿 *na3er0* 'there'; and 这边 *zhe4bian1* 'here,' 那边 *na4bian1* 'there.' Although these three pairs are often used interchangeably, there are nuances of differences.

这里 *zhe4li3* 'here' and 那里 *na4li3* 'there' consist of the proximal or the distal deictic term, followed by the locative morpheme 里 *li3* 'inside.' However, the two resulting expressions, 这里 *zhe4li3* 'here' and 那里 *na4li3* 'there,' do not convey the "inside" meaning, which is to be conveyed by 这里面 *zhe4li3 mian4* 'in here' and 那里面 *na4li3 mian4* 'in there' or 这里边 *zhe4li3 bian1* 'in here' and 那里边 *na4li3 bian1* 'in there.'

这儿 *zhe4er0* 'here' and 那儿 *na3er0* 'there' are used more often in oral language, although they can also be found in written language. As a matter of preference, some people choose not to use words with a 儿- *er0*- suffix in writing, and some do not use 儿- *er0*- suffixed words at all.

这边 *zhe4bian1* 'here' and 那边 *na4bian1* 'there' have the more basic and more physical meaning of 'this side' and 'that side.' However, they are also used with the extended sense of 'this spot, that spot; this part, that part; and this area, that area,' causing them often to be used interchangeably with 这里 *zhe4li3* 'here,' 那里 *na4li3* 'there' and 这儿 *zhe4er0* 'here,' 那儿 *na3er0* 'there.' The proximal 此地 *ci3di4* 'here' does not have a distal counterpart in Modern Chinese.

Some other place deictics are both directional and locative: the directional deictic terms 左 *zuo3* 'left' and 右 *you4* 'right' can combine with relevant locative morphemes 边 *bian1* 'side' and 面 *mian4* 'surface,' forming deictic expressions such as 左边 *zuo3bian1* 'left side' and 右面 *you4mian4* 'right side.' As explained above, relative directional terms such as 上 *shang4* 'up,' 下 *xia4* 'down,' 前 *qian2* 'front,' and 后 *hou4* 'back' can acquire deictic properties in some uses when the center of reference is not fixed. They can form expressions such as 上边 *shang4bian1* 'above,' 下面 *xia4mian4* 'below,' 前方 *qian2fang1* 'at the front,' and 后边 *hou4bian1* 'behind,' which can also have deictic use.

The directional terms 里 *li3* 'in' and 外 *wai4* 'out' combine only with a following 边 *bian1* 'side,' 面 *mian4* 'surface,' or 头 *tou2* 'end' to form deictic expressions like 里边 *li3bian1* 'inside,' 外面 *wai4mian4* 'outside,' and 里头 *li3tou2* 'inside.' The 里 *li3* 'in' in this case is different from the locative morpheme 里 *li3* 'inside' discussed above, not only in position but also in meaning. The 里 *li3* 'in' here is followed by a locative morpheme and the combination always means 'inside,' while the previous 里 *li3* follows a deictic term and the combination means 'place' only, as in 这里 *zhe4li3* 'here' and 那里 *na4li3* 'there,' although it can also mean 'inside' in

屋 (子) 里 *wu1 (zi3) li3* 'the inside of the room,' 鞋子里 *xie2zi0 li3* 'the inside of the shoe,' 家里 *jia1li3* 'the inside of the home,' etc.

16.1.3. Time deixis

The time of speaking can be considered the temporal origo and is encoded by 现在 *xian4zai4* 'now,' departing from whatever other time deixis is deployed. The more basic proximal and distal terms 这 *zhe4* 'this' and 那 *na4* 'that' can combine with ensuing time-denoting units, with possible numerals and classifiers in between: 这时 *zhe4shi2* 'at this moment,' 这会儿 *zhe4hui4er0* 'at this (short) period,' 那时候 *na4shi2hou0* 'at that time,' 那几年 *na4 ji3 nian2* 'in those years,' 那(一)年 *na4 (yi1) nian2* 'in that year,' 这个月 *zhe4 ge4 yue4* 'the current month,' and 这几个月 *zhe4 ji3 ge4 yue4* 'these months.'

Neither days of the week nor calendar dates are deictics. For deictic reference, Chinese has a seven-slot system: 今天 *jin1tian1* 'today,' 明天 *ming2tian1* 'tomorrow,' 昨天 *zuo2tian1* 'yesterday,' 后天 *hou4tian1* 'the day after tomorrow,' 前天 *qian2tian1* 'the day before yesterday,' 大后天 *da4hou4tian1* 'the day after the day after tomorrow (three days ahead),' and 大前天 *da4qian2tian1* 'the day before the day before yesterday (three days ago).' Likewise, years are referred to deictically in a similar seven-slot system: 今年 *jin1nian2* 'the current year,' 去年 *qu4nian2* 'last year,' 明年 *ming2nian2* 'next year,' 前年 *qian2nian2* 'the year before last year,' 后年 *hou4nian2* 'the year after next year,' 大前年 *da4qian2nian2* 'the year before the year before last year (three years ago),' and 大后年 *da4hou4nian2* 'the year after the year after next year (three years ahead).'

As shown in the examples above, some spatio-directional terms such as 上 *shang4* 'up' and 下 *xia4* 'down' are also used as time deictics when combined with time-denoting words. More examples are 上一年 *shang4 yi1 nian2* 'the last year,' 下一年 *xia4 yi1 nian2* 'the next year,' 上个世纪 *shang4 ge4 shi4ji4* 'the last century,' and 下个世纪 *xia4 ge4 shi4ji4* 'the next century.'

16.1.4. Social deixis

Chinese has an ever-changing system of terms of address. The instability of the system is caused by the abandonment of the rich archaic system accumulated in Classical Chinese, as well as the continuous and fast changes in social relationships in modern China over the past century. However, only a limited number of address terms are deictics, as others do not encode parameters of the utterance act. The deferential second-person singular 您 *nin2* is deictic, as the speaker uses it out of consideration of social distance: respect or estrangement is an extended application of the concept distal. However, terms of address involving one's administrative duties or titles, such as 王校长 *wang2 xiao4zhang3* 'President Wang,' 李教授 *li3 jiao4shou4* 'Professor Li,' and 陈博士 *chen2 bo2shi4* 'Dr. Chen,' are not deictics because they are relatively fixed terms. Likewise, some rather commonly used

terms of address, such as 先生 *xian1sheng0* 'Mr.,' 太太 *tai4tai4* 'Mrs.,' 夫人 *fu1ren2* 'Madam,' and 小姐 *xiao3jie3* 'Miss' are not deictics either.

Some older socially deictic terms are still widely used in oral language on formal occasions, as well as in written and more literary language, especially as address terms in epistle writing, including e-mails. They can be further divided into two types: deferentials and depreciatories, the latter being mostly self-depreciatories.

16.1.4.1. Deferentials

1 大人 *da4ren2* 'your honor,' now obsolete, was formerly used in face-to-face dialogue by a subordinate to his senior. It can be preceded by a surname or a title. In epistle works, it is still often used to address a parent or a senior and usually an aged relative when it is preceded by a senior kinship term, such as 母亲大人 *mu3qin1 da4ren2* 'my honored mother' and 舅父大人 *jiu4fu4 da4ren2* 'my honored uncle.'

2 贵 *gui4* 'your honorable' can be combined with many nouns to form deferential references, such as 贵校 *gui4 xiao4* 'your honored school,' 贵军 *gui4 jun1* 'your honored army,' 贵所 *gui4 suo3* 'your honored institute,' and 贵厂 *gui4 chang3* 'your honored factory.' However, nouns preceded by 贵 *gui4* are not used as terms of address.

3 光临 *guang1lin2*, 莅临 *li4lin2* 'be honorably present' is used to honor an addressee's visit.

4 敬上 *jing4shang4* 'respectfully presented' is used at the end of a letter, after the name of the writer, and it can be shortened to 上 *shang4*.

5 敬祝 *jing4zhu4* 'respectfully extending a wish' is used before an offer of good wishes.

16.1.4.2. Depreciatories

1 小人 *xiao3ren2* 'my humble self' or 小的 *xiao3de0* 'my humble self' was formerly used in face-to-face communication by a subordinate as a self-addressing term, now obsolete.

2 下人 *xia4ren2* 'the lowly' has less of a deictic character than 小人 *xiao3ren2*, as it is only used to refer to servants and not as an address term.

3 小辈 *xiao3bei4* 'the junior family members and relatives' (literally, the younger generation): self-addressing term for singular or plural reference.

4 晚辈 *wan3bei4* 'the junior' (literally, the later generation): self-addressing term, usually singular, used by juniors in the presence of seniors.

5 后学 *hou4xue2* 'the later student': self-addressing term, usually singular, used by younger students or scholars in the presence of senior ones.

6 拙著 *zhuo2 zhu4*, 拙文 *zhuo2 wen2*, 拙译 *zhuo2 yi4* 'my humble work, paper, translated work.'

7 不才 *bu4cai2* 'the worthless person': self-addressing term, singular.

8 在下 *zai4xia4*, originally meaning 'seated or positioned at a lower position': self-addressing term, singular.

9 内人 *nei4ren2* 'my wife' (literally, 'the one who stays inside the family').

10 寒舍 *han2she4* 'my home' (literally, 'the cold and simple abode').

11 敝人 *bi4ren2* 'the humble I.'

12 鄙人 *bi3ren2* 'the humble I.'

16.1.5. Discourse deixis

这 *zhe4* 'this' and 那 *na4* 'that,' either as single terms or forming larger expressions, can be used as discourse deictics to refer to a part of the previous utterance(s) or text. The relationship between a discourse deictic and its reference is different from one between a discourse anaphor and its antecedent. The former refers to the physical discourse segment, while the latter, with a clausal antecedent, summarizes the content. The 这句话 *zhe4 ju4 hua4* 'this sentence' in [16] is not a summary of the content of the sentence but instead denotes the sentence as an entity in the immediate environment, namely, it is being used deictically. Similarly, the 这 *zhe4* 'this' in [17] points to the sentence being said and is deictic.

[16] "我的妈妈, 是最好的妈妈", 这句话他脱口而出。

wo3 de0 ma1ma0 shi4 zui4hao3 de0 ma1ma0 zh4
I DE mother be best DE mother this
ju4 hua4 ta1 tuo1kou3er2chu1
CL words he let_slip
'"My mother is the best," he uttered this sentence without much thinking.'

[17] "我要感谢养育我的父母, 感谢他们的养育之恩!," 这是罗雪娟夺冠后的第一句话。

wo3 yao4 gan3xie4 yang3yu1 wo3 de0 fu4mu3
I want thank nurture I DE parents
gan3xie4 ta1men0 de0 yang3yu1 zhi1 en1
thank they DE nurture DE affection
zhe4 shi4 luo2xue3juan1 duo2guan4 hou4
this be LUO_XUEJUAN win_championship after
de0 di4yi1 ju4 hua4
DE first CL words
'"I wish to thank my parents for nurturing me!" This was the first sentence uttered by LUO Xuejuan after winning the championship.'

16.1.6. Alternating between the proximal and the distal

The proximal and the distal parameters can be expressed and viewed objectively, but they can also be taken symbolically, especially with reference to time. Moreover, they can be encoded subjectively, on the basis of psychological distance, which may not correspond to physical reality. This gives deictics a "cognitive zooming" function. That is, what is physically distal can be focalized and referred to with a proximal term. On the contrary, what is physically proximal can also be distanced through the use of a distal term. These uses reflect value judgments on the part of the language user.

The 这种产品 *zhe4zhong3 chan3pin3* 'this kind of product' in [18] refers to an entity in the immediate environment or a type of entity being discussed and is considered proximal, while the 那 *na4* 'that' refers to the actual product in other countries and is considered distal. The same could be said about the relation between 这种仪式 *zhe4zhong4 yi2shi4* 'this ritual' and 那 *na4* 'that' in [19], with the former being discussed in the current discourse while the latter refers to things in India and Africa. The sentence in [20] is an excerpt from a phone conversation. The 这辈 *zhe4bei4* 'this generation' in this case refers to the generation of the speaker, while 那辈 *na4bei4* 'that generation' refers to the generation of the listener, who is at the other end of the phone line. The contrast between proximal and distal is obvious.

[18]   有的国家正在削价抛售这种产品, 但那是前几年的库存, 质量不能跟
        我们的相比。

        you3de0   guo2jia1   zheng4zai4   xue4jia4   pao1shou4   zhe4
        some   country   ZAI   cut_price   dump   this

        zhong4   chan3pin3   dan4   na4   shi4   qian2   ji3
        kind   product   but   that   be   previous several

        nian2   de0   ku4cun2   zhi4liang4   bu4neng2   gen1
        year   DE   stock   quality   cannot   PREP

        wo3men0   de0   xiang1bi3
        we   DE   compare

        'Some countries are dumping this kind of product with a low price but
        these are their surplus stock from previous years, so their quality cannot
        be compared with ours.'

[19]   你说的拜月是怎么回事? 据说印度非洲真有这种仪式, 但那只是迷信 而已。

        ni3   shuo1   de0   bai4yue4   shi4   zen3me0   hui2
        you   say   DE   worship_moon   be   what   CL

        shi4   ju4shuo1   yin4du4   fei1zhou1   zhen1   you3   zhe4
        thing   it_is_said   India   Africa   really   have   this

zhong3 yi2shi4 dan4 na4 zhi3shi4 mi2xin4 er2yi3
CL ritual but that only superstition only
'What about moon-worshipping that you just mentioned? It is said that such rituals really exist in India and Africa, but that is no more than superstition.'

[20] 现在的年轻人接受外来的冲击太多, 多到我们这辈, 或者是你们那辈, 都无法想象
xian4zai4 de0 nian2qing1ren2 jie1shou4 wai4lai2 de0
now DE young_people receive external DE
chong1ji2 tai4 duo1 duo1 dao4 wo3men0 zhe4
impact too many many PREP we this
bei4 huo4zhe3 shi4 ni3men0 na4 bei4
generation or be you that generation
dou1 wu2fa3 xiang3xiang4
all no_way imagine
'Today's youngsters receive so much external impact, to the extent that it is not imaginable by our generation, or your generation.'

16.1.7. Generic use of deictic terms

Some dedicated deictic terms (i.e., terms that are never used anaphorically) can be used to give arbitrary reference, in the sense that the deictic term at issue is not authentically referential but encodes generic meaning. The second person singular 你 *ni3* 'you' in [21], which refers to anyone in the world, is a case in point. Similarly, the 你 *ni3* 'you,' 今天 *jin1tian1* 'today,' 明天 *ming2tian1* 'tomorrow,' 这样 *zhe4yang4* 'this way,' and 那样 *na4yang4* 'that way' in [22] are all used as generic terms, referring to "someone," "sometime," and "some way," respectively.

[21] 棋赛有很高的可塑性, 你可以用棋子创造出美丽的难题。
qi2sai4 you3 hen3 gao1 de0 ke3su4xing4 ni3 ke3yi3
chess_game have very high DE plasticity you can
yong4 qi2zi3 chuang4zao4 chu1 mei3li4 de0
use chess_piece create out beautiful DE
nan2ti2
hard_issue
'A game of chess is full of changes, and you can use chess pieces to create a beautiful puzzle.' (generic use of 你 *ni3* 'you')

[22] 如果你对生活没有完整的了解, 就会今天这样做、明天那样做。
ru2guo3 ni3 dui4 sheng1huo2 mei2you3 wan2zheng3
if you PREP life NEG thorough

de0	liao3jie3		jiu4	hui4	jin1tian1	zhe4yang4
DE	understanding		then	will	today	this_way

zuo4	ming2tian1	na4yang4	zuo4
do	tomorrow	that_way	do

'If you do not have a comprehensive understanding of life, you would go this way one day, and that way another day.' (generic use of paired deicetics:

今天 *jin1tian1* 'today' and 明天 *ming2tian1* 'tomorrow'; and 这样 *zhe4yang4* 'this way' and 那样 *na4yang4* 'that way')

The 你 *ni3* 'you' and 我 *wo3* 'I' in [23] appear in an idiom chunk, which means to do something to each other such as looking at each other, and are generic, referring to any two groups of people. The 左 *zuo3* 'left' and 右 *you4* 'right' in [24] also appear in an idiom chunk, which means doing something again and again, such as waiting for a long time, and refers to some repeated manner of doing things.

[23]   人们在路上碰见了, 只是<u>你</u>望望<u>我</u>, <u>我</u>望望<u>你</u>, 不敢交谈。

ren2men0	zai4	lu4shang4	peng4jian4	le0	zhi3shi4
people	PREP	en_route	meet	LE	only

ni3	wang4wang4	wo3	wo3	wang4wang4	ni3	bu4
you	look_look	I	I	look_look	you	NEG

gan3	jiao1tan2
dare	communicate

'When people meet on the street, they can only look at each other and do not dare to speak to each other.' (generic use of paired deictics: 你 *ni3* 'you' and 我 *wo3* 'I')

[24]   女主人<u>左</u>等<u>右</u>盼, 从疑虑、牵挂担心转为生气。

nü3zhu3ren2	zuo3deng3you4pan4	cong2	yi2lü4
lady_of_the_house	left_wait_right_gaze	PREP	puzzle

qian1gua4	dan1xin1	zhuan3wei2	sheng1qi4
concern	worry	turn_to	angry

'The wife waited and waited. As time went by, her mood swung from confusion to concern and worry, all the way to anger.' (generic use of paired deictics: 左 *zuo3* 'left' and 右 *you4* 'right')

The 这 *zhe4* 'this' and 那 *na4* 'that' in [25] work as a pair, with a generic interpretation referring to random things, very much like the English expression "this and that."

[25]   他因每天听我在车上讲这讲那, 知道了我的需要。

ta1   yin1   mei3tian1   ting1   wo3   zai4   che1   shang4

he   because   everyday   hear   I   PREP   car   in

jiang3   zhe4   jiang3   na4   zhi1dao4   le0   wo3   de0

say   this   say   that   know   LE   I   DE

xu1yao4

need

'He got to know my needs, as he listened to my babbling in the car every day.' (generic use of paired deictics: 这 *zhe4* 'this' and 那 *na4* 'that')

16.2. Overview of anaphora

At the beginning of this chapter, we defined anaphora as involving a closed set of lexical items whose semantic values are determined through unification with some previously occurring antecedents in the discourse. In connection to this, an anaphoric relationship can be defined as a co-referential linkage between two elements in the discourse, one of which, the anaphor, being dependent on the other, the antecedent, for its reference.

Anaphors can be either retrospective, with the antecedent appearing first, or anticipatory, with the anaphor appearing first. The latter is also called cataphor, with the related phenomenon termed "cataphora" or "backward anaphora." As retrospective anaphors are much more often found than the anticipatory ones, they are simply referred to as "anaphor" in this chapter.

This section is concerned with the typology of anaphora, its distribution, and its similarities with and differences from deictics. Anaphors in Chinese can be divided into three types: nominal anaphors, pronominal anaphors, and zero anaphors. Pronominal anaphors also include reflexives and reciprocals as two idiosyncratic subtypes.

16.2.1. Nominal anaphors

Nominal anaphors concern cases where a nominal expression, excluding pronouns and the zero form (which will be treated separately), is co-referential with another noun, with partial or no sharing of lexical forms. This definition excludes cases where a noun or noun phrase simply repeats itself in discourse.

Thus defined, the first type of nominal anaphora concerns those with shortened forms of their antecedents. The shortened 缩写 *suoxie* forms can be established acronyms whose relationship with the full expressions is recoverable independent of context, such as the 安理会 *an1li2hui4* 'the UN Security Council' in [26]. They can also be temporary simplifications whose meaning can only be fully comprehended in the specific discourse context, such as the 世青赛 *shi4qing1sai4* and 中国队

zhong1guo2dui4 in [27], which are shortened forms of 'the Ninth FIFA U-20 Coca-Cola World Cup Tournament' and 'the Chinese Youth Team,' respectively. See Chapter 3, section 3.5.3. for discussion on the formation of *suoxie* abbreviation.

[26]   联合国安全理事会又叫安理会。
lian2he2guo2   an1quan2li3shi4hui4   you4   jiao4
the_United_Nation   Security_Council   also   name

an1li3hui4
peace_manage_meeting
'The United Nations Security Council is also known as the Security
Council.'

[27]   参加第九届国际足联可口可乐杯世界青年 (20岁以下) 锦标赛的
中国青年队成绩是中国队参加世青赛历史上最差的。
can1jia1   di4jiu3   jie4   guo2ji4zu2lian2   ke3kou3ke3le4bei1
participate ninth   CL   FIFA   Coca_Cola_Cup

shi4jie4   qing1nian2   er4shi2   sui4   yi3xia4   jin3biao1sai4
world   youth   twenty   year   below   championship

de0   zhong1guo2   qing1nian2dui4   cheng2ji1   shi4
DE   China   youth_team   score   be

zhong1guo2dui4   can1jia1   shi4qing1sai4   li4shi3
China_team   participate world_youth_game   history

shang4   zui4cha4   de0
on   worst   DE
'The Chinese Youth Team participating in the Ninth FIFA U-20 Coca-Cola
World Cup Tournament achieved the worst result for a Chinese team in
the history of the tournament.'

The second type of nominal anaphora involves nouns that are hypernyms of their antecedents, that is, nouns that are more general in meaning than their antecedents. They can be further divided into two kinds: general nouns with neutral categorical reference, such as the 这个问题 *zhe4 ge4 wen4ti2* 'this issue' in [28], and general nouns with specific reference, used with emotional connotations (i.e., epithets), such as the 四个小家伙 *si4ge4 xiao3jia1huo0* 'four little ones' in [29].

[28]   电影业的困境, 主要来自"艺术性"与"票房"的矛盾。这个问题不好解决。
dian4yin3   de0   kun4jing4   zhu3yao4   lai3zi4
film   DE   dilemma   mainly   come_from

yi4shu4xing4   yu3   piao4fang2   de0   mao2dun4   zhe4   ge0
artistic_ness   and   box_office   DE   conflict   this   CL

<table>
<tr><td>wen4ti2</td><td>bu4</td><td>hao3</td><td>jie2jue2</td></tr>
<tr><td>issue</td><td>NEG</td><td>easy</td><td>solve</td></tr>
</table>

'The dilemma of the movie industry comes mainly from the conflict between artistic value and box office. This is not an easy issue to solve.'

[29] 农妇产下<u>四胞胎</u>胡大毛、胡二毛、胡三毛、胡四毛。
<u>四个小家伙</u>后来到了安徽医学院附属医院。

nong2fu4	chan3xia4	si4bao1tai1	hu2da4mao2
farmer_woman	give_birth	quadruplet	HU_big_MAO

hu2er4mao2	hu2san1mao2	hu2si4mao2	si4
HU_second_MAO	HU_third_MAO	HU_fourth_MAO	four

ge4	xiao3jia1huo3	hou4lai2	zhuan3	dao4	an1hui1
CL	little_chaps	later	transfer	PREP	ANHUI

yi1xue2yuan4	fu4shu3	yi1yuan4
medical_college	affiliated	hospital

'The farmer gave birth to quadruplets HU Da Mao, HU Er Mao, HU San Mao, and HU Si Mao. The four little ones were then transferred to the hospital affiliated with the Anhui Medical College.'

The difference between the anaphoric reference in [28] and the uses involving discourse deixis (see section 16.2.5) is that the 这个问题 *zhe4ge4 wen4ti2* 'this issue' in [28] does not refer to a discourse segment per se, but rather to the content presented in that segment. However, it may be difficult to distinguish them in some cases, as shown in [30], where the expression 这句话 *zhe4 ju4 hua4* 'this utterance' can be taken in either way in relation to the quoted sentence. It is a discourse deictic if it refers to the physical utterance of the sentence, but it is a discourse anaphor if the content of the utterance is taken to be the real thrust.

[30] "我愿以我走过的全部道路证明一句话, <u>人生是可以雕塑的</u>。"
刘开渠先生的<u>这句话</u>让人为之一震。

wo3	yuan4	yi3	wo3	zou3	guo4	de0	quan2bu4
I	wish	PREP	I	walk	GUO	DE	all

dao4lu4	zheng4ming2	yi1	ju4	hua4	ren2sheng1	shi4
road	prove	one	CL	words	life	be

ke3yi3	diao1su4	de0	liu2kai1qu2	xian1sheng0	de0
can	sculpture	DE	LIU_KAIQU	Mr.	DE

zhe4	ju4	hua4	rang4	ren2	wei4zhi1yi1zhen4
this	CL	words	let	people	be_moved

'"I would like to use my life's journey to prove one proposition. That is, life can be sculptured." This saying by Mr. Liu Kaiqu moved everyone.'

The third type of nominal anaphora involves cases where the referential content of a noun is later picked up by a synonymous noun, as shown in [31], where 汉语 *han4yu3* 'Chinese' refers to the same thing as 中文 *zhong1wen2* 'Chinese' does.

[31]   他大三开始学习<u>中文</u>, <u>汉语</u>现在讲得还不流利。

   ta1   da4   san1   kai1shi3   xue2xi2   zhong1wen2
   he   university   three   start   learn   Chinese
   han4yu3   xian4zai4   jiang3   de0   hai2   bu4   liu2li4
   Chinese   now   speak   DE   still   NEG   fluent
   'Having started learning Chinese as a sophomore, his spoken Chinese is not fluent yet.'

16.2.2. Pronominal anaphors

Pronominal anaphors involve the third-person singular pronoun *ta* and the plural *tamen*. Neither of them makes distinctions in gender in oral language, yet both have acquired gender-distinct but case-neutral written forms in Modern Chinese: 他 *ta1* 'he,' 她 *ta1* 'she,' and 它 *ta1* 'it' and the corresponding 他们 *ta1men0* 'they-masculine,' 她们 *ta1men0* 'they-feminine,' and 它们 *ta1men0* 'they-nonhuman.' Demonstrative anaphora includes 这 *zhe4* 'this,' 那 *na4* 'that,' 该 *gai1* 'the,' 其 *qi2* 'whose,' and their variants when used with referential nouns.

这 *zhe4* 'this,' when combined with a following noun, can be used to give definite reference, such as 这时 *zhe4shi2* 'this moment,' 这人 *zhe4ren2* 'this person/the person,' and 这车 *zhe4che1* 'this car/the car.' Such expressions are sometimes anaphoric and sometimes deictic, and they are also highly lexically specific.

这时 *zhe4shi2* 'this moment' is predominantly anaphoric, referring to a time in the past and in contrast with 现在 *xian4zai4* 'now,' which refers to the immediate present. Both 这次 *zhe4ci4* and 这回 *zhe4hui2* are combinations of demonstrative and event classifiers meaning 'this time' and can be used either anaphorically or deictically, referring to an occasion either in the past or at the time of speech. 这下 *zhe4xia4*, however, either means 'as a result' or 'this immediate present.' The first is used as a connective adjunct while the second is a deictic. 此 *ci3* 'this' can also have such twofold usage. 此时 *ci3shi2* '(at) the time' is anaphoric, 此地 *ci3di4* 'this place' and 此处 *ci3chu4* 'this location' are deictic, and 此事 *ci3shi4* 'this matter' and 此人 *ci3ren2* 'this person' can be used either way.

16.2.2.1. Reflexives and reciprocals

Pronominal anaphors include reflexives and reciprocals as subcategories. Reflexives take two main forms: the independently used 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' and the 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' attached to a pronoun, a name, or a full nominal phrase. The stand-alone 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' occupies an argument position, while the 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self'

used after other nominal elements is an emphatic pronoun. The emphatic 自己 *zi4ji3* co-refers with the nominal element to which it is attached, while the argument 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' should establish an anaphoric link to its antecedent, either within a single clause or beyond, across one or more superordinate clauses, or even inter-sententially. Several possibilities are available, which can be conveniently grouped under two categories: 自己 *zi4ji3* as the subject and 自己 *zi4ji3* as the object.

When the stand-alone 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' appears in the subject position, it can establish reference in three possible ways. First, as a subject in the matrix clause, it can be used as shortened forms of pronoun + 自己 *zi4ji3* (i.e., 我自己 *wo3 zi4ji3* 'myself,' 你自己 *ni3 zi4ji3* 'yourself,' or 他自己 *ta1 zi4ji3* 'himself'). Such uses are usually found in thought description discourse for self-reference, as exemplified by [32].

[32] 入秋的季节, <u>自己</u>总习惯性地带件外套; 入秋的夜里, <u>自己</u>总习惯地在床尾铺上薄被

ru4   qiu1   de0   ji4jie2   zi4ji3   zong3   xi2guan4xing4
enter autumn   DE   season   self   always be_used_to

de0   dai4   jian4   wai4tao4   ru4   qiu1   de0   ye4li3
DE   bring CL   coat   enter autumn   DE   at_night

zi4ji3   zong3   xi2guan4xing4   de0   zai4   chuang2   wei3
self   always be_used_to   DE   be_at   bed   end

pu4   shang4   bao2   bei4
lay   on   thin   quilt

'In the fall, I am used to going out with a thicker coat; and at night, I am used to sleeping with a thin quilt.'

Second, as the subject in the subordinate clause co-indexed with the subject in the matrix clause, the 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' works like a pronominal, as in [33] and [34].

[33] 不久, 我自医院返家, 过起正常的生活, 甚至忘了<u>自己</u>罹患癌症这件 事

bu4jiu3   wo3   zi4   yi1yuan4   fan3   jia1   guo4   qi3
soon   I   PREP hospital   return   home   live   QI

zheng4chang2   de0   sheng1huo2   shen4zhi4   wang4   le0
normal   DE   life   even   forget LE

zi4ji3   li2huan4   ai2zheng4   zhe4   jian4   shi4
self   have   cancer   this   CL   thing

'Soon afterwards, I left the hospital and went back home, where I began to lead a normal life and even forgot that I had had cancer.'

[34]   我猛然发现<u>自己</u>是多么有福气, 早早地就能享受泡茶的乐趣。
     wo3   meng3ran2   fa1xian4   zi4ji3   shi4   duo1me0   you3
     I   abruptly   find   self   be   how   have
     fu2qi4   zao3zao3   de0   jiu4   neng2   xiang3shou4
     luck   well_in_advance   DE   then   can   enjoy
     pao4cha2   de0   le4qu4
     make_tea   DE   joy
     'I suddenly realize how lucky I was, being able to experience the joy of tea-making early on.'

Third, 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' in the subject position can sometimes have an arbitrary reference, meaning 'anyone himself,' functioning as a pronominal, as shown in [35].

[35]   沟通是双方面的。<u>自己</u>说的话要让对方能听到、听懂和听得进去
     gou1tong1   shi4   shuang1fang1mian4   de0   zi4ji3
     communication   be   both_sides   DE   self
     shuo1   de0   hua4   yao4   rang4   dui4fang1   neng2
     say   DE   words   will   let   the_other_side   can
     ting1dao4   ting1dong3   he2   ting1   de0   jin4qu4
     listen_succeed   listen_understand   and   listen   DE   into
     'Communication is a two-way process. What one says should be able to be heard, understood, and accepted by the others.'

When the stand-alone 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' appears in the object position, its presence is not limited to the specific content of the discourse. Moreover, there is much structural freedom in the way an anaphoric link is built between the object 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' and its antecedent, as shown in the following examples, where the same subscript index indicates co-reference. The 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' in the object position of the first clause in [36] can have either 男生 *nan2sheng1* 'boy' or 女生 *nü3sheng1* 'girl' as the antecedent, and it is the second clause that provides the cue to link 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' with 女生 *nü3sheng1* 'girl.' The 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' in the object position of the embedded clause of [37] can be co-referential with either 他 *ta1* 'he' or 别人 *bie2ren2* 'other people,' and the cue from the first clause helps readers to connect 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' with 他 *ta1* 'he.' Similarly, the 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' in [38] takes 她 *ta1* 'she' as the antecedent because of the cue from the second clause.

[36]   <u>男生</u>ᵢ常觉得<u>女生</u>ⱼ不能清楚的表达<u>自己</u>ⱼ的感情, 男生只好很辛苦的
     玩猜谜游戏
     nan2sheng1   chang2   jue2de0   nü3sheng1   bu4neng2
     boy   often   feel   girl   NEG_can

qing1chu3   de0   biao3da2   zi4ji3   de0   gan3qing2

clear   DE   express   self   DE   feeling

nan2sheng1   zhi3hao3   hen3   xin1ku3   de0   wan2

boy   have_to   very   hard   DE   play

cai1mei4   you2xi4

guess_riddle play

'Boys$_i$ often feel that girls$_j$ cannot express their$_j$ feelings explicitly, so that they have no choice but to play the riddle-solving game.'

[37]   有一位年轻人, 他$_i$总觉得别人$_j$对不起自己$_i$。

you3   yi1   wei4   nian2qing1ren2   ta1   zong3   jue2de0

YOU   one   CL   young_people   he   always feel

bie2ren2   dui4bu4qi3   zi4ji3

others   sorry   self

'There was such a young man. He$_i$ always felt that others had treated him$_i$ badly.'

[38]   她$_i$觉得还是他$_j$最了解自己$_i$的声音, 能把她$_i$的音乐做得够完美

ta1   jue2de0   hai2shi4   ta1   zui4   liao3jie3   zi4ji3   de0

she   feel   still   he   most   know   self   DE

sheng1yin1   neng2   ba3   ta1   de0   yin1yue4   zuo4   de0

voice   can   BA   she   DE   music   make   DE

gou4   wan2mei3

enough perfect

'She$_i$ thinks that it is still he$_j$ who knows her$_i$ voice best and can bring her$_i$ music to perfection.'

Reciprocals in Chinese, encoded as 互相 *hu4xiang1* 'each other,' 相互 *xiang1hu4* 'each other,' or a shorted form 互 *hu4* 'each other,' are usually used as adverbials, as in [39]. They are sometimes used as a subject argument, but never as an object argument. A third item, 彼此 *bi3ci3*, though often used as an adjunct, can appear in both the subject position, as in [40], and, to a much lesser extent, in the object position, as in [41].

[39]   学生们互相帮助, 很快爬上了山顶。

xue2sheng1men0   hu4xiang1   bang1zhu4   hen3   kuai4

students   each_other help   very   fast

pa2shang4   le0   shan1ding3

climb_up   LE   mountain_top

'The students helped each other and reached the mountaintop quickly.'

[40]   年初一, 每个人都出去拜年, 见面时<u>彼此</u>说声恭喜! 恭喜!
      nian2chu1yi1   mei3 ge4 ren2   dou1 chu1qu4
      New_Year's _day every CL   person   all   go_out
      bai4nian2   jian4mian4 shi2   bi3ci3
      give_New_Year_greetings meet   when each_other
      shuo1   sheng1 gong1xi3   gong1xi3
      say   CL   best_wishes best_wishes
      'On Chinese [New] Year's day, all people go out to give New Year greetings,
      and say "Best wishes! Best wishes!" to each other when they meet.'

[41]   相隔三年, 妳我之间已恍如隔世, 但相见时的悸动却仍然 撼动着<u>彼此</u>。
      xiang1ge2 san1 nian2 ni3 wo3 zhi1jian1 yi3
      separated three year you I   between   already
      huang3ru2ge2shi4   dan4 xiang1jian4 shi2   de0
      as_if_separated_lifetime but meet   when DE
      ji4dong4 que4 reng2 han4dong4 zhe0 bi3ci3
      quiver   but   still shake   ZHE each_other
      'A three-year separation seems like a lifetime between you and me, but we
      quiver at our meeting and are deeply moved by each other.'

As a common term, 本 *ben3* 'this' alternates between deictic and reflexive usage. When combined with a following noun to form a full-fledged nominal phrase, it is deictic, like 本人 *ben3ren2* 'this very person, I,' 本地 *ben3di4* 'this location, here,' 本周 *ben3zhou1* 'this week,' 本世纪 *ben3shi4ji4* 'this century,' 本年度 *ben3nian2du4* 'this year,' etc. However, when such a phrase is attached to a nominal phrase for humans, the 本 *ben3* 'this' is used for self-reference and is hence reflexive, like 我本人 *wo3 ben3ren2* 'I myself' and 校长本人 *xiao4zhang3 ben3ren2* 'the Principal himself.'

As a bound morpheme, 当 *dang1* 'that very' only appears in compounds formed with nominal morphemes denoting time or place. Some of these compounds are used anaphorically, as in 当年 *dang1nian2* 'that year,' 当时 *dang1shi2* 'that time,' 当场 *dang1chang2* '(at) the scene,' and 当天 *dang1tian1* 'that day.' The anaphoric 当地 *dang1di4* 'local' contrasts with the deictic 本地 *ben3di4* 'local,' but 当代 *dang1dai4* 'this era,' 当前 *dang1qian2* '(at) the present,' and 当初 *dang1chu1* 'at that earlier time' are typically used deictically.

Also as a bound morpheme, 自 *zi4* 'self' does not appear alone, but can combine with other morphemes to form self-referring compounds. Verbal compounds formed with 自 *zi4* 'self' include 自带 *zi4dai4* 'self-equip,' 自发 *zi4fa1* 'self-initiate,' 自付 *zi4fu4* 'self-pay,' 自愿 *zi4yuan4* 'self-willed, voluntary,' 自费 *zi4fei4* 'self-sponsor,' 自封 *zi4feng1* 'self-appoint,' 自罚 *zi4fa2* 'self-inflict,' 自理 *zi4li3* 'self-manage,' 自虐 *zi4nue4* 'self-torture,' 自拟 *zi4ni3* 'self-draft,' 自欺 *zi4qi1*

'self-delude,' 自谦 *zi4qian1* 'be self-modest,' 自宫 *zi4gong1* 'self-castrate,'自救 *zi4jiu4* 'self-salvage,' 自用 *zi4yong4* 'self-use,' 自治 *zi4zhi4* 'govern through autonomy,' 自残 *zi4can2* 'self-hurt,' 自忖 *zi4cun3* 'self-think,' 自伤 *zi4shang1* 'self-hurt,' 自学 *zi4xue2* 'study on one's own,' 自夸 *zi4kua1* 'self-praise,' 自杀 *zi4sha1* 'self-kill, (suicide),' 自省 *zi4xing3* 'reflecting,' 自卫 *zi4wei4* 'self-defend,' 自慰 *zi4wei4* 'comfort oneself (as a euphemism for masturbate),' 自立 *zi4li4* 'self-sustain,' 自强 *zi4qiang2* 'self-develop,' 自产 *zi4chan3* 'self-produce,' 自销 *zi4xiao1* 'sell by oneself,' 自爱 *zi4ai4* 'self-love,' 自恋 *zi4lian4* 'be narcissistic,' 自驾 *zi4jia4* 'self-drive,' 自卑 *zi4bei1* 'have low self-esteem,' 自备 *zi4bei4* 'self-equip,' 自保 *zi4bao3* 'self-protect,' 自编 *zi4bian1* 'self-compile,' 自导 *zi4dao3* 'self-direct,' 自大 *zi4da4* 'be arrogant,' 自问 *zi4wen4* 'self-question,' 自尽 *zi4jin4* 'self-kill (commit suicide),' 自戕 *zi4qiang2* 'self-kill (commit suicide),' 自刎 *zi4wen3* 'self-kill (commit suicide) by cutting throat,' 自误 *zi4wu4* 'self-destroy by errors,' 自首 *zi4shou3* 'turn oneself in,' and 自诩 *zi4xu3* 'self-aggrandize.'

Nominal compounds include 自述 *zi4shu4* 'own statement,' 自传 *zi4zhuan4* 'autobiography,' 自白 *zi4bai2* 'confession,' 自信 *zi4xin4* 'self-confidence,' 自尊 *zi4zun1* 'self-esteem,' 自我 *zi4wo3* 'self,' 自闭 *zi4bi4* 'autism,' 自家 *zi4jia1* 'own home.'

Idioms constructed with 自 *zi4* 'self' include 自生自灭 *zi4sheng1zi4mie4* 'leave someone on his own,' 自艾自怨 *zi4ai4zi4yuan4* 'self-blame,' 自娱自乐 *zi4yu2zi4le4* 'self-entertain,' 自高自大 *zi4gao1zi4da4* 'egotistic,' 自弹自唱 *zi4dan4zi4chang4* 'play and sing on one's own,' 自强自爱 *zi4qiang2zi4ai4* 'self-powered and self-respected,' 自编自导 *zi4bian1zi4dao3* 'written and directed by oneself,' 自由自在 *zi4you2zi4zai4* 'carefree,' 自暴自弃 *zi4bao4zi4qi4* 'given-up and self-deserted,' 自作自受 *zi4zuo4zi4shou4* 'bearing one's own consequences,' 自吹自擂 *zi4chui1zi4lei2* 'self-exaggerated,' 顾影自怜 *gu4ying3zi4lian2* 'self-pity,' 自力更生 *zi4li4geng1sheng1* 'self-reliance,' 自强不息 *zi4qiang2bu4xi2* 'always self-motivated,' 孤芳自赏 *gu1fang1zi4shang4* 'self-admiration,' 自惭形秽 *zi4can2xing2hui4* 'look down on oneself,' 怡然自得 *yi2ran2zi4de2* 'happy-go-lucky,' 自顾不暇 *zi4gu4bu4xia2* 'no time to take care of oneself,' 无师自通 *wu2shi1zi4tong1* 'self-taught,' 自欺欺人 *zi4qi1qi1ren2* 'self-deluding as well as deceiving others,' 自甘堕落 *zi4gan1duo4luo4* 'self-deserted,' 监守自盗 *jian1shou3zi4dao4* 'guarding property and stealing from it,' 自命不凡 *zi4ming4bu4fan2* 'self-proud,' 自命清高 *zi4ming4qing1gao1* 'self-aloof,' and 不自量力 *bu2zi4liang4li4* 'without self-knowledge.'

In some words where 自 *zi4* 'self' and its following morpheme have been fused into one, it is no longer possible to tell the individual meaning apart in Modern Chinese, as in 自动 *zi4dong4* 'automatic,' 自私 *zi4si1* 'selfish,' 自豪 *zi4hao2* 'proud,' 自觉 *zi4jue2* 'self-conscious,' 自然 *zi4ran2* 'natural,' 自如 *zi4ru2* 'dexterity,' 自行 *zi4xing2* 'on one's own,' 自由 *zi4you2* 'free,' and 自已 *zi4yi3* 'self-control.'

Anaphors can sometimes have the antecedent appearing after them, namely, anticipatorily. The antecedent for the 自己 *zi4ji3* 'self' in [42] is 儿童 *er2tong2* 'children,' which occurs after the reflexive. The antecedent for 他 *ta1* 'he' in [43]

is 张学良先生 *zhang1 xue2liang2 xian1sheng0* 'Mr. ZHANG Xueliang,' which also appears after the pronoun.

[42]   在能够推动<u>自己</u>的身心发展之前, <u>儿童</u>需要大人把能量提供给他们。
zai4neng2gou4   tui1dong4   zi4ji3   de0   sheng1xin1   fa1zhan3
PREP able   push   self   DE   body_mind   development
zhi1qian2   er2tong2   xu1yao4   da4ren2   ba3   neng2liang4
before   children   need   adult   BA   energy
ti2gong1   gei3   ta1men0
provide   PREP   they
'Before the children can develop their own mind and body, they need adults to provide them with the capacity.'

[43]   艺术团成员与<u>他</u>道别时, <u>张学良先生</u>坐在轮椅上频频挥手, 依依惜别
yi4shu4tuan2   cheng2yuan2   yu3   ta1   dao4bie2   shi2
art_troupe   member   PREP   he   farewell   when
zhang1xue2liang2   xian1sheng0   zuo4   zai4   lun2yi3
ZHANG_XUELIANG   Mr.   sit   PREP   wheelchair
shang4   pin2pin2   hui1shou3   yi1yi1xi1bie2
in   repeatedly   wave   unwilling_to_depart
'When members of the Performance Troupe bid him farewell, Mr. ZHANG Xueliang (Hsueh-liang CHANG) waved goodbye again and again from his wheelchair.'

16.2.3. Zero anaphors

Zero anaphors refer to a situation in which an anaphor does not have a phonetically realized lexical form. It is distinguished by identifying the unrealized argument positions of a predicate. The verb of a sentence has its argument positions specified in the lexicon, which determines the number of obligatory arguments that the verb should take. Typical argument positions include the subject, the direct object, the indirect object, the Ba-object, and the object of prepositions in certain positions.

As Chinese sentences can have zero forms in obligatory argument positions, the first criterion in identifying a zero argument is to determine when the lexically specified argument position of the relevant predicate does not appear in a sentence. As a zero argument needs to have its semantic value specified, it must have an antecedent and is therefore a zero anaphor. In addition to those compulsory argument positions, some elements can optionally appear in a sentence, in the form of adjuncts, in non-argument positions. The absence of such optional elements – sometimes called "semantic arguments" – never entails the existence of zero arguments, as their presence or non-presence does not affect the

completeness of the sentence. When such non-obligatory elements are not lexically present, they are usually taken not to be present at all.

A typical case is the zero anaphor related to the topic in topic−comment constructions like [44]. The 这几个学生 *zhe4ji3ge4 xue2sheng1* 'these students' in [44] appears in the sentence-initial position of the topic but represents the entity affected by the action of 教 *jiao1* 'teach,' which requires an argument in the object position. Given such an interpretation, the object position in [44] is occupied by a zero anaphor that takes the topic 这几个学生 *zhe4ji3ge4 xue2sheng1* 'these students' as the antecedent.

[44] 这几个学生我都教过。

zhe4	ji3	ge4	xue2sheng1	wo3	dou1	jiao1	guo4
this	several	CL	student	I	all	teach	GUO

'These students, I taught them.'

The topic 年夜饭 *nian2ye4fan4* 'New Year's Eve Dinner' in [45] also represents the entity being affected by the verb 吃 *chi1* 'eat' and could have appeared in the object position if it was not already occupied by 火锅 *huo3guo1* 'hot pot.' Under such circumstances, 年夜饭 *nian2ye4fan4* 'New Year's Eve Dinner' is not taken as the antecedent of a zero anaphor, which is not even observable. In other words, the object position in this case does not host a zero anaphor, according to the criteria for identifying zero anaphors described above. On the other hand, when the subject argument position is not filled, it can accommodate a zero subject argument. [45] serves to exemplify this last point, where 年夜饭 *nian2ye4fan4* takes the topic position and a zero anaphor (ø) is identified as the subject.

[45] 胡阿姨早打算好了, 年夜饭 ø 就吃火锅, 既方便又热闹。

(ø = subject)

hu2	a1yi2	zao3	da3suan4	hao3	le0
HU	auntie	early	plan	good	LE

nian2ye4fan4	jiu4	chi1	huo3guo1	ji4
new_years_eve_dinner	JIU	eat	hot_pot	and

fang1bian4	you4	re4nao4
convenient	again	lively

'Auntie HU has planned well ahead of time. For the New Year's Eve Dinner, they will eat (the contents of) hot pot. It is both convenient and lively.'

Summarizing the above descriptions, a zero anaphor occupies an obligatory argument position as defined by the predicate argument structure in the lexicon. It can be identified if the argument position is not occupied by a lexically realized item. The same applies to cases where a zero anaphor has an anticipatory

antecedent. The subject position of the first clause in [46] is occupied by a zero anaphor, which takes the 他 *ta1* 'he' in the second clause as the antecedent, while the zero anaphor in [47] takes 道格拉斯 'Douglas' as the anticipatory antecedent.

[46]   今天中午ø 刚吃过饭, 他顾不上休息又急匆匆地出门了

jin1tian1   zhong1wu3   gang1   chi1   guo4   fan4   ta1
today   noon   just   eat   GUO   meal   he

gu4bu2shang4   xiu1xi2   you4   ji2cong1cong1
cannot_attend_to_or_manage   rest   again   hurriedly

de0   chu1men2   le0
DE   go_out   LE

'Immediately after his lunch today, he set out in a hurry without taking a break, saying that he needed to visit some close contacts.'

[47]   ø出院之后, 道格拉斯果然戒掉了酗酒的恶习。

chu1yuan4   zhi1hou4   dao4ge2la1si1
discharge_from_hospital   after   Douglas

guo3ran2   jie4diao4   le0   xu4jiu3   de0
as_expected   quit   LE   drink_excessively   DE

e4xi2
bad_habit

'Sure enough, Douglas quit his nasty drinking habit after leaving the hospital.'

16.2.4. Anaphors in discourse

This section sketches the distribution of different types of anaphors and factors affecting their alternation. Zero, pronominal, and nominal anaphors not only differ in lexical form but also in the amount of referential information each is encoded to carry. A zero anaphor has nil lexical form. It also contains minimal information, linking itself to an antecedent that is easily accessible and identifiable. The distance from the zero anaphor to the antecedent is by default the nominal phrase that is the closest, but the anaphoric reference can also be maintained by one or more ensuing zero anaphors, thus forming an anaphoric chain sharing a single initial antecedent. Pronominal anaphors form a closed set of lexical forms that contain information pertaining to number and gender (but not case), encoding clues for antecedent-tracking, which can involve a longer distance. A nominal anaphor has both full-fledged lexical form and complete information content. Its link to an antecedent can be long-distance.

When a zero anaphor is used, the structure containing it and the one containing its antecedent are understood to be closely linked in meaning. In cases where a

chain of zero anaphors is related to a single antecedent, a chain of states or events is presented in series. In the series of clauses in [48], a personal name 左小龙 *zuo3 xiao3long2* is introduced in [48a] to serve as the antecedent for the zero anaphors in [48b], [48c], [48d], and [48e].

[48]   a.   左小龙蹲趴在地上。 [nominal phrase initiated]
          zuo3xiao3long2   dun1pa1   zai4   di4shang4
          ZUO_Xiaolong   squat   PREP   ground
          'Zuo Xiaolong squatted on the ground.'

   b.   ø依靠着橘黄色路灯的微光, [sequence of acts]
          yi1kao4   zhe0   ju2huang2se4   lu4deng1   de0   wei2
          backing   ZHE   orange   road_lamp DE   dim

          guang1
          light
          'guided by the dim light of the orange road lamp that was adjusted to its minimum brightness'

   c.   ø摸索着把散落的引擎部件一片一片拾了起来, [sequence of acts]
          mo1suo3   zhe0   ba3   san4luo4   de0   yin3qing2
          fumble   ZHE   BA   fall_here_and_there   DE   engine
          bu4jian4 yi1   pian4   yi1   pian4   shi2   le0   qi3lai2
          parts   one   CL   one   CL   collect LE   up
          '(he) fumbled to gather together the scattered engine parts piece by piece'

   d.   ø弄得满手都是机油, [related state]
          nong4   de0   man3   shou3   dou1   shi4   ji1you2
          make   DE   full   hand   all   be   machine_oil
          '(he) got his hands completely covered by engine oil'

   e.   ø然后让洪岚到店里要了一个塑料袋。 [related sequence]
          ran2hou4   rang4   hong2lan2   dao4   dian4   li3   yao4
          then   let   Honglan   go_to inn   inside   ask_for
          le0   yi1   ge4   su4jiao1   dai4
          LE   one   CL   plastic   bag
          '(He) then had Honglan get a plastic bag from a shop.'

   f.   他将这些残缺的活塞、曲轴、连杆等东西放进了塑料袋里。
          [An event separated from (a)–(e)]
          ta1   jiang1   zhe4xie1   can2que1   de0   huo2sai1
          he   JIANG   these   incomplete   DE   piston
          qu1zhou2   lian2gan3   deng3   dong1xi1   fang4
          crankshaft connecting_rod   and_so_on   thing   put

jin4   le0   su4jiao1   dai4   li3
in   LE   plastic   bag   inside
'He put the broken pistons, crankshaft, connecting rods, and other parts into the plastic bag.'

Sometimes a pronoun is used instead of a zero anaphor in such a series, due to the influence of several discourse factors. A common factor is that the referential link needs to be reasserted, because there has been an intervention by some other referent, as in the case of [48]. A different personal name 洪岚 *hong2lan2* is introduced in [48e] to compete with 左小龙 *zuo3 xiao3long2*, and an overt pronoun 他 *ta1* 'he' is used in the subject position to ensure the correct flow of information. Another factor is that a demarcation of states or events needs to be imposed, as in [48f]. The third factor is that in oral speech, the speaker pauses long enough between sentences or repeatedly uses pronouns as fillers, as in [49a].

[49]   a.   我有一个哥哥。我们俩呀，早就分开了。因为我吧，小的时侯，是抱给人家的。

wo3   you3   yi1   ge4   ge1ge0   wo3men0   liang3
I   have   one   CL   elder_brother   we   two

ya0   zao3   jiu4   fen1kai1   le0   yin1wei4   wo3   ba0
YA   early   then   part   LE   because   I   BA

xiao3   de0   shi2hou0   shi4   bao4gei3   ren2jia1   de0
small   DE   when   be   cradle_give   other_people   DE
'I had one elder brother. My brother and I were separated long time ago, because I was given up for adoption when I was small.'

b.   解放以后我哥哥要找我，这我们俩又，又相认。

jie3fang4   yi3hou4   wo3   ge1ge0   yao4   zhao3
Liberation   after   I   elder_brother   want   seek

wo3   zhe4   wo3men0   liang3   you4   you4
I   this   we   two   again   again

xiang1ren4
mutually_recognize
'After Liberation, my elder brother wished to look for me. Thus, we two got acquainted again.'

c.   他是哪儿的?

ta1   shi4   na3er0   de0
he   be   where   DE
'Where is he (working) now?'

d. 他是交通部印刷厂的。

   ta1   shi4   jiao1tong1bu4   yin4shua1chang3

   he   be   Ministry_of_Communication   sprinting_factory

   de0

   DE

   'He works at the Ministry of Transportation printing factory.'

e. 他不姓马;

   ta1   bu4   xing4   ma3

   he   NEG   surname   MA

   'His surname is not Ma;'

f. 他姓冯。

   ta1   xing4   feng2

   he   surname   Feng

   'His surname is Feng.'

If, further still, a nominal anaphor is used instead of the two other variants, or if exactly the same nominal phrase is reintroduced, it is once again due to several discourse factors. One is that the anaphoric chain has been blurred due to the occurrence of multiple referents, so that an earlier referent needs to be introduced anew. Another is that the discourse shifts to an entirely different topic, as in [49e]. Yet another reason is that the newly introduced referent only partially overlaps with its antecedent in content, like the 他 *ta1* 'he' in [49c], which refers to one of the two persons mentioned in [49b].

The above descriptions on the distribution of anaphora are general tendencies that can be overridden by other factors. Where the encoded grammatical and structural information provides stronger clues, guiding the reference tracking in a fixed direction, the distance in anaphoric dependency can be extended, and even intervening referents will not cause disruption to the anaphoric chain of reference. Such encoded features include lexical information of specific verbs, discourse structure, perspective, and information structure. [50] presents a case where the first-person narrator can reactivate an anaphoric chain in [50e] with a zero anaphor when the narrator-oriented verb 想起 *xiang3qi3* 'recall' is used, even with the intervention of another referent 某皇帝 *mou3 huang2di4* 'a certain emperor' as the subject of a sentence in between, that is, in [50c], and the occurrence of one more human referential nominal phrase in a non-argument position, that is, 文武百官 *wen2wu3bai3guan1* 'officials and generals.' However, in [50h], a zero anaphor is no longer possible because 泄气 *xie4qi4* 'lose hope' is not lexically distinct enough to evoke a subject zero anaphor that takes the narrator as its antecedent, rather than the intervening 武大郎

wu3da4lang2 'Wu the Elder.' Hence, the deictic pronoun is introduced again in [50h].

[50]   a.   <u>我</u>憧憬放牛读书, 青灯黄卷的淳朴境界,
wo3   chong1jing3   fang4niu2   du2shu1   qing1
I   want   herd_cattle   read   green

deng1   huang2   juan4   de0   chun2pu2   jing4jie4
lamp   yellow   scroll   DE   simple   realm
'I have been longing for the idealistic life of reading while cattle-herding, and studying the aged classics with a soft-lighted lamp,'

b.   近日翻阅史籍,
jin4ri4   fan1yue4   shi3ji2
recent   browse   historical_records
'recently, I read history books (and found out that)'

c.   某皇帝曾颁旨,
mou3   huang2di4   ceng2   ban1   zhi3
certain   emperor   ever   award   decree
'a certain emperor once issued a decree'

d.   京城民居房顶不得高于文武百官上朝站立的地方。
jing1cheng2   min2ju1   fang2ding3
capital_of_country   house_of_common_people   roof

bu4de2   gao1   yu2   wen2wu3bai3guan1
must_not   higher   PREP   the_civilian_and_military_courtiers

shang4chao2   zhan4li4   de0   di4fang1
hold_court   stand   DE   place
'That buildings in the Capital should not be higher than the place where all the officials and generals gathered to greet the emperor.'

e.   ø想起漫画家方成的《武大郎开店》,
xiang3qi3   man2hua4   jia1   fang1cheng2   de0
think_of   cartoon   master   Fang_Cheng   DE

wu3da4lang2   kai1   dian4
Wu_Dalang   open   inn
'I recalled a cartoon by Fang Cheng titled "Wu the Elder doing business."'

f. 武大郎在矮矮的房屋里做老板,

    wu3da4lang2   zai4   ai3ai3   de0   fang2wu1   li3   zuo4

    Wu_Dalang   PREP   short   DE   house   inside   do

    lao3ban3

    boss

    'In which the short Mr. Wu was the boss in a low-ceilinged house.'

g. 又不愿雇用比他高的伙计。

    you4   bu4   yuan4   gu4yong4   bi3   ta1   gao1   de0

    again   NEG   want   hire   than   he   tall   DE

    huo3ji4

    employee

    'And was reluctant to hire anyone taller than he is.'

h. 我不由泄气: 这就是我们的封建心态, 没有田园诗般的生活。

    wo3   bu4you2   xie4qi4   zhe4   jiu4   shi4

    I   cannot_help   be_discouraged   this   then   be

    wo3men0   de0   feng1jian4   xin1tai4   mei2you3

    we   DE   feudal   mentality   NEG

    tian2yuan2shi1   ban1   de0   sheng1huo2

    idyllic   like   DE   life

    'At the thought of this, I couldn't help losing hope: this was our feudal mindset, and there is no room for the real idyllic life.'

16.2.5. Pro-verbs and headless nominals as anaphors

Pro-verbs are those with more general meaning – such as 做 *zuo4* 'do,' 干 *gan1* 'do,' 办 *ban4* 'do,' and 是 *shi4* 'be' – that are sometimes used to stand for a previously mentioned verb or VP segment. The semantic content of such verbs needs to be recovered by establishing an anaphoric link to the previously occurring antecedent verbs. The 那么做 *na4me0 zuo4* 'do so' in [51] represents the previous verb phrase "giving him 160 dollars"; the 这么干 'do this' in [52] is linked with the previous predicate "adding another optical cable"; and the 我也是 *wo3 ye3 shi4* 'so do I' in [53] is related to the previous statement "I miss you a lot."

[51]   我想, 还没有赚钱, 就要先给他 160 元, 我不愿那么做, 就推掉了。

    wo3   xiang3   hai2   mei2you3   zhuan4qian2   jiu4   yao4

    I   think   still   NEG   make_money   then   will

    xian1   gei3   ta1   160   yuan2   wo3   bu4   yuan4

    before   give   he   160   yuan   I   NEG   be_willing_to

na4me0   zuo4   jiu4   tui1diao4   le0
that_way   do   then   push   LE

'I thought: I have not made any money yet and have to give him 160 dollars. I didn't want to do that, so I turned down the request.'

[52]   光缆价格很贵, 一条够用了, 何必还要再上一条, 就是发达国家也不<u>这么干</u>。
    guang1lan3   jia4ge2   hen3   gui4   yi1   tiao2   gou4
    optical_fiber   price   very   expensive   one   CL   enough
    yong4 le0   he2bi4   hai2   yao4   zai4   shang4   yi1
    use   LE   why   still   want   again   up   one
    tiao2   jiu4   shi4   fa1da2guo2jia1   ye3   bu4   zhe4me0
    CL   even   be   developed_country   also   NEG   so
    gan4
    do

'Optical fiber cable is very expensive. One such line is enough, why add another? Even developed countries would not do that.'

[53]   高等法院以电话中 "我想死你了," "<u>我也是</u>, 好想妳哦" 等亲昵对话,
    认定二人有亲密关系。
    gao1deng3fa3yuan4   yi3   dian4hua4   zhong1   wo3
    Higher_Court   PREP   telephone   in   I
    xiang3si3   ni3   le0   wo3   ye3   shi4   hao4   xiang3   ni3
    miss_die   you   LE   me   too   be   so   miss   you
    o0   deng3   qin1ni4   dui4hua4   ren4ding4   er4
    O   etc.   affectionate   dialogue   judge_ascertain   two
    ren2   you3   qin1mi4   guan1xi4
    person   have   intimate   relation

'The Higher Court came to the conclusion that the two had had an intimate relationship, based on telephone (transcripts) which contain affectionate dialogues such as "I miss you terribly," and "Me too, I miss you so much."'

Elements in a construction are sometimes reduced to simpler forms. The remainder of such a reduction needs to have its semantic content recovered through establishing an anaphoric link with an antecedent, either in the same clause or beyond, in the larger discourse. Thus, a reduced segment acts as an anaphor, looking for an antecedent whose grammatical category matches that of the missing element in the reduced form. A typical case is headless nominal phrases, either in the form of Num-CL without the head noun or in the form of the headless 的- *de0*-construction. The reference of 一二十杯 *yi1 er4 shi2 bei1* 'ten or twenty cups' in [54] is recovered from the antecedent 闷酒 *men4jiu3* 'boring liquor

(drink alone).' In the case of headless 的- *de0*- constructions, its missing head can be either recovered in the immediate context or construed as having an arbitrary reference. Those in [55], namely, 搞原子弹的 *gao3 yuan2zi3dan4 de0* 'one who makes atomic bomb,' 卖茶叶蛋的 *mai4 cha 2ye4dan4 de0* 'one who sells tea-leaf eggs,' 拿手术刀的 *na2 shou3shu4dao1 de0* 'one who works with scalpels,' and 拿剃头刀的 *na2 ti4tou2dao1 de0* 'one who works with barber's razor,' all have an arbitrary reference in that they refer to people who have a particular business for a living.

[54] 他一个人在酒吧喝闷酒, 足足喝了一二十杯。
      ta1   yi1ge4ren2   zai4   jiu3ba1   he1   men4jiu3
      he   by_self   PREP   bar   drink   sullen_liquor

      zu2zu2   he1   le0   yi1   er4   shi2   bei1
      fully   drink   LE   one   two   ten   CL
      'He was drinking alone and sulking in a bar, and ended up finishing ten, twenty full glasses.'

[55] 早些年, 这句 "搞原子弹的不如卖茶叶蛋的, 拿手术刀的不如拿剃头刀的", 连小学生都知道。
      zao3   xie1   nian2   zhe4   ju4   gao3   yuan2zi3dan4   de0
      early some   year   this   CL   make   atomic_bomb   DE

      bu4ru2   mai4   cha 2ye4dan4   de0   na2
      not_as_good_as   sell   tea_leave_egg DE   handle

      shou3shu4dao1   de0   bu4ru2   na2   ti4tou2dao1
      scalpel   DE   not_as_good_as   handle   barber_razor

      de0   lian2   xiao3xue2sheng1   dou1   zhi1dao4
      DE   even   pupil   all   know
      'In those earlier years, the saying was well known (in China), even among elementary school students: "those who work on atomic bombs fare worse than those who sell tea-flavored eggs, and those who work with scalpels fare worse than those who work with barber's razors."' [antecedent understood as an arbitrary reference]

What has been discussed in this sub-section does not involve ellipsis, because the relevant cases involve syntactic remnants. Zero anaphora also does not involve ellipsis, as it concerns the zero form, which, though not directly observable, cannot be considered omitted.

17

Information structure

Shu-ing Shyu

This chapter introduces "information-packaging" constructions, which differ syntactically from canonical constructions. These information-packaging constructions present and package information differently from canonical structures (see Chapter 2). It is important to note that although many of the non-canonical sentences adopting information-packaging constructions express the same truth condition or illocutionary meaning as their canonical counterparts, there are also instances of such non-canonical sentences without canonical counterparts (see Chapter 15). Although the information-packaging function remains the same regardless of whether a sentence has a canonical counterpart or not, this function is best illustrated with pairs of information-packaging [a] sentences and their canonical [b] counterparts in [1]–[8].

[1]　　a.　这两套书他看过。/他这两套书看过。 [object preposing]
　　　　　zhe4　liang3　tao4　shu1　ta1　kan4　guo4　ta1
　　　　　this　two　CL　book　he　look　GUO　he

　　　　　zhe4　liang3　tao4　shu1　kan4　guo4
　　　　　this　two　CL　book　look　GUO
　　　　　'These two series of books, he has read.'

　　　　b.　他看过这两套书。
　　　　　ta1　kan4　guo4　zhe4　liang3　tao4　shu1
　　　　　he　look　GUO　this　two　CL　book
　　　　　'He has read these two series of books.'

[2]　　a.　摇篮里躺着出世未久的婴儿。 [locative inversion]
　　　　　yao2lan2　li3　tang3　zhe0　chu1shi4wei4jiu3　de0
　　　　　cradle　inside　lie　ZHE　new_born　DE

　　　　　ying1er2
　　　　　baby
　　　　　'In the cradle lies the newly born baby.'

b. 出世未久的婴儿躺在摇篮里。
chu1shi4wei4jiu3 de0 ying1er2 tang3 zai4 yao2lan2
new_born   DE   baby   lie   PREP cradle
li3
inside
'The newly born baby lies in the cradle.'

[3] a. 家里来了<u>一个外国人</u>。 [unaccusative inversion]
jia1li3 lai2 le0 yi1 ge4 wai4guo2ren2
home   come LE   one CL   foreigner
'(What happened at our home was that) a foreigner came.'

b. 有<u>一个外国人</u>来家里。
you3 yi1 ge4 wai4guo2ren2 lai2 jia1li3
YOU   one CL   foreigner   come home
'A foreigner came to my home.'

[4] a. 他把<u>那本书</u>看完了。 [*ba* construction]
ta1 ba3 na4 ben3 shu1 kan4 wan2 le0
he   BA   that CL   book look finish LE
'He finished reading *that book*.'

b. 他看完了<u>那本书</u>。
ta1 kan4 wan2 le0 na4 ben3 shu1
he   look finish LE   that CL   book
'He finished reading that book.'

[5] a. 他被<u>蜜蜂</u>刺了一下。 [*bei* construction]
ta1 bei4 mi4feng1 ci4 le0 yi1 xia4
he   BEI   bee   sting LE   one CL
'He was stung by a bee.'

b. <u>蜜蜂</u>刺了他一下。
mi4feng1 ci4 le0 ta1 yi1 xia4
bee   sting LE   he   one CL
'A bee stung him.'

[6] a. 我<u>是</u>从美国来<u>的</u>。 [*shi . . . de* construction]
wo3 shi4 cong2 mei3guo2   lai2 de0
I   be   PREP   the_United_States come DE
'It is from the United States that I came.'

b. 我从美国来。

wo3   cong2   mei3guo2   lai2
I   PREP   the_United_States   come

'I came from the United States.'

[7]   a. 他们连自己的心跳声都听见了。 [*lian . . . dou/ye* construction]

ta1men0   lian2   zi4ji3   de0   xin1tiao4   sheng1   dou1
they   even   self   DE   heartbeat   sound   all

ting1jian4   le0
hear   LE

'They can even hear their own heartbeat.'

b. 他们听见了自己的心跳声。

ta1men0   ting1jian4   le0   zi4ji3   de0   xin1tiao4   sheng1
they   hear   LE   self   DE   heartbeat   sound

'They heard their own heartbeat.'

[8]   a. (你) 只有这条路 (你) 可以走。 [*zhi* sentences]

ni3   zhi3you3   zhe4   tiao2   lu4   ni3   ke2yi3   zou3
you   only   this   CL   way   you   can   walk

'This is the only way you can take.'

b. 你只可以走这条路。

ni3   zhi1   ke3yi3   zou3   zhe4   tiao2   lu4
you   only   can   walk   this   CL   way

'You only can take this way.'

The word order variations are largely motivated by how speakers choose to convey parts within the sentences as "given" or "new" information in discourse, which was introduced in Chapter 15. While phonetic stress may be a device to mark emphasis, Mandarin also utilizes various syntactic means to package prominent information. Given information, or "old" or "familiar" information, is what the speaker takes or assumes to be shared by both the speaker and the addressee. This is termed as "discourse-old." By contrast, "unfamiliar" or "new" information that is newly introduced to the current discourse is "discourse-new." In fact, discourse-old information may not always be mentioned in a given context. Once a salient relation between one entity and another contextually known entity is established, this entity, albeit apparently new, can be counted as discourse-old.

[9]   a. 有位朋友送我一本书。作者是 Roni。

you3   wei4   peng2you3   song4   wo3   yi1   ben3   shu1
YOU   CL   friend   give   I   one   CL   book

zuo4zhe3　shi4　Roni
author　　be　　Roni
'A friend of mine gave me a book. The author is Roni.'

b. 月梅直奔阿吉的练团室。<u>门</u>掩着。

yue4mei2　zhi2　　ben4　a1ji2　de0　lian4tuan2shi4
Yuemei　　directly　run　A-Ji　DE　practice_room

men2　yan3　zhe0
door　close　ZHE
'Yuemei rushed to A-Ji's practice room. The door was closed.'

[10]　　人能够发声动物也会发声, <u>鸟</u>会叫, <u>狗</u>会吠。

ren2　　neng2gou4　fa1sheng1　　dong4wu4　ye3　hui4
human　can　　　　make_sound　animal　　also　can

fa1sheng1　　niao3　hui4　jiao4　gou3　hui4　fei4
make_sound　bird　can　chirp　dog　can　bark
'Men can make sounds, so do animals. Birds can chirp. Dogs can bark.'

作者 *zuo4zhe3* 'author' in [9a] is discourse-old information because it relates to the book just mentioned. Likewise, there is a part-whole relation between the door and the room in [9b]; hence, we can infer that 门 *men2* 'door' refers to the practice room in the first clause. Familiar bare nouns like 鸟 *niao3* 'bird' and 狗 *gou3* 'dog' in [10] are discourse-old because they refer to commonly known and shared knowledge. Their familiarity is enhanced in this case by the mentioning of their hypernym 动物 *dong4wu4* 'animal' in the context.

Discourse-old information often correlates with addressee-old information in the sense that discourse-old information is usually familiar to the addressee. However, they are not absolutely identical. There are cases where an addressee can easily and accurately pinpoint the referent of a term, even though this term occurs for the first time in the discourse.

[11]　　<u>总统</u>对中油努力探勘油源所花费的心力, 表示肯定。

zong3tong3　dui4　zhong1you2　　nu3li4　　tan4kan1
president　　PREP　China_Petroleum　work_hard　prospect

you2yuan2　suo3　hua1fei4　de0　xin1li4　biao3shi4
oil_source　SUO　spend　　DE　efforts　express

ken3ding4
acknowledge
'The president acknowledges China Petroleum's prospecting efforts for oil.'

The sentence above shows that, although 总统 *zong3tong3* 'president' seems to appear for the first time, its referent is known to the addressee. In this sense, it encodes discourse-new but addressee-old information. On the other hand, information that is new to the addressee (i.e., "addressee-new") tends to serve as the focus or emphasis of a clause.

[12] a. Q: 你是从哪里来的?
          ni3   shi4   cong2   na2li3   lai2   de0
          you   be   PREP   where   come   DE
          'Where are you from?'

      b. A: 我是从美国来的。
          wo3   shi4   cong2   mei3guo2   lai2   de0
          I   be   PREP   United_States   come   DE
          'It is the United States that I am from.'

The phrase 从美国 *cong2 mei3guo2* 'from United States' in [12b] is a focus answer to the question in [12a], with the presupposition that "you have come from somewhere." This focus reading is enforced by the 是...的 *shi4...de0* construction.

Terms like "topic" and "focus" have been commonly used to encode (or package) the given/new pragmatic information. These two terms are similar. However, they differ in that topics express discourse-old information, while foci express addressee-new information. Specifically, there are two main devices to convey pragmatic information: word order alternation, exemplified in [1]–[5], and focus constructions, exemplified in [6]–[8]. Before elaborating on each pattern, some general properties of information structure are summarized as follows.

1 The linear order of a sentence is closely related to information structure; in particular, new and specific information is usually preceded by old and general information. In other words, a more informative item tends to occur toward the end of a sentence.
2 Occurrence in the pre-verbal position marks the information contained as given or definite.
3 Given information is usually expressed by a definite or specific nominal phrase, while new information is often encoded by an indefinite or bare form.
4 Sentence may be partitioned into "topic" and "comment" parts. The former identifies a contextually understood entity and the latter elaborates on or provides more information for this entity. In a canonical subject–predicate pattern, the subject may be interpreted as the topic and the predicate as the comment.

17.1. Topic and object preposing

A topic typically involves preposing a participant of the main predicate to achieve the following information effects: signaling discourse-old information, setting a frame, and contrasting topics.

17.1.1. Discourse-old information

A topic usually occurs at the beginning of a sentence, and the rest of the sentence, the comment, elaborates on it or talks about it. Topics usually take the form of definite or specific nominal phrases, and they are either mentioned or relevant to the previous discourse. Take the short narrative in [13] as an example.

[13]　a.　我特别喜欢读…<u>贾平凹的书</u>。 [SVO]

　　　　wo3　te4bie2　　xi3huan1　du2　jia3ping2wa4　de0　shu1
　　　　I　　especially　like　　　　read　JIA_PINGWA　　DE　　book
　　　　'I especially like to read books by JIA Pingwa.'

　　　b.　在台湾只看到了<u>平凹的两本书</u>, …

　　　　zai4　tai2wan1　zhi3　kan4dao4　le0　ping2wa4　de0
　　　　PREP　Taiwan　　only　see　　　　LE　　PINGWA　　DE

　　　　liang3　ben3　shu1
　　　　two　　　CL　　book
　　　　'In Taiwan, I only saw two of Pingwa's books…'

　　　c.　<u>这两本书</u>我都要看烂了。 [OSV]

　　　　zhe4　liang3　ben3　shu1　wo3　dou1yao4　kan4
　　　　this　two　　　CL　　book　I　　almost　　look

　　　　lan4　　　　le0
　　　　torn_apart　LE
　　　　'These two books are worn and torn because I have read them so often.'

The underlined post-verbal object in [13a], books written by JIA Pingwa, is discourse-new information, just introduced to the discourse. In the following sentence [13b] the speaker specifies two of his books that she can get in Taiwan. When more new information about these two books is added in [13c], the target referent, which is a definite nominal 这两本书 *zhe4 liang3 ben3 shu1* 'these two books' and signals its status as discourse-old information, occurs in the sentence-initial position as a topic for the remaining comment clause to elaborate on. In addition to definite nominal phrases, bare nominal phrases and specific nominal phrases, as exemplified in [14] and [15], respectively, can also function as topics. Moreover, a specific nominal phrase occurring with the modal verb 能 *neng2* 'can' in [15b] is interpreted as a generic topic.

[14]   只要肯做, 困难一定能克服。
zhi3yao4   ken3   zuo4   kun4nan2   yi1ding4   neng2
as_long_as   willing   do   difficulty   surely   can

ke4fu2
overcome
'As long as (you) are willing to do it, difficulties can be overcome.'

[15]   a.   一个可容以万计人数的大堂, 出现在眼前?
yi1   ge4   ke3   rong2   yi3   wan4   ji4
one   CL   can   accommodate   PREP   ten_thousand   count

ren2shu4   de0   da4tang2   chu1xian4   zai4
number_of_people   DE   hall   appear   PREP

yan3qian2
front
'A hall that can accommodate tens of thousands of people appears in front of us.'

b.   一篇上好的佳作并不是只靠以上三点就能完成。
yi1   pian1   shang4hao3   de0   jia1zuo4   bing4
one   CL   first-class   DE   excellent_work   however

bu4   shi4   zhi3   kao4   yi3shang4   san1   dian3   jiu4
NEG   be   only   PREP   above   three   point   thus

neng2   wan2cheng2
can   achieve
'An excellent writing cannot be achieved just by the above three points.'

17.1.2. Frame-setting, aboutness topics

Discourse-old topics set a spatial, temporal, or eventive frame relevant to the comment clause, which talks "about" or adds new information to the topics. Sentences containing frame-setting or "aboutness" topics may exhibit a "part–whole" relation between the comment and the topic.

[16]   a.   香港消费的水果以进口的为主 . . .
xiang1gang3   xiao1fei4   de0   shui3guo3   yi3   jin4kou3
Hong_Kong   consume   DE   fruit   PREP   import

de0   wei2zhu3
DE   as_the_majority
'Fruits consumed in Hong Kong are mainly imported . . . '

b. <u>在进口的各种水果中</u>, 以橙子和苹果最多。

zai4	jin4kou3	de0	ge4zhong3	shui3guo3	zhong1
PREP	import	DE	various_kinds	fruit	among

yi3	cheng2zi0	he2	ping2guo3	zui4duo1
PREP	orange	and	apple	most

'Among various imported fruits, oranges and apples are the most common.'

The topic 在进口的各种水果中 *zai4 jin4kou3 de0 ge4zhong3 shui3guo3 zhong1* 'among the imported fruits' in [16.b] refers to the previously mentioned imported foods in Hong Kong in [16a], meanwhile, setting a "frame" (the "whole") for the remaining comment clause to specify the most common subtypes: oranges and apples (the "parts").

Sentences in [17] through [19] further illustrate the part–whole relation and the frame-setting function of the topic, for example, the Song Dynasty's territory and population in [17] and Chinese dynasties in [18]. As for [19b], a so-called double-subject construction can be seen as having an aboutness topic. Specifically, the first nominal phrase can serve as a topic, particularly when it is followed by a longer pause or a phrasal boundary marker like 啊 *a4* or 呢 *ne0*.

[17]   <u>宋朝地广人众</u>, 纵然战败, 实力仍强。

song4chao2	di4	guang3	ren2	zhong4
Song_Dynasty	land	vast	people	many

zong4ran2	zhan4bai4	shi2li4	reng2	qiang2
even_though	defeated	strength	still	strong

'The Song Dynasty has vast territory and [a] large population; even if it is defeated (in this war), it still has great strength.'

[18]   <u>中国历代</u>吃蟹花样繁多。

zhong1guo2	li4dai4	chi1	xie4	hua1yang4fan2duo1
China	all_dynasties	eat	crab	have_various_ways

'The China dynasties have various ways of eating crabs.'

[19]   a.   你六十四年次的吗? 你看起来怎么那么老? 我不太相信呢!

ni3	liu4shi2si4nian2ci4	de0	ma0	ni3	kan4	qi3lai2
you	the_sixty_fourth_year	DE	MA	you	look	QILAI

zen3me0	na4me0	lao3	wo3	bu4tai4	xiang1xin4
how	so	old	I	NEG_really	believe

ne0
NE

'(You said) you were born in 1975? How come you look so old? I don't believe it!'

b. 你身份证让我看一下好不好?

    ni3   shen1fen4zheng4   rang4 wo3 kan4 yi1 xia4

    you identity_card   let   I   look one CL

    hao3 bu4 hao3

    OK   NEG OK

    'How about your ID, can I see it?'

Discourse-old information applies not only to elements that have been explicitly mentioned in the prior discourse, but also to those that are relevant to the current discussion, though not having been explicitly said. Location, temporal, and prepositional phrases are commonly used as frame-setting topics.

[20] a. 中研院的对面有所胡适国小, 侧边有座胡适公园, 院区内还有个
胡适纪念馆。

    zhong1yan2yuan4 de0 dui4mian4   you3 suo3

    Academia_Sinica   DE   opposite_side YOU CL

    hu2shi4 guo2xiao3   ce4bian1 you3 zuo4

    HU_SHI elementary_school side   YOU CL

    hu2shi4 gong1yuan2 yuan4qu1 nei4   hai2 you3 ge4

    HU_SHI park   campus   inside also have CL

    hu2shi4 ji4nian4guan3

    HU_SHI memorial_museum

    'At Academia Sinica, there is HU Shi Elementary School in front of it, HU Shi Park to its side, and HU Shi Memorial Museum on campus.'

b. 在这个地方, 胡适先生似乎享有着一份特殊的地位。

    zai4   zhe4 ge4 di4fang1 hu2shi4 xian1sheng0 si4hu1

    PREP this CL place   HU_SHI Mr.   seem

    xiang3you3 zhe0 yi1 fen4 te4shu1 de0 di4wei4

    enjoy   ZHE one CL special DE respect

    'At this place, Mr. HU Shi seems to enjoy a special status.'

[21] 在台大的四年里, 我只听过一次钱校长 ... 的演说。

    zai4   tai2da4 de0 si4   nian2 li3 wo3   zhi3 ting1

    be_at NTU   DE   four year in I   only listen

    guo4 yi1 ci4 qian2 xiao4zhang3 de0 yan3shuo1

    GUO one CL QIAN president   DE speech

    'In the four years (when I was at) National Taiwan University, I only heard President QIAN's speech once.'

[22]   <u>从锺的论述</u>可知 . . . 台湾 . . . 已有过度医疗化的现象。

cong2	zhong1	de0	lun4shu4	ke3	zhi1	tai2wan1
PREP	ZHONG	DE	statement	can	know	Taiwan

yi3	you3	guo4du4	yi1liao2hua4	de0	xian4xiang4
already	YOU	over	medicalized	DE	phenomenon

'From ZHONG's argumentation, we know that Taiwan has become over-medicalized.'

In the context of mentioning the places near Academia Sinica named after Dr. 胡适 *hu2shi4*, the topic 在这个地方 *zai4 zhe4 ge4 di4fang1* 'at this place' in [20b] is uttered to continue the discussion and serve as a background for its following comment clause. The sentence in [21] illustrates temporal frame-setting topics, while [22] contains a prepositional topic phrase: 从锺的论述 *cong2 zhong1 de0 lun4shu4* 'from Mr. ZHONG's statement.' Aboutness topics may include phrases introduced by 至于 *zhi4yu4*, 关于 *guan1yu2*, or 对于 *dui4yu2* 'as for, regarding.' These topics direct the hearer's attention to some salient entities relevant to the previous discourse, though they are not necessarily identical to the prior mentioned elements.

[23]   a. 「文化大革命」中林被捕入狱四年半。

wen2hua4da4ge2ming4	zhong1	lin2	bei4	bu3
Cultural_Revolution	during	Lin	BEI	arrest

ru4yu1	si4	nian2	ban4
go_to_prison	four	year	half

'During [the] Cultural Revolution, Lin was jailed for four years.'

    b. <u>大量的精心作品</u>先已浸入水盆、浴缸中溶成纸浆, 从下水道冲走。

da4liang4	de0	jing1xin1	zuo4pin3	xian1	yi3
a_lot_of	DE	carefully	works	earlier	already

jin4ru4	shui3	pen2	yu1gang1	zhong1	rong2
immerse	water	basin	bathtub	in	dissolve

cheng2	zhi3jiang1	cong2	xia4shui3dao4	chong1	zou3
into	paper_pulp	PREP	sewer	flush	go

'A lot of his carefully crafted works had been immersed in water in a basin or tub to dissolve into pulp, and flushed away through the sewer.'

    c. <u>至于油画</u>, 则早在杭州沦陷后被日军用作防雨布了。

zhi4yu2	you2hua4	ze2	zao3	zai4	hang2zhou1
PREP	oil_painting	then	early	PREP	Hangzhou

lun2xian4	hou4	bei4	ri4jun1	yong4zuo4
fall	after	BEI	Japanese_army	use_as

fang2yu3bu4   le0
tarpaulin   LE
'As for his paintings on canvas, (they) were already gone when
Hangzhou had fallen to the Japanese army earlier, used by them as [a]
tarpaulin.'

In the context of discussing the political turmoil that devastated art works in the 1950s, the painter 林 *lin2* was mentioned in [23a]. Although the topic phrase 大量的精心作品 *da4liang4 de0 jing1xin1 zuo4pin3* 'a lot of (Lin's) carefully crafted art masterpieces' in [23b] is not explicitly mentioned in the previous context, the knowledge of his works has been assumed to be shared by the addressee. Hence, appearing in the sentence-initial position, the phrase facilitates confining the issue to his art works. In its following sentence [23c], the attention is shifted to his works that were lost earlier: the topic 至于油画 *zhi4yu2 you2hua4* 'as for the oil paintings' was elaborated on by the following comment clause.

17.1.3. Contrastive topics
In addition to the topics conveying given information, a topic may be introduced into the discourse to contrast a relevant entity with what has been established in the context. This is often termed as a "contrastive topic." It is discourse-old, but it is informative and sometimes addressee-new. A contrastive topic is not necessarily mentioned previously.

[24]   a.   周先生子女皆知上进 . . .
             zhou1   xian1sheng0   zi2nu3   jie1   zhi1   shang4jin4
             ZHOU   Mr.   children   all   know   self-motivated
             'Mr. Zhou's children are all self-motivated . . .'

       b.   对于孩子的教养, 周先生主张让孩子思想多方面发展。
             dui4yu2   hai2zi0   de0   jiao4yang3   zhou1   xian1sheng0
             PREP   child   DE   nurture   Zhou   Mr.

             zhu3zhang1   rang4   hai2zi0   si1xiang3   duo1   fang1mian4
             suggest   let   child   thought   many   facet

             fa1zhan3
             develop
             'As for how to raise his children, Mr. Zhou believes that one should
             allow their ideas and thoughts to develop in multiple directions.'

       c.   但行为则须稍有约束。
             dan4   xing2wei2   ze2   xu1   shao1   you3   yue1shu4
             but   behavior   then   need   somewhat   YOU   discipline
             ' . . . but their behavior should be somewhat disciplined.'

[24] discusses Mr. Zhou's philosophy for raising children. [24b] contains a typical frame-setting or aboutness topic, 对于孩子的教养 *dui4yu2 hai2zi0 de0 jiao4yang3* 'as for raising the children,' for the comment clause to assert support for his children's free-thinking development. In [24c], the contrastive topic 行为 *xing2wei2* 'behavior' contrasts with 思想 *si1xiang3* 'thought' in [24b] in that, unlike the freedom given to the development of thoughts, he claims that behavior should be disciplined.

Contrastive topics allow indefinite but specific nominal phrases, usually accompanied by prenominal modifiers, as in [25].

[25] 何先生藏书逾万本<u>一些目前国内已不多见的珍本</u>, 在他的书架上也可 找到。

he2	xian1sheng0	cang2shu1		yu2	wan4
HE	Mr.	collection_of_books		exceed	ten_thousand

ben3	yi1xie1	mu4qian2	guo2nei4		yi3
CL	some	at_present	within_the_country		already

bu4duo1jian4	de0	zhen1ben3	zai4	ta1	de0
rare	DE	precious_book	PREP	he	DE

shu1jia4	shang4	ye3	ke3	zhao3dao4
bookshelf	on	also	can	find

'Mr. He's collection is over ten thousands books . . . Some of [the] rare books which are rarely seen in our country, (they) can be found in his bookshelves.'

Another characteristic of contrastive topics is that they are often preceded (or contextually understood) by a topic of sum, of which the contrastive topic is a subordinate part or hyponym. For example, the answer in [27a], 多半儿的意思 *duo1ban4er0 de0 yi4si0* 'most of the meanings,' is part of the topic of sum in [26], Dr. You's speech. The remaining answers employ contrastive topics to juxtapose the parts that the speaker understands and those that s/he does not.

[26] Q: <u>刚才尤博士的演讲</u>, 你听得懂听不懂?

gang1cai2	you2	bo2shi4	de0	yan2jiang3	ni3	ting1
just_now	YOU	Dr.	DE	speech	you	listen

de0	dong3		ting1	bu4	dong3
DE	understand		listen	NEG	understand

'As for Dr. You's speech just now, did you understand it?'

[27] A: a. <u>多半儿的意思</u>我都听懂了。

duo1ban4er0	de0	yi4si0		wo3	dou1	ting1
most	DE	meaning		I	all	listen

dong3	le0
understand	LE

'I could understand most of the contents.'

b. 只有一小部分不太懂。

zhi2you3   yi1xiao3bu4fen4   bu4tai4   dong3
only   a_small_portion   NEG_really   understand
'There is only a small portion that I don't understand.'

c. 可能是那些字, 我还没学过。

ke3neng2   shi4   na4xie1   zi4   wo3   hai2   mei2
maybe   be   those   character   I   yet   NEG

xue2   guo4
learn   GUO
'Maybe it is because of those words that I haven't learned.'

17.1.4. Clause-internal pre-verbal objects

An object may be placed in between the subject and the verb. They are called clause-internal pre-verbal objects because they function within the clause. These clause-internal pre-verbal objects can be given or shared information but are intended for emphasis or contrast. A pre-verbal object can be either a definite nominal phrase, as in [28], or a bare nominal, as in [29].

[28] a. 李先生这一觉睡到次日辰时才醒。

li3   xian1sheng0   zhe4   yi1   jiao4   shui4   dao4
LI   Mr.   this   one   sleep   sleep   PREP

ci4ri4   chen2shi2   cai2   xing3
the_next_day   CHEN_period   just   wake_up
'Mr. Li slept and didn't wake up until 8ish [the] next morning.'

b. 尽管对这本书所讲的宏观经济理论我略知一二, 但这本书却看不懂。

jin3guan3   dui4   zhe4   ben3   shu1   suo3   jiang3   de0
although   PREP   this   CL   book   SUO   talk   DE

hong2guan1   jing1ji4   li3lun4   wo3   lue4zhi1yi1er4   dan4
macro   economy   theory   I   know_a_little   but

zhe4   ben3   shu1   que4   kan4   bu4   dong3
this   CL   book   yet   look   NEG   understand
'Although I understand a little about the macro-economy theory discussed in this book, (but) I don't understand this book.'

[29] 许多民众最近纷纷反应中央健康保险局电话打不进去。

xu3duo1   min2zhong4   zui4jin4   fen1fen1
many   people   recently   one_after_another

fan3ying4   zhong1yang1   jian4kang1bao3xian3ju2
complain   central   Central_Health_Insurance_Bureau

dian4hua4   da3   bu4   jin4qu4
telephone   dial   NEG   into
'Many people recently complained that calls to [the] Central Health
Insurance Bureau failed to connect.'

Clause-internal objects may convey new information, such as 功课 'homework'
in [30].

[30]   游先生下午酒后回家察觉小儿子功课没写 . . .
        you2   xian1sheng0   xia4wu3   jiu3   hou4   hui2jia1
        YOU   Mr.   afternoon   wine   after   go_home

        cha 2jue2   xiao3er2zi0   gong1ke4   mei2   xie3
        notice   the_youngest_son   homework   NEG   write
        'Mr. You went home in the afternoon after drinking and noticed his
        younger son didn't finish his homework . . .'

Clause-internal objects are often used to express contrastive alternatives. The
examples in [31] below exemplify parallel structures of contrasting various foods.

[31]   a.   小时候我特别的偏食 . . . 我 . . . 这鸡不吃, 鸭不吃, 鱼不吃, 肉不吃。
              xiao3   shi2hou0   wo3   te4bie2   de0   pian1shi2
              young   when   I   especially   DE   picky_with_foods

              wo3   zhe4   ji1   bu4   chi1   ya1   bu4   chi1   yu2
              I   this   chicken   NEG   eat   duck   NEG   eat   fish

              bu4   chi1   rou4   bu4   chi1
              NEG   eat   meat   NEG   eat
              'When I was young, I was picky with foods. I didn't eat chicken, duck,
              fish, or meat.'

        b.   除了鸡, 鸭, 鱼, 肉之外 . . . 我蔬菜水果也吃得很少, 不过我鲜奶喝得 很多。
              chu2le0   ji1   ya1   yu2   rou4   zhi1wai4   wo3
              PREP   chicken   duck   fish   meat   other_than   I

              shu1cai4   shui3guo3   ye3   chi1   de0   hen3   shao3
              vegetable   fruit   also   eat   DE   very   few

              bu2guo4   wo3   xian1nai3   he1   de0   hen3   duo1
              but   I   fresh_milk   drink   DE   very   much
              'In addition to chicken, duck, fish, or meat, I also seldom ate
              vegetables and fruits. But I drank milk a lot.'

A clause-internal object may further specify a part of a superordinate or hyper-
nym that is contextually understood.

[32]   a.   爸爸妈妈…说…你书念不好就不让吃饭…就是恐怕不上中学。
            ba4ba0   ma1ma0   shuo1   ni3   shu1   nian4   bu4   hao3
            father   mother   say   you   book   read   NEG   good

            jiu4   bu4   rang4   chi1fan4   jiu4shi4   kong3pa4   bu4
            thus   NEG   allow   eat   just   afraid   NEG

            shang4   zhong1xue2
            up   middle_school
            'Dad and Mom kept saying if you didn't study well, you were not
            allowed to eat. They were just afraid that I wouldn't be able to get
            into a middle school.'

       b.   …其实四川的中学也考上了。
            qi2shi2   si4chuan1   de0   zhong1xue2   ye3
            in_fact   Sichuan_province   DE   middle_school   also

            kao3   shang4   le0
            examine   up   LE
            '…in fact I did test into a middle school in Sichuan.'

In [32b] the contrasted object 四川的中学 *si4chuan1 de0 zhong1xue2* 'middle school
in Sichuan' is an instance of the high middle school, which was introduced in [32a].

Pre-verbal clause-internal objects often occur in a negative context, as shown in
[33]. In this case, the adverbs 也 *ye3* 'also' or 都 *dou1* 'all' are often in use.

[33]   a.   他越想越害怕…他饭也吃不下, 觉也睡不着…
            ta1   yue4   xiang3   yue4   hai4pa4   ta1   fan4   ye3
            he   more   think   more   fear   he   meal   also

            chi1bu4xia4   jiao4   ye3   shui4bu4zhao2
            cannot_eat   sleep   also   cannot_sleep
            'The more he thought about (it), the more scared he became. He could
            neither eat nor sleep…'

       b.   有一只小蚱蜢叫明明, 他非常顽皮, 功课都不写…
            you3   yi1   zhi1   xiao3   zha4meng3   jiao4   ming2ming2
            YOU   one   CL   little   grasshopper   call   MINGMING

            ta1   fei1chang2   wan2pi2   gong1ke4   dou1   bu4   xie3
            he   very   naughty   homework   all   NEG   write
            'There is a little cricket called Mingming. He is very naughty and
            doesn't like to do homework…'

The existence of universal quantifiers often triggers preposing of objects, as
exemplified in [34]. Strong quantifiers indicating higher degrees, such as 每 *mei3*
'every' and 很多 *hen3duo1* 'many, much,' are typically followed by 都 *dou1* 'all.' In

[34], 每一张按摩椅 *mei3 yi1 zhang1 an4mo1yi3* 'every massage chair' is highlighted, bringing contrastive focus to the set of chairs in the previous clause.

[34]   …看到这几张按摩椅, 他…直嚷着每一张按摩椅都要躺过了一遍 才肯罢休。
       kan4dao4   zhe4   ji3   zhang1   an4mo1yi3   ta1
       see   this   some   CL   massage_chair   he

       zhi2   rang3   zhe0   mei3   yi1   zhang1
       all_the_time   yell   ZHE   every   one   CL

       an4mo1yi3   dou1   yao4   tang3   guo4   le0   yi1bian4
       massage_chair   all   want   lie   GUO   LE   once

       cai2   ken3   ba4xiu1
       just   will   stop
       'Once (we) saw these massage chairs, he kept yelling that he must try each
       and every massage chair before we can leave.'

Moreover, *wh*-phrases *wh*-indefinites, can co-occur with 都 *dou1* 'all' in affirmative sentences to function as clause-internal contrastive topics. They are exemplified by 什么 *shen2me0* 'WHAT' + 都 *dou1* 'all' in [35a], 怎么样 *zen3me0yang4* 'how' + 都 *dou1* 'all' rendered in [35b], and 哪里 *na3li3* 'where' + 都 *dou1* 'all' in [35c].

[35]   a.   能把茶泡得那么好喝的人, 做什么都会成功!
           neng2   ba3   cha 2   pao4   de0   na4me0   hao3   he1
           can   BA   tea   make   DE   so   good   drink

           de0   ren2   zuo4   shen2me0   dou1   hui4   cheng2gong1
           DE   person   do   what   all   will   succeed
           'A person who can make such good tea, he can succeed in whatever he
           does!'
      b.   你怎么样答都错。
           ni3   zen3me0yang4   da2   dou1   cuo4
           you   no_matter_how   answer   all   wrong
           'No matter how you answer, you are always wrong.'
      c.   我哪里都能睡。
           wo3   na3li3   dou1   neng2   shui4
           I   wherever   all   can   sleep
           'I can sleep anywhere.'

When a clause-internal *wh*-phrase and 都 *dou1* 'all' co-occur in a negative sentence, it leads to a negative polarity "any" reading. In [36a], 什么 *shen2me0* 'what' has the typical interrogative function, but it is interpreted as "any" in the negative sentence in [36b], and so are the *wh*-phrases in [37].

[36]   a.   Cabanne 问他:「那你相信什么呢?」
Cabanne   wen4   ta1   na4   ni3   xiang1xin4   shen2me0
Cabanne   ask   he   then   you   believe   what

ne0
NE
'Cabanne asked him, "What do you believe then?"'

   b.   他答:「当然什么都不相信!」
ta1   da2   dang1ran2   shen2me0   dou1   bu4
he   answer   of_course   what   all   NEG

xiang1xin4
believe
'He answered, "Of course I don't believe in anything."'

[37]   王子宣称除了要她作他的新娘以外, 谁都不娶。
wang2zi3   xuan1cheng1   chu2le0   yao4   ta1   zuo4
prince   claim   other_than   want   she   PREP

ta1   de0   xin1niang2   yi3wai4   shui2   dou1   bu4
he   DE   bride   other_than   who   all   NEG

qu3
marry
'The prince claims that . . . he won't marry anyone except her.'

Note that the *wh*-indefinite phrase can also occur at the sentence-initial position, as in [38], or as a head noun of a free relative, as in [39].

[38]   a.   弟弟说: 等我长大了, 什么我都会。
di4di0   shuo1   deng3   wo3   zhang3da4   le0
younger_brother   say   wait   I   grow_up   LE

shen2me0   wo3   dou1   hui4
what   I   all   can
'Younger brother says, "When I grow up, I can do everything."'

   b.   什么东西我都给。我那儿都有。
shen2me0   dong1xi0   wo3   dou1   gei3   wo3   na4er0
what   thing   I   all   give   I   there

dou1   you3
all   YOU
'I will give out everything. I have everything.'

[39] a. [他给我什么东西]我都吃。

ta1   gei3   wo3   shen2me0   dong1xi0   wo3   dou1   chi1
he   give   I   what   thing   I   all   eat

'Whatever he gives me, I will eat.'

b. [谁欺侮她] 我们都不放过。

shui2   qi1wu3   ta1   wo3men0   dou1   bu4   fang4guo4
who   bully   she   we   all   NEG   let_go

'Whoever bullies her, we will not let him go.'

In addition to the indefinite usage above, *wh*-phrases are sometimes used in rhetorical questions, as shown in [40].

[40] a. ...她冲我喊, 什么没给你? 你还想要什么?

ta1   chong4   wo3   han3   shen2me0   mei2   gei3   ni3
she   PREP   I   yell   what   NEG   give   you

ni3   hai2   xiang3yao4   shen2me0
you   yet   want   what

'She shouted at me, "What didn't I give to you? What do you want?"'

b. 「你都没有什么想跟我说的吗?」「你怎么都不说话啊?」

ni3   dou1   mei2you3   shen2me0   xiang3   gen1   wo3
you   all   NEG   what   want   PREP   I

shuo1   de0   ma0   ni3   zen3me0   dou1   bu4   shuo1hua4
say   DE   MA   you   how   all   NEG   talk

a0
A

'Didn't you have anything to talk to me (about)? Why didn't you talk?'

Rather than its literal interrogative meaning of asking the question of what was not given, the rhetorical question in [40a] implies that "I have given you everything." Likewise, instead of asking if there is anything you wanted to tell me, the speaker in [40b] presumes that you should have something to tell me.

17.1.5. Topic chain

In addition to the topic–comment pattern at the sentence level, a topic can represent unexpressed co-referential nominals in subsequent sentences. The domain that is associated with the topic may possibly cover many sentences that follow it. The first occurrence topic (a "shared topic" or "chain topic") and its subsequent unexpressed nouns form a so-called "topic chain" (see Chapter 16).

[41]   a.   <u>长庚医院...官医师</u>, 在一篇文章中便举出几个例子,
            chang2geng1 yi1yuan4 guan1 yi1shi1 zai4 yi1
            CHANGGENG hospital GUAN doctor PREP one
            pian1 wen2zhang1 zhong1 bian4 ju3chu1 ji3
            CL article in then provide several
            ge4 li4zi0
            CL example
            'Doctor Guan from Changgeng Hospital provides several examples in
            an article.'

       b.   介绍几种常与内在肿瘤相关连的皮肤病变, 值得民众参考。
            jie4shao4 ji3 zhong3 chang2 yu3 nei4zai4
            introduce several CL often PREP inherent
            zhong3liu2 xiang1guan1lian2 de0 pi2fu1bing4bian4
            tumor related DE dermatosis
            zhi2de2 min2zhong4 can1kao3
            worth people reference
            '[He] introduces several types of skin pathological changes relevant to
            tumors, which are worth referencing for ordinary people.'

In [41a], the dermatologist 官医师 *guan1 yi1shi1* 'Doctor Guan' is the topic in its own clause, and it is also a shared topic that the unexpressed subject pronoun in [41b] refers to. The use of zero or unexpressed pronouns is quite common in Mandarin when the references of the noun phrases are retrievable in a certain context.

Phrases with various grammatical functions can serve as topic chains. Consider the examples in [42] and [43].

[42]   a.   <u>我</u>念大学时, 每逢月头都会去邮局盼<u>挂号信</u>, 等家里大哥寄来的
            三佰块钱。
            wo3 nian4 da4xue2 shi2 mei3feng2 yue4
            I read university when whenever month
            tou2 dou1 hui4 qu4 you2ju2 pan4
            beginning all will go post_office look_forward
            gua4hao4xin4 deng3 jia1li3 da4ge1 ji4 lai2
            registered_mail wait home elder_brother mail come
            de0 san1bai3 kuai4 qian2
            DE three_hundred dollar money
            'When I was in college, I would go to the post office to check if I had a
            registered mail, waiting for my big brother to mail me $300 from
            home.'

b. 收到后, 好兴奋, 开始盘算该吃几碗阳春面, . . . 牛肉面可吃多少碗?

shou1dao4	hou4	hao3	xing1fen4	kai1shi3	pan2suan4
receive	after	so	excited	start	plan

gai1	chi1	ji3	wan3	yang2chun1mian4
should	eat	how_many	CL	plain_noodles

niu2rou4	mian4	ke3	chi1	duo1shao3	wan3
beef	noodle	can	eat	how_many	CL

'After I received it, I would be excited and start to calculate how many bowls of plain noodles I could eat, how many bowls of beef noodles I could eat.'

c. 偶尔写点稿有三十块的稿费, 就加两块臭豆腐。

ou3er3	xie3	dian3	gao3	you3	san1shi2	kuai4
sometimes	write	some	draft	have	thirty	dollar

de0	gao3fei4	jiu4	jia1	liang3	kuai4	chou4dou4fu0
DE	royalty	thus	add	two	CL	stinky_tofu

'Sometimes I would earn $30 for publishing [an] article, [and] then I could have added two pieces of stinky tofu.'

[43] 我母亲看稻草上面, 常有没打干净, 剩下来的谷粒, 觉得烧掉可惜, 用捣衣的椎, 一椎一椎的椎了下来, 一天可以得谷一合。

wo3	mu3qin1	kan4	dao4cao3	shang4mian4	chang2
I	mother	see	rice_stalk	on	often

you3	mei2	da3	gan1jing4	sheng4xia4lai2	de0	gu3li4
YOU	NEG	thresh	clean	remain	DE	grain

jue2de0	shao1diao4	ke3xi1	yong4	dao3	yi1	de0
feel	burn	pity	use	beat	clothes	DE

zhui1	yi1	zhui1	yi1	zhui1	de0	zhui1
pounder	one	pounder	one	pounder	DE	pounder

le0	xia4lai2	yi1	tian1	ke3yi3	de2	gu3	yi1	he2
LE	down	one	day	can	get	grain	one	CL

'My mother saw there were grains remaining on the rice stalks after threshing. She felt it was wasteful to burn them, so she used a clothes pounder to beat the remaining grains off the stalks, and she could collect about 200 grams of rice in a day.'

The grammatical subjects, such as 我 *wo3* 'I' in [42] and 我妈妈 *wo3ma1ma0* 'my mother' in [43], link all unexpressed nouns in the respective sentence to form a topic chain. Moreover, a topic chain may contain another topic chain in

the same passage. For example, the direct objects, such as 挂号信 *gua4hao4xin4* 'registered mail' in [42] and 剩下来的谷粒 *sheng4xia4lai2 de0 gu3li4* 'remaining grains' in [43], serve as separate topic chains. Consequently, there are two topic chains in each of the two passages above, the subject 我 *wo3* 'I' and the object 挂号信 *gua4hao4xin4* 'registered mail' in [42], and 我母亲 *wo3 mu3qin1* 'my mother' and 谷粒 *gu3li4* 'grains' in [43]. Note that the primary and secondary topic chain may have different relations. For instance, the secondary topic chain 'registered mail' in [42] is only linked to the second sentence, referring to its receipt, while both the primary and the secondary topic chains are linked to most of the sentences in [43].

A bare noun as a clause-internal object, as in [44], or an indefinite generic subject, as in [45], can serve as a topic chain as well.

[44]   a.   许多民众最近纷纷反应中央健康保险局<u>电话</u>打不进去。
              xu3duo1   min2zhong4   zui4jin4   fen1fen1
              many   people   recently   one_after_another

              fan3ying4   zhong1yang1   jian4kang1bao3xian3ju2
              complain   central   Central_Health_Insurance_Bureau

              dian4hua4   da3   bu4   jin4qu4
              telephone   dial   NEG   into
              'Many people complained that calls to [the] Central Health Insurance Bureau were always failing to connect.'

       b.   即使打进去了，工作人员的答案又不相同。
              ji2shi3   da3   jin4qu4   le0   gong1zuo4ren2yuan2
              even_though   dial   into   LE   staff

              de0   da2an4   you4   bu4   xiang1tong2
              DE   answer   also   NEG   same
              'Even if they made it successfully, the answers they received from the staff varied.'

[45]   a.   <u>一只狗、一只猫</u>不是生活得很愉快吗?
              yi1   zhi1   gou3   yi1   zhi1   mao1   bu4shi4   sheng1huo2
              one   CL   dog   one   CL   cat   NEG   live

              de0   hen3   yu1kuai4   ma0
              DE   very   happy   MA
              'Doesn't a dog or a cat have a happy life?'

       b.   早上吃饱了之后出去每个人到处晃一晃，然后就回家睡觉了 . . .
              zao3shang4   chi1   bao3   le0   zhi1hou4   chu1qu4
              morning   eat   full   LE   after   go_out

mei3ge4ren2   dao4chu4   huang4yi1huang4   ran2hou4
everyone   here_and_there   wander   then
jiu4   hui2jia1   shui4jiao4   le0
thus   go_home   sleep   LE
'They go out and wander around after having a full meal in the
morning, and then go back home to sleep . . . '

c.   遛达, 晚上又跑回来了, 跑回来之后睡觉, 第二天又起来, 跑来 跑去。
liu1da0   wan3shang4   you4   pao3   hui2lai2   le0   pao3
walk   evening   again   run   back   LE   run
hui2lai2   zhi1hou4   shui4jiao4   di4er4tian1   you4
back   after   sleep   the_next_day   again
qi3lai2   pao3lai2pao3qu4
wake_up   run_around
'They wander, and then come back at night to sleep, and get up and
run around again the next day.'

An unexpressed argument can refer to a situation under discussion, and it does
not have to have an identical nominal phrase as its precedent. In the context in
[46], the topic chain concerns a situation that doctors rarely stop in front of the
wishing pond. It is this situation, rather than a particular nominal phrase, that is
referred to in the following discourse by unexpressed forms.

[46]   a.   [这里的医生绝少在许愿池前停留过]。
zhe4li3   de0   yi1sheng1   jue2shao3   zai4   xu3yuan4chi2
here   DE   doctor   scarcely   PREP   wishing_pond
qian2   ting2liu2   guo4
front   stay   GUO
'Doctors here scarcely ever stop in front of the wishing pond.'

b.   从我进医院工作到现在, 我真的没有见过。
cong2   wo3   jin4   yi1yuan4   gong1zuo4   dao4   xian4zai4
PREP   I   enter   hospital   work   PREP   now
wo3   zhen1de0   mei2you3   jian4   guo4
I   really   NEG   see   GUO
'I have never seen that ever since I joined the hospital.'

c.   真要说有的话, 他们顶多只是经过而已。
zhen1   yao4   shuo1   you3   de0   hua4   ta1men0
if   want   say   have   DE   words   they
ding3duo1   zhi3shi4   jing1guo4   er2yi3
at_most   only   pass_by   only
'The closest I have seen was some of them passing by [the wishing pond].'

17.2. Word order variations

17.2.1. Inversion

This section presents inversion patterns in sentences containing locative phrases or unaccusative verbs. The word order variations largely follow the information structure outlined at the beginning of this chapter. In general, inversion not only signals the discourse-old information status but also uses this given information to set up the background.

17.2.1.1. Locative inversion

A common way to clearly indicate the informational status of a canonic subject (usually an agent or experiencers, occasionally a theme) as new is to use locative inversion construction and put the nominal phrase in the post-verbal position, as in [47]–[49].

[47]   池的旁边有五个大大小小的拱门, 里头躺着好多病人 . . .
        chi2   de0   pang2bian1   you3   wu3   ge4
        pond   DE   side   have   five   CL
        da4da4xiao3xiao3   de0   gong3men2   li3tou2   tang3   zhe0
        big_and_small   DE   arch   inside   lie   ZHE
        hao3duo1   bing4ren2
        many   patient
        'Next to the pond were five arches. Inside, there lay many patients . . .'

[48]   门外放着一张大狼皮, 做成了垫子的模样。
        men2   wai4   fang4   zhe0   yi1   zhang1   da4   lang2pi2
        door   outside   place   ZHE   one   CL   big   wolf_skin
        zuo4   cheng2   le0   dian4zi0   de0   mo2yang4
        make   into   LE   carpet   DE   look
        'Outside the door [was] placed a big wolf skin, which was made into a carpet.'

[49] a. 有一只小猴子爬到树上。
          you3   yi1   zhi1   xiao3   hou2zi0   pa2   dao4   shu4
          YOU   one   CL   small   monkey   climb   PREP   tree
          shang4
          on
          'A monkey climbed up the tree.'
      b. 树上爬着一只小猴子, 猴子吃着香蕉 . . .
          shu4   shang4   pa2   zhe0   yi1   zhi1   xiao3   hou2zi0
          tree   on   climb ZHE   one   CL   small   monkey

hou2zi0　chi1　zhe0　xiang1jiao1
monkey　eat　ZHE　banana
'On the tree there is a small monkey climbing; the monkey is eating
bananas . . . '

[49] illustrates a typical locative inversion pair. The post-verbal location phrase in [49a] is placed at the pre-verbal subject position in [49b], hence, allowing the nominal phrase to be presented as new information by occurring in the post-verbal position.

17.2.1.2. Unaccusative verb

An unaccusative verb allows a single argument (typically a theme or experiencer) to occur in either the subject or the post-verbal position (see Chapter 4). The former order reflects the topic–comment structure, whereas the latter usually introduces new information.

[50]　他们看见家里来了一个外国人, 都很好奇。
　　　ta1men0　kan4jian4　jia1li3　lai2　le0　yi1　ge4
　　　they　see　home　come　LE　one　CL
　　　wai4guo2ren2　dou1　hen3　hao4qi2
　　　foreigner　all　very　curious
　　　'When they saw that a foreigner came to our home, they were curious.'

[51]　果然可以发现最近坊间出现了不少新的名词。
　　　guo3ran2　ke3yi3　fa1xian4　zui4jin4　fang3jian1
　　　as_expected　can　find　recently　neighborhood
　　　chu1xian4　le0　bu4shao3　xin1　de0　ming2ci2
　　　appear　LE　many　new　DE　term
　　　'As expected, one can find new terms appearing and being used.'

[52]　岛上的原住民也消失了十多个民族。
　　　dao3　shang4　de0　yuan2zhu4min2　ye3　xiao1shi1
　　　island　on　DE　aborigine　also　vanish
　　　le0　shi2　duo1　ge4　min2zu2
　　　LE　ten　more　CL　people
　　　'Of the aborigines on this island, over ten groups have become extinct.'

The examples above show that, in addition to locative inversion, unaccusative verbs can also trigger information-packaging with inversion. Unaccusative verbs can appear in a locative inversion construction sentence, such as involving the actual location of the event, as in [50], or the metaphor location of the event, as in

[51]. In addition to the above-mentioned condition of familiar–new information bipartition, an inversion commonly serves a scene-setting function at the outset of a narrative, such as [47] through [49] above. The verbs used often include existential, posture, or locating verbs (e.g., 有 *you3* 'have,' 放 *fang4* 'place,' 躺 *tang3* 'lay,' 爬 *pa2* 'crawl,' 装 *zhuang1* 'load,' etc.) and presentational unaccusative verbs (e.g., 来 *lai2* 'come,' 出现 *chu1xian4* 'appear,' 消失 *xiao1shi1* 'disappear,' 走 *zou3* 'leave,' etc.).

17.2.2. *Ba* construction

The *ba* construction was introduced in Chapter 15. It shows an object may be placed in a pre-verbal position under the introduction of 把 *ba3* 'BA.' In line with the information structure mentioned above, the post-*ba* nominal phrase usually expresses given information, as shown in [53]. The definite nominal 那本书 *na4 ben3 shu1* 'that book' in the second clause of [53] refers to given information, as it has been mentioned in the first clause. In the second clause, the speaker provides more information about this book; specifically, the speaker finished reading this book.

[53]   他很喜欢语文课本上的课文, 一个星期就把那本书看完了。

ta1	hen3	xi3huan1	yu3wen2	ke4ben3	shang4	de0
he	very	like	language	textbook	on	DE

ke4wen2	yi1	ge4	xing1qi1	jiu4	ba3	na4	ben3
text	one	CL	week	thus	BA	*that*	CL

shu1	kan4	wan2	le0
book	look	finish	LE

'S/He likes the text in the textbook for the language class. S/He finished reading that book in one week.'

Nevertheless, the *ba* phrase can also be discourse-new but with addressee-old information. For example, though the post-*ba* nominal phrases in [54] are not previously mentioned, they are assumed to be retrievable based on the relevant contexts. Given this, it is acceptable for this piece of discourse-new information to be placed in a pre-verbal position, which is usually associated with old information.

[54]   a.   没有一个局处长像他一样, 把每一个观众问题搜集起来。

mei2you3	yi1	ge4	ju2	chu4	zhang3	xiang4
NEG	one	CL	bureau	department	head	like

ta1	yi1yang4	ba3	mei3	yi1	ge4	guan1zhong4
he	same	BA	every	one	CL	audience

wen4ti2 sou1ji2 qi3lai2
question collect QILAI
'There is no such bureau or division head like him who collects each and every question from the audience.'

b. 德国厨具...把很多厨房的问题都解决了。

de2guo2 chu2ju4   ba3 hen3duo1 chu2fang2
Germany kitchen_appliance BA many   kitchen

de0 wen4ti2 dou1 jie3jue2 le0
DE problem all   solve   LE
'German kitchen appliances solve many of [the] kitchen problems (that we know).'

Likewise, the post-*ba* indefinite nominal phrase is another example in point. When the reference of the indefinite nominal is known to the speaker, it is indefinite specific, as in [55a]; otherwise, it is indefinite non-specific, as in [55b].

[55] a. 他...曾把一位与他观点不合的医生烧死在柱上。

ta1 ceng2 ba3 yi1 wei4 yu3 ta1 guan1dian3
he   once   BA   one CL   PREP he   viewpoint

bu4he2 de0 yi1sheng1 shao1 si3 zai4 zhu4
disagree DE doctor   burn   dead PREP pillar

shang4
on
'He once burned to death on a stake a doctor who had opposing views to him.'

b. 我...切肉的时候，不小心把一块肉掉在地上。

wo3 qie1 rou4 de0 shi2hou0 bu4xiao3xin1 ba3 yi1
I   cut   meat DE when   carelessly   BA   one

kuai4 rou4 diao4 zai4 di4   shang4
CL   meat drop   PREP ground on
'When I... cut the meat, I accidentally dropped a piece of meat on the ground.'

Indefinite non-specific nominals are usually prohibited from serving as topics; however, they are allowed to function as post-*ba* objects. This post-*ba* object may be a part or an instance of what has been established in the discourse, for example, 肉 *rou4* 'meat' / 一块肉 *yi1 kuai4 rou4* 'a piece of meat' in [55b]. There are some other triggers for the use of the *ba* construction. For example, when a predicate is "heavy," for example, 打入酒里 *da3 ru4 jiu3 li3* 'beating and blending into wine' in [56a], a *ba* construction is preferred. Moreover, when a nominal phrase

at issue serves as a topic chain for the following clauses, as shown in [56b], a *ba* construction also tends to be used.

[56] a. ...把一颗蛋打入酒里, 过一阵子蛋白部分会熟透。

ba3   yi1   ke1   dan4   da3   ru4   jiu3   li3   guo4
BA   one   CL   egg   break   put_into   wine   in   after

yi1zhen4zi0   dan4bai2   bu4fen4   hui4   shou2tou4
a_while   egg_white   part   will   cooked

'...Crack an egg and beat and blend it into wine. After a while its egg white will be cooked.'

b. 我把一小块饼干弄碎, 撒在空地上, 各式各样的鸟儿...不一会儿就把饼干吃光了!

wo3   ba3   yi1   xiao3   kuai4   bing3gan1   nong4sui4
I   BA   one   small   CL   cookie   smash

sa3   zai4   kong4di4   shang4   ge4shi4ge4yang4   de0
sprinkle   PREP   ground   on   various   DE

niao3er0   bu2yi1hui3er2   jiu4   ba3   bing3gan1
bird   soon   then   BA   cookie

chi1guang1   le0
eat_up   LE

'I crushed a small piece of cookie and sprinkled them on the ground. All kinds of birds...devoured them in no time.'

17.2.3. *Bei* construction

Similarly introduced in Chapter 15, 被 *bei4* sentences manifest another type of topic–comment articulation, in which the affected patient preceding 被 *bei4* functions as both a grammatical subject and a topic, while the rest of the clause serves as the comment, usually indicating a resultative state of the activity. The common schema for the *bei* construction is presented in [57], in which the patient nominal phrases are definite, like topics.

[57]   (Patient topic/subject) + *bei* + (Agent) + VP

[58] a. 家产已被他吃喝, 赌光了。

jia1chan3   yi3   bei4   ta1   chi1   he1   du3
family_fortune   already   BEI   he   eat   drink   gamble

guang1   le0
nothing_left   LE

'All the family fortune has been squandered by his lavish banqueting and gambling.'

b. <u>孔子</u>似乎被<u>这个问题</u>难倒了，一时不知如何回答。
kong3zi3　si4hu1　bei4　zhe4　ge4　wen4ti2　nan2dao3
Confucius　seem　BEI　this　CL　question　stumped
le0　yi1shi2　　　bu4　zhi1　ru2he2　hui2da2
LE　a_short_while　NEG　know　how　answer
'Confucius seemed to be stumped by this question, and didn't know
how to answer it immediately.'

[59]　世界的政要几乎都已经被<u>西装</u>所统一 . . .
shi4jie4　de0　zheng4yao4　　　ji1hu1　dou1　yi3jing1
world　DE　political_leaders　almost　all　already
bei4　xi1zhuang1　suo3　tong3yi1
BEI　suits　　　SUO　unite
'Almost all the political leaders in the world are unified by the suits
they wear . . .'

[60]　[. . . 只觉背上微微一痛; 似乎被<u>蜜蜂</u>刺了一下。
zhi3　jue2　bei1　shang4　wei1wei1　yi1　tong4　si4hu1
just　feel　back　on　　　mild　　　one　pain　seem
bei4　mi4feng1　ci4　le0　yi1　xia4
BEI　bee　　　sting　LE　one　CL
' . . . [s/he] felt a mild pain in her/his back; it seems s/he was stung by
a bee.'

[61]　[种子] . . . 身价一天比一天高 . . . ; 结果被<u>一个土匪</u>抢了去。
zhong3zi0　shen1jia4　yi1　tian1　bi3　yi1　tian1　gao1
seed　　　value　　　one　day　than　one　day　high
jie2guo3　　bei4　yi1　ge4　tu2fei3　qiang3　le0　qu4
as_a_result　BEI　one　CL　bandit　rob　　　LE　away
'The seeds became more and more valuable everyday; then (they) were
stolen by a bandit.'

The post-*bei* agent can be optional. It is overt when the referent is (required to be) identified. Specifically, the post-*bei* NP can be a definite nominal phrase, as in [58], a generic nominal phrase, as in [59], a bare indefinite nominal phrase, as in [60], or an indefinite nominal phrase, as in [61]. In [58b], 这个问题 *zhe4 ge4 wen4ti2* 'this question' further functions as a topic chain, and the paralleling relation between these two clauses is achieved for a smooth flow of information, which is hard to achieve with its non-*bei* counterpart. As mentioned above, subjects can be elided in the *bei* construction, as illustrated in [58b], [60], and [61], in which the elided subjects correlate with retrievable old information.

[62]   [有一对父子, 带了一头驴子到市场去卖]。路途上, 被<u>一个路人</u>看到 了,
嘲笑他们。

you3   yi1   dui4   fu4zi3   dai4   le0   yi1   tou2
YOU   one   pair   father_and_son   take   LE   one   CL

lü2zi0   dao4   shi4chang3   qu4   mai4   lu4tu2   shang4
donkey   go_to   market   go   sell   way   on

bei4   yi1   ge4   lu4ren2   kan4dao4   le0   chao2xiao4
BEI   one   CL   passer-by   see   LE   laugh_at

ta1men0
they

'A father and a son took a donkey to the market to sell. On the way to the market, (this) was seen by a passer-by, who laughed at them.'

The unexpressed subject can also be a full clause, as in [62]. In such cases, the interpretation of the topic chain in subsequent clauses can sometimes have context-dependent variations. In [62], it is the way that the father-son pair is bringing the donkey to the market that was seen by a passer-by; but the pronoun 他们 *ta1men0* 'them' at whom the passer-by is laughing refers to the father and son specifically.

17.3. Sentences involving 是 *shi4*

This section presents sentences involving 是 *shi4* 'be,' including the emphatic 是 . . . 的 *shi4 . . . de0*, the bare 是 *shi4*, and the pseudo-cleft 的是 *de0 shi4* constructions, which differ from the A 是 B pattern specifying copular equation sentences (see Chapter 9).

17.3.1. Emphatic sentences

The "it"-cleft construction in English expresses emphasis by means of extracting a target phrase and placing it in the post-copula position, while the 是 . . . 的 *shi4 . . . de0* construction in Chinese does not have to reshuffle the linear order to emphasize an element. These 是 . . . 的 *shi4 . . . de0* sentences manifest a topic–comment pattern: the element preceding 是 *shi4* 'be' is the topic, and the part between 是 *shi4* 'be' and 的 *de0* 'DE' is the comment. Usually, the first element after *shi* in the comment receives the focal center (but not necessarily the phonetic stress), as shown by the subject focus in [64] and the adjunct focus in [63]. The topic, however, can also follow 是 *shi4*, as discussed later in section 17.3.4. and exemplified by [65A].

[63]   a.   是 + subject + VP + 的

        b.   Subject + 是 + (adjunct) + VP + 的

[64] a. 是谁让这些 ... 老人成为老贼的?

    shi4   shui2   rang4   zhe4xie1   lao3ren2   cheng2wei2   lao3
    be   who   let   these   old_man   become   old

    zei2   de0
    thief DE
    'Who allowed these old men to become deadwood assemblymen?'

    b. 是立委让这些 ... 老人成为老贼的。

    shi4   li4wei3   rang4   zhe4xie1   lao3ren2   cheng2wei2
    be   legislators   let   these   old_man   become

    lao3   zei2   de0
    old   thief   DE
    'It is *the legislators* who allowed these old men to become deadwood assemblymen.'

[65] Q: 你是从哪儿来的?

    ni3   shi4   cong2   na3er0   lai2   de0
    you   be   PREP   where   come DE
    'Where do you come from?'

    A: 我是从美国来的。

    wo3   shi4   cong2   mei3guo2   lai2   de0
    I   be   PREP   United_States   come DE
    'I come/am from the United States./It is from the United States that I come.'

In addition, 是...的 *shi4...de0* sentences are commonly used in forming *wh*-interrogatives to elicit answers to questions pertinent to focal information.

是...的 *shi4...de0* is often used to contrast alternatives. In [66], the topic 成绩 *cheng2ji4* 'grade' is predicated with opposing clauses: "given by teachers" versus "industriously earned by students."

[66] 在许多同学的观念里, 成绩是 [老师给学生]的, 而不是 [学生自己努力
    去争取得来]的。

    zai4   xu3duo1   tong2xue2   de0   guan1nian4   li3
    PREP   many   student   DE   opinion   in

    cheng2ji4   shi4   lao3shi1   gei3   xue2sheng1   de0   er2
    grade   be   teacher   give   student   DE   but

    bu4shi4   xue2sheng1   zi4ji3   nu3li4   qu4   zheng1qu3
    NEG   student   self   work_hard   go   earn

de2   lai2   de0
get   come   DE
'In many students' minds, grades are what teachers gave to students, not what students themselves earned through hard work.'

是 *shi4* 'be' can only occur in pre-verbal positions. When it is the object that is focused, the pseudo-cleft 的是 *de0 shi4* pattern is employed, which will be discussed in section 17.3.7. Please also see specifying copular sentences containing a headless relative clause in Chapter 9.

是…的 *shi4…de0* often occurs in regular *wh*-interrogatives, and it is used to express a predicative relation between the topic and the comment. In this sense, it does not bring as strong a focus as the English "it is X that" counterpart does. [67Q] simply means "who created men," and in [67A], "God created men" is a natural answer.

[67]   Q: 人是谁创造的?
       ren2   shi4   shui2   chuang4zao4   de0
       human   be   who   create   DE
       'As for men, who created them?'

       A: 是神创造的。
       shi4   shen2   chuang4zao4   de0
       be   God   create   DE
       '(Men) God created (them).'

17.3.1.1. Subject focus

This section further illustrates the topic–comment relation in 是…的 *shi4…de0* and various foci signaled by 是 *shi4*.

[68]   a.   这个道理是谁告诉你的呢?
            zhe4   ge4   dao4li3   shi4   shui2   gao4su4   ni3   de0
            this   CL   principle   be   who   tell   you   DE
            ne0
            NE
            'Who told you this principle?'

       b.   孔融: (是) 我自己想出来的。
            kong3rong2   shi4   wo3   zi4ji3   xiang3   chu1lai2   de0
            Kong_Rong   be   I   self   think   out   DE
            'I myself thought of it.'

In the question part of [68a], 这个道理 *zhe4 ge4 dao4li3* 'this principle' is back-grounded in the discourse and assumed by the speaker to be revealed to KONG Rong by someone else. The comment/answer clause in [68b] asserts the whole

proposition: "(it is that) I thought of it" and, consequently, the subject serves as the most prominent element. Note that 是 *shi4* 'be' can be omitted, as in [68b].

[69]   a.   [这张画好或那张画好], <u>是我们后人加以判定的</u>。

                zhe4   zhang1   hua4   hao3   huo4   na4   zhang1

                this   CL   painting good   or   that   CL

                hua4   hao3   shi4   wo3men0   hou4ren2   jia1yi3

                painting good   be   we   later_generations   proceed

                pan4ding4   de0

                judge   DE

                'Whether this or that painting is better is decided by us, the later generations.'

[69]   b.   不管陕西人怎么样解释, 客栈主人就认定 [猪] 是他偷的。

                bu4guan3   shan3xi1   ren2   zen3me0yang4   jie3shi4

                no_matter   Shanxi_province   people   how   explain

                ke4zhan4   zhu3ren2   jiu4   ren4ding4   zhu1   shi4   ta1

                inn   owner   thus   believe   pig   be   he

                tou1   de0

                steal   DE

                'No matter how the person from Shaanxi explained (it), the innkeeper believed that the pig was stolen by him.'

Likewise, in [69a] the topic is predicated with a 是...的 *shi4...de0* comment, rendering the meaning 'the value of paintings is decided by later generations.' In [69b] 是他偷的 *shi4 ta1 tou1 de0* 'was stolen by him' is the asserted and predicated topic "the missing pig."

17.3.1.2. Adjunct focus

是 *shi4* 'be' can precede various adjuncts, including location, temporal, and manner phrases, as schematized in [70] and [71].

[70]   a.   (overt/zero) Subject + 是 + adjunct + VP + 的

        b.   (overt/zero) Subject + 是 + adjunct + V + 的 + O

[71]   subject/object topics + (subject) + 是 + adjunct + V + 的

The structure of [70a], the subject (or the topic) preceding 是, is exemplified by the temporal foci in [72a] and [73b], location phrases in [73a], and the manner foci in [74]. The structure of [70b], as exemplified in [72b], is more commonly used in Northern dialects and will not be discussed further here.

[72]   a.   法国政府<u>是在昨天</u>做出这一<u>决定的</u>。
             fa4guo2 zheng4fu3 shi4 zai4 zuo2tian1 zuo4chu1
             France   government be   PREP yesterday   make

             zhe4 yi1 jue2ding4 de0
             this one decision   DE

             'The French government made this decision *yesterday*.'

       b.   穆巴拉克总统<u>是在新年前夕</u>发出上述的呼吁。
             mu4ba1la1ke4 zong3tong3 shi4 zai4 xin1nian2
             Mubarak   president   be   PREP New_Year

             qian2xi1 fa1chu1 de0 hu1yu4
             eve   issue   DE   appeal

             'President Mubarak made such an appeal on *New Year's Eve*.'

[73]   a. Q: 我那几位朋友都<u>是去年从美国来的</u>。李先生, 您是哪年来的?
             wo3 na4 ji3 wei4 peng2you3 dou1 shi4
             I   that some CL   friend   all   be

             qu4nian2   cong2   mei3guo2   lai2 de0 li3
             last_year PREP   United_States come DE   Li

             xian1sheng0 nin2 shi4 na3   nian2 lai2 de0
             Mr.   you   be   which year   come DE

             'My friends all came from *The United States last year*. Mr. Li, which
             year did you come?'

       b. A: 我是<u>一九八五年</u>来的。
             wo3 shi4 yi1jiu3ba1wu3nian2   lai2 de0
             I   be   year_1985   come DE

             'I came in 1985.'

[74]   a.   学校的老师都<u>是坐着船来的</u>。
             xue2xiao4 de0 lao3shi1 dou1 shi4 zuo4 zhe0
             school   DE   teacher   all   be   sit   ZHE

             chuan2 lai2 de0
             boat   come DE

             'School teachers all come by *boat*.'

       b.   第二只小猪<u>是用树枝</u>作材料来建造房子的 . . . 第三只胖小猪是<u>用砖瓦
             做材料</u>来建造房屋的。
             di4er4   zhi1 xiao3 zhu1   shi4 yong4 shu4zhi1
             the_second CL   small pig   be   use   twig

             zuo4 cai2liao4 lai2 jian4zao4 fang2zi0 de0
             PREP material   come build   house   DE

di4san1	zhi1	pang4	xiao3	zhu1	shi4	yong4
the_third	CL	fat	small	pig	be	use

zhuan1wa3	zuo4	cai2liao4	lai2	jian4zao4	fang2wu1
brick	make	material	come	build	house

de0
DE

'The second pig uses *twigs* to build its house, and the third pig uses *bricks* to build its house.'

As for the structure in [71], 是 *shi4* 'be' precedes the adjunct phrases and follows the object topic, which is followed or preceded by an overt or unexpressed subject, illustrated by the location focus in [75], the temporal phrase in [76], and the manner phrases in [77]. Note that the object topic can occur in the clause-initial position, and the subject may be null, as in [75a], or in the clause-medial position, as in [75b]. The topic, a self-portrait in [77], is not overtly mentioned but is understood in the discourse.

[75] a. 我本人学的是社会学, [博士学位] 是<u>在美国大学</u>获得的。

wo3	ben3ren2	xue2	de0	shi4	she4hui4xue2	bo2shi4
I	oneself	learn	DE	be	sociology	doctor

xue2wei4	shi4	zai4	mei3guo2	da4xue2
degree	be	PREP	the_United_States	university

huo4de2	de0
earn	DE

'I studied sociology. My doctorate was earned from a *US university*.'

   b. 学生在校期间有[一半左右的时间]是<u>在宿舍</u>度过的。

xue2sheng1	zai4	xiao4	qi1jian1	you3	yi1ban4
student	PREP	school	period	YOU	half

zuo3you4	de0	shi2jian1	shi4	zai4	su4she4	du4guo4
about	DE	time	be	PREP	dorm	spend

de0
DE

'Half of the time that students spend in schools is in *the dorm*.'

[76] 已有一百三十万人饿死 . . . [这个数字] 是<u>在文化革命初期</u>披露的。

yi3	you3	yi1bai3san1shi2wan4	ren2
already	YOU	1.3_million	people

e4si3	zhe4	ge4	shu4zi4	shi4	zai4
starve_to_death	this	CL	number	be	PREP

wen2hua4ge2ming4   chu1qi1   pi1lu4   de0
Cultural_Revolution   early_days   disclose   DE
'1.3 million people had starved to death. This number was disclosed in the early period of the Cultural Revolution.'

[77]   「你画得真像啊!」东尼笑笑说:「我是对着镜子画的。」
ni3   hua4   de0   zhen1   xiang4   a0   dong1ni2   xiao4xiao0
you   paint   DE   really   like   A   Tony   laugh

shuo1   wo3   shi4   dui4zhe0   jing4zi0   hua4   de0
say   I   be   PREP   mirror   paint   DE
'"Your painting resembles you!" Tony laughed, "I painted it by looking at the mirror."'

The sentences above demonstrate that not only can the comment clause contained in 是 . . . 的 *shi4 . . . de0* express novel information, but the adjunct that follows 是 *shi4* 'be' can be singled out to be the focal center, which may include more than one adjunct. For instance, both the temporal and location phrases in [73a] are construed as information focus.

17.3.1.3. Predicate focus
Sentences [78]–[80] exemplify emphatic (or contrastive) verb phrases, which are predicated of the subject/topic.

[78]   [牧场内有五匹马]是属于这个社区的。
mu4chang3   nei4   you3   wu3   pi1   ma3   shi4
ranch   inside   YOU   five   CL   horse   be

shu3yu2   zhe4   ge4   she4qu1   de0
belong_to   this   CL   community   DE
'There are five horses in the ranch. They belong to the community.'

[79]   父母永远是站在他那一边而伸出援手的。
fu4mu3   yong3yuan3   shi4   zhan4   zai4   ta1   na4   yi1
parents   always   be   stand   PREP   he   that   one

bian1   er2   shen1chu1yuan2shou3   de0
side   thus   give_a_hand   DE
'Parents always stand by his side and lend him a helping hand.'

[80]   维生、养生是「做」出来的, 是要付辛勤代价的, 不是不劳而获的。
wei2sheng1   yang3sheng1   shi4   zuo4   chu1lai2
maintain_living   keep_in_good_health   be   make   out

de0	shi4	yao4	fu4	xin1qin2	dai4jia4	de0	bu4
DE	be	need	pay	industrious	price	DE	NEG

shi4	bu4lao2er2huo4	de0
be	reap_without_sowing	DE

'To maintain and cultivate healthy living, one must "act" and pay (earn it) with your efforts. One cannot reap without sowing.'

是...的 *shi4 ... de0* sentences are also used to explicate a fact or proposition by way of asserting the manner, purpose, reason, or means, as shown in [81]–[83].

[81] a. 门房: 请问先生有什么事?

men2fang2	qing3wen4	xian1sheng0	you3	shen2me0
doorman	excuse_me	Mr.	YOU	what

shi4
thing

'Doorman: Sir, may I ask why are you here?'

   b. 吴先生: 我是公司派来验货的。

wu2	xian1sheng0	wo3	shi4	gong1si1	pai4	lai2
WU	Mr.	I	be	company	send	come

yan4	huo4	de0
check	goods	DE

'Mr. Wu: I am sent by my company to check the merchants.'

[82] [第十二届金旋总决赛的多样化], 让李先生认为, 是来欣赏节目, 而不是来当评审的。

di4shi2er4	jie4	jin1xuan2	zong3jue2sai4	de0
the_twelveth	CL	Gold_Melody	final_competition	DE

duo1yang4hua4	rang4	li3	xian1sheng0	ren4wei2	shi4
diversify	make	Li	Mr.	believe	be

lai2	xin1shang3	jie2mu4	er2	bu2shi4	lai2	dang1
come	enjoy	program	but	NEG	come	act_as

ping2shen3	de0
judge	DE

'The rich varieties in the 12th final competition of [the] Golden Melody award made Mr. Li think that he came here to enjoy the programs, not to be a judge.'

[83] 找妳, 不是要妳来忏悔的, 也不是要让妳感觉内疚的 ...。

zhao3	ni3	bu4shi4	yao4	ni3	lai2	chan4hui3
look_for	you	NEG	ask	you	come	repent

de0   ye3bu2shi4   yao4   rang4   ni3   gan3jue2   nei4jiu1
DE   nor   want   make   you   feel   guilty

de0
DE

'The reason I came to see you is not to ask you to repent, nor to make
you feel guilty.'

是...的 *shi4...de0* utterances express one's subjective stance toward the
asserted proposition. In particular, it can convey mental perceptions, make infer-
ences, or evaluate the state of affairs, such as [84]. Moreover, this construction
is compatible with modals of possibility 会 *hui4* 'will,' as in [85], necessity 应该
ying1gai1 'should,' as in [86], or ability 可以 *ke3yi3* 'can,' as in [87].

[84]   这一家子...大伙儿瞧不起阿小, 阿小是知道的。
       zhe4   yi1jia1zi0   da4huo3er0   qiao2bu4qi3   a1xiao3
       this   a_family   everyone   despise   A-Xiao

       a1xiao3   shi4   zhi1dao4   de0
       A-Xiao   be   know   DE
       'In this family, everyone looks down on A-Xiao. And A-Xiao knows it.'

[85]   a.   生活富裕是会使人懒散, 不知惜福的。
            sheng1huo2   fu4yu4   shi4   hui4   shi3   ren2   lan3san3
            life   rich   be   can   make   people   indolent

            bu4   zhi1   xi1fu2   de0
            NEG   know   appreciate   DE
            'Affluent life will make people lazy and unable to appreciate (one's)
            fortune.'

       b.   如果按照这草案做下去, 是会出人命的!
            ru2guo3   an4zhao4   zhe4   cao3an4   zuo4   xia4qu4
            if   according_to   this   draft_plan   do   XIAQU

            shi4   hui4   chu1ren2ming4   de0
            be   will   lose_life   DE
            'If this proposal is followed through, lives could be lost.'

[86]   Q: 妳说我这么做对吗?
            ni3   shuo1   wo3   zhe4me0   zuo4   dui4   ma0
            you   say   I   so   do   right   MA
            'Do you think what I did is right?'

A: 嗯! 妳是应该这么做的!
    en4 ni3 shi4 ying1gai1 zhe4me0 zuo4 de0
    yes you be   should   this_way do   DE
    'Yes! You should do (it) this way!'

[87] 不是每个人都可以成为哲学家的。
      bu4shi4 mei3ge4ren2 dou1 ke3yi3 cheng2wei2
      NEG   everyone   all   can   become
      zhe2xue2jia1 de0
      philosopher   DE
      'It's not the case that everyone can be a philosopher.'

Deontic modals are also compatible with 是...的 *shi4...de0* assertions, such as ability 能 *neng2* in [88], obligation 能 *neng2* in [89], and concession 可以 *ke3yi3* in [90].

[88] [白马]已经老了只能慢慢的走, 但终是能回到中原的。
      bai2 ma3 yi3jing1 lao3 le0 zhi3neng2 man4man4
      white horse already old LE can_only slowly
      de0 zou3 dan4 zhong1 shi4 neng2 hui2dao4
      DE   walk but   finally be   can   return_to
      zhong1yuan2 de0
      Central_Plains DE
      'The white horse is getting old and can only go slowly, but it surely can return to Central Plains eventually.'

[89] 孙小姐, 这批货是不能耽误的...
      sun1 xiao3jie3 zhe4 pi1 huo4 shi4 bu4neng2
      SUN Miss   this   CL   goods be   cannot
      dan1wu4 de0
      delay   DE
      'Ms. Sun, these goods cannot be delayed...'

[90] 他做的反应, 我想是可以理解的。
      ta1 zuo4 de0 fan3ying4 wo3 xiang3 shi4 ke3yi3
      he   make DE   reaction   I   think   be   can
      li3jie3 de0
      understand DE
      'His reaction (to this incident) is understandable in my view.'

Assertion may be modified and preceded by the prediction modal 可能 *ke3neng2* 'possible,' as in [91], and obligation 应该 *ying1gai1* 'should,' as in [92].

[91]   这部小说想说明一个假设: <u>同性恋可能是经由母系而遗传的</u>。
    zhe4   bu4   xiao3shuo1   xiang3   shuo1ming2   yi1   ge4
    this   CL   novel   want   explicate   one   CL
    jia3she4   tong2xing4lian4   ke3neng2   shi4   jing1you2
    hypothesis   homosexuality   possible   be   PREP
    mu3xi4   er2   yi2chuan2   de0
    mother's_side   thus   inherit   DE
    'This novel attempts to explicate a hypothesis: homosexuality may be inherited from [the] mother's side.'

[92]   大多数的人总觉得义工应该是为家人<u>或亲友</u>做的。
    da4duo1shu4   de0   ren2   zong3   jue2de0   yi4gong1
    most   DE   people   always   feel   volunteer
    ying1gai1   shi4   wei4   jia1ren2   huo4   qin1you3   zuo4
    should   be   PREP   family   or   relative   do
    de0
    DE
    'Most people think volunteers should do service for family and relatives.'

In sum, the emphatic sentences follow the topic–comment information structure. The phrase framed by 是...的 *shi4...de0* serves as the comment. As for the construal of focus, there are two possibilities: the first one is that the immediate phrase following 是 *shi4* 'be' is the focus, while the rest of the comment is a presupposition; the second one is that the whole phrase encodes new information.

17.3.2. Specifying copular sentences

A specifying copular sentence, unlike the previous 是...的 *shi4...de0* emphatic sentences, equates two nominal phrases before and after the copular 是 *shi4* 'be,' as schematized in [93] and exemplified in [94] (see Chapter 9). The predicate contains a headless relative clause.

[93]   A 是 [VP 的]_B.

[94]   [这土地]_A是[他们祖先留下来____A的]_B
    zhe4   tu3di4   shi4   ta1men0   zu3xian1   liu2xia4lai2   de0
    this   land   be   they   ancestor   hand_down   DE
    'This land is what their ancestors handed down.'

Specifying copular sentences can be preceded by 就 *jiu4* 'just,' as shown in [95]. Moreover, the subject can be replaced by a demonstrative 这 *zhe4* 'this' or 那 *na4* 'that,' referring to the unexpressed head noun of the relative clause, as in

[95]. Furthermore, the head of the relative clause noun can be "recovered" and represented by a generic noun, like 事 *shi4* 'matter' or 东西 *dong1xi0* 'thing,' as shown in [96].

[95] a. [彼此感恩, <u>互相提携</u> . . .] <u>这就是</u> [我们应该要欢喜的]。
          bi2ci3   gan3en1   hu4xiang1   ti2xi2   zhe4
          each_other thankful each_other lead_by_hand this

          jiu4 shi4 wo3men0 ying1gai1 yao4 huan1xi3 de0
          thus be   we   should   need happy   DE
          'Being thankful and helpful to each other . . . this is exactly what we should be happy about.'

      b. [世界上第一架飞机], 就是 [他们兄弟两个发明的]。
          shi4jie4 shang4 di4yi1 jia4 fei1ji1   jiu4 shi4
          world   on   first   CL   airplane thus be

          ta1men0 xiong1di4 liang3 ge4 fa1ming2 de0
          they   brother   two   CL   invent   DE
          'The first airplane in the world is just what the two brothers invented.'

[96] 你说的, 是历史上从未发生过的事。
      ni3 shuo1 de0 shi4 li4shi3 shang4 cong2wei4
      you say   DE   be   history on   never

      fa1sheng1 guo4 de0 shi4
      happen   GUO   DE   thing
      'What you described is something that has never happened before in history.'

Specifying copular sentences are also used to contrast alternatives. In talking about two sets of chivalrous novels, the pair of specifying copular sentences [97b] and [97c] are used to underline the differences between them.

[97] a. 他也只看过「飞狐外传」与「神鵰侠侣」这两套书。
          ta1 ye3 zhi3 kan4 guo4 fei1hu2wai4zhuan4
          he   also only look GUO   Flying_Fox_unofficial_story

          yu3 shen2diao1xia2lü3   zhe4 liang3 tao4
          and Heaven_Candor_Hero_Companion   this two   CL

          shu1
          book
          'He only read "Other Tales of the Flying Fox" and "The Return of the Candor Heroes," these two books in multi-volume sets.'

b. 前者是<u>我半年多前买</u>的。

qian2zhe3	shi4	wo3	ban4nian2	duo1	qian2	mai3
former	be	I	half_a_year	more	before	buy

de0
DE
'The former is what I bought half a year ago.'

c. 后者则是<u>他向阿姨借</u>的。

hou4zhe3	ze2	shi4	ta1	xiang4	a1yi2	jie4	de0
latter	then	be	he	PREP	aunt	borrow	DE

'The latter is what he borrowed from his aunt.'

If there is a context through which a nominal phrase can be recovered or explicitly expressed, then sentences like [98a] may be ambiguous between a specifying reading like [98b] and an emphatic reading, as in [67A].

[98] a. 人是神创造的。

b. 人是神创造的(生物)。

ren2	shi4	shen2	chuang4zao4	de0	sheng1wu4
human	be	God	create	DE	creature

– specifying: Human beings are (one of) the creatures that God created.
– emphatic: Human beings were created by God.

In addition to the topic–comment reading, the same string, as in [96], may denote an equation of 人 *ren2* 'human' and the head noun of the relative clause, for example, 生物 *sheng1wu4* 'creature,' giving rise to the specifying pattern. This ambiguity can be resolved depending on the contextual information, although their truth-conditional meanings can be considered equivalent in most contexts.

17.3.3. Bare 是 *shi4* sentences

A sentence with 是 *shi4* 'be' without 的 *de0* 'DE' simply affirms the elements in the domain of 是 *shi4* 'be,' without the speaker's strong subjective stance in the emphatic information structure of 是...的 *shi4...de0*. The sentence in [99] expresses surprise at spotting a wolf. Bare 是 *shi4* 'be' sentences are also used to contrast alternatives, as in [100], or emphasize *wh*-interrogatives, as in [101].

[99] 一只狼出现了, 乐师看到后说道:「哎呀! 是<u>一只狼</u>来看我了。」

yi1	zhi1	lang2	chu1xian4	le0	yue4shi1	kan4dao4
one	CL	wolf	appear	LE	musician	see

hou4	shuo1dao4	ai1ya1	shi4	yi1	zhi1	lang2	lai2
after	say	Aiya	be	one	CL	wolf	come

kan4   wo3   le0
see   I   LE
'A wolf appeared. The musician saw it and then said: "Aiya! It's the wolf
that comes to see me."'

[100]   炸弹我是<u>没见过</u>, 炸蛋倒是<u>吃过</u>。
zha4dan4   wo3   shi4   mei2   jian4   guo4   zha4   dan4
bomb   I   be   NEG   see   GUO   fry   egg

dao4shi4   chi1   guo4
actually   eat   GUO
'Zha4dan2 (bombs), it is true that I haven't seen them before; but
zha4dan4 (fried eggs), I have eaten before.'

[101]   有人请我吃饭, 可是我不记得是<u>谁</u>请我了。
you3   ren2   qing3   wo3   chi1fan4   ke3shi4   wo3   bu4
YOU   people   invite   I   eat   but   I   NEG

ji4de0   shi4   shui2   qing3   wo3   le0
remember   be   who   invite   I   LE
'Someone has invited me for dinner, but I cannot recall who (did it.)'

Adjuncts like temporal, location, and manner phrases can follow 是 *shi4*, as
shown in [102] and [103].

[102]   他们是<u>上周六</u>启程到泰国。
ta1men0   shi4   shang4   zhou1liu4   qi3cheng2   dao4
they   be   last   Saturday   leave   PREP

tai4guo2
Thailand
'It was last Saturday when they left for Thailand.'

[103]   孔子是<u>用唱歌</u>来表示愉悦的心境。
kong3zi3   shi4   yong4   chang4ge1   lai2   biao3shi4
Confucius   be   use   sing   come   express

yu2yue4   de0   xin1jing4
cheerful   DE   mood
'It is with singing that Confucius expressed his happy emotion.'

Bare 是 *shi4* sentences are employed to place a focus on a predicate, as in [104],
or on predicates containing modals of possibility or necessity, as in [105a] and
[105b], respectively.

[104]   李先生过去裹扎伤口, 说:「伯伯, 我是<u>尽力而为</u>, 你忍一忍痛。」

li3   xian1sheng0   guo4qu4   guo3zha1   shang1kou3   shuo1
LI   Mr.   go_over   wrap   wound   say

bo2bo0   wo3   shi4   jin4li4er2wei2   ni3   ren3   yi1   ren3
uncle   I   be   do_one's_best   you   hold   one   hold

tong4
pain

'Mr. Li went to wrap the wound for him, saying, "Uncle, I am trying my best. Please bear with the pain for a while."'

[105]   a.   他是<u>可能</u>把标准定得太高了。

ta1   shi4   ke3neng2   ba3   biao1zhun3   ding4   de0   tai4
he   be   probably   BA   standard   set   DE   too

gao1   le0
high   LE

'It is probable that he was setting the standard too high.'

   b.   男女双方是<u>该</u>试着调整心态。

nan2nü3   shuang1fang1   shi4   gai1   shi4   zhe0
men_and_women   both_sides   be   should   try   ZHE

tiao2zheng3   xin1tai4
adjust   attitude

'Both men and women SHOULD try to change their attitudes.'

As exemplified above, the bare 是 *shi4* 'be' construction is associated with the use of a single emphatic marker 是 *shi4* 'be' to mark the focused phrase(s) in its domain. In general, there is no restriction on the verb types or aspects that can co-occur with bare 是 *shi4* 'be' sentences.

17.3.4. Pseudo-clefts

Pseudo-cleft 的是 *de0 shi4* sentences, also referred to as pseudo-clefts, consist of [1] a headless relative clause as the subject, [2] the copula 是 *shi4* 'be,' and [3] a focused element, as illustrated in [106d] (see Chapter 9).

              Part 1   Part 2
[106]   a.   [母亲寄来]   [一张美金支票]。   [canonical sentence]

mu3qin1   ji4   lai2   yi1   zhang1   mei3jin1   zhi1piao4
mother   send   come   one   CL   US_dollar   check

'Mother sent over a US dollar check.'

b. [母亲寄来] 的 [一张美金支票] [relative clause]

mu3qin1   ji4   lai2   de0   yi1   zhang1   mei3jin1
mother   send   come   DE   one   CL   US_dollar

zhi1piao4
check
'a US dollar check sent over by Mother'

c. 是[母亲寄来的一张美金支票]。 [emphatic sentence]

shi4   mu3qin1   ji4   lai2   de0   yi1   zhang1   mei3jin1
be   mother   send   come   DE   one   CL   US_dollar

zhi1piao4
check
'(What this is) is a US dollar check sent over by Mother.'

d. [母亲寄来的] 是 [一张美金支票]。 [pseudo-cleft]

mu3qin1   ji4   lai2   de0   shi4   yi1   zhang1   mei3jin1
mother   send   come   DE   be   one   CL   US_dollar

zhi1piao4
check
'What mother sent over was a US dollar check.'

We can see from the examples above that the information structure is largely maintained with a canonical sentence in [106a], a relative clause in [106b], an emphatic sentence in [106c], and a pseudo-cleft in [106d], with all of them introducing the check sent by mother as the new information. The main difference among them is the focus. The canonical sentence and the relative clause do not encode a focus. By contrast, the 是 *shi4* 'be' sentence in [106c] places a focus on the clause that follows 是 *shi4* 'be,' while the pseudo-cleft emphasizes the phrase adjacent to 是 *shi4* 'be.'

The post-copular focus can be a nominal phrase that is related to the unexpressed argument inside the relative clause. The unexpressed argument can be either an object or a subject. [106d] and [107] contain unexpressed objects, while [108] includes an unexpressed subject.

[107]   [学术研究讲求的]是[细致精确], 本院景观呈现的[却是粗糙凌乱的 面貌]。

xue2shu4   yan2jiu1   jiang3qiu2   de0   shi4   xi4zhi4
academic   research   stress   DE   be   refined

jing1que4   ben3   yuan4   jing3guan1   cheng2xian4   de0
accurate   this   institution   landscape   exhibit   DE

que4   shi4   cu1cao1   ling2luan4   de0   mian4mao4
yet   be   crude   chaotic   DE   appearance
'What (we) strive for in academic research is refinement and precision,
but what our academy presents is a coarse and chaotic image.'

[108] [主张人文之美的]是[孔子], [主张人格之美的]是[孟子]。
zhu3zhang1   ren2wen2   zhi1   mei3   de0   shi4
advocate   humanities DE   beauty DE   be

kong2zi3   zhu3zhang1   ren2ge2   zhi1   mei3   de0
Confucius   advocate   personality DE   beauty DE

shi4   meng4zi0
be   Mencius
'The one who advocates the beauty of the humanities is Confucius, and
the one who advocates the beauty of human virtue is Mencius.'

When a syntactic element is heavy, it is likely to be expressed as a focus. As
shown in [109] through [111], a clausal subject, a clausal complement, and a
clausal adjunct serve as foci in their respective sentences.

[109] [妙的]是[造物者仅只用了约百分之一的遗传基因就造成了一个有血肉
       有思想的人]。
miao4   de0   shi4   zao4wu4zhe3   jin2zhi3   yong4   le0
marvelous   DE   be   creator   only   use   LE

yue1   bai3fen1zhi1yi1   de0   yi2chuan2ji1yin1   jiu4
about   one_percent   DE   gene   then

zao4cheng2   le0   yi1   ge4   you3   xie3rou4   you3
create   LE   one   CL   have   flesh   have

si1xiang3   de0   ren2
though   DE   human
'What is so marvelous is that the creator only used 1% of the gene to
create a full-fleshed human with a thinking mind.'

[110] [我唯一能做的] 只是 [递给她一包面纸]...
wo3   wei2yi1   neng2   zuo4   de0   zhi3   shi4   di4
I   only   can   do   DE   just   be   pass

gei3   ta1   yi1   bao1   mian4zhi3
give   she   one   CL   tissue
'The only thing I can do is to just give her a pack of tissues...'

[111]   有人 ... 百般巴结老师 ... [为的]只是[能顺利毕业, 早日出校当官]。
  you3 ren2 bai3ban1 ba1jie2 lao3shi1 wei4 de0
  YOU people do_everything please teacher for DE

  zhi3shi4 neng2 shun4li4 bi4ye4 zao3ri4 chu1
  only can successfully graduate early leave

  xiao4 dang1 guan1
  school become officer

  'The reason why some will do anything and everything to please their teachers is just so that they can graduate without any problem and become officers earlier.'

17.3.4.1. Provide new information

The post-copular element is intended to provide specific novel information on account of the pre-copular background information. This background-focus pseudo-cleft pattern is often used in *wh*-interrogatives and answers.

[112]   a. ... 我轻轻的说: 爸爸, 您看什么书啊?
   wo3 qing1qing1 de0 shuo1 ba4ba0 nin2 kan4
   I gently DE say dad you look

   shen2me0 shu1 a0
   what   book A

   '... I asked gently, "Father, what are you reading?"'

  b. 父亲 ... 说: [我看的]是[一本古诗]。父亲 ... 自言自语的念了两句诗。
   fu4qin1 shuo1 wo3 kan4 de0 shi4 yi1 ben3
   father say I look DE be one CL

   gu3shi1   fu4qin1 zi4yan2zi4yu3 de0 nian4 le0
   ancient_poem father mumble   DE read LE

   liang3 ju4 shi1
   two CL poem

   'Father said, "What I am reading is a book of ancient poems." He recited two verses to himself.'

  c. 我笑着说: 爸爸, [您念的]是[什么诗]啊?
   wo3 xiao4 zhe0 shuo1 ba4ba0 nin2 nian4 de0 shi4
   I smile ZHE say dad you read DE be

   shen2me0 shi1 a0
   what   poem A

   'I laughed and asked, "Father, what poem are you reciting?"'

d. 父亲说: [我念的]是[唐朝诗人的诗句]。

fu4qin1   shuo1   wo3   nian4   de0   shi4   tang2chao2
father   say   I   read   DE   be   Tang_Dynasty

shi1ren2   de0   shi1ju4
poet   DE   verse
'Father said, "What I was reciting was the verses of a poet in [the] Tang Dynasty."'

In [112], the father's reading event is backgrounded in [112a]. In reply to his son's question, the father emphasizes "a book of poetry" in [112b] that he is reading. The son continues to elicit further details by placing the focus on the *wh*-interrogative in [112c]. The father answers with the same pattern by highlighting "verses from a poet in Tang Dynasty" in [112d].

The post-copular phrase is used to introduce a new entity, as in [113a], for the following discourse to elaborate on, as [113b].

[113] a. [值得一提的] 是 [我在台湾认识了一个新朋友名叫棕背伯劳]。

zhi2deyi4ti2   de0   shi4   wo3   zai4   tai2wan1
worth_mentioning   DE   be   I   PREP   Taiwan

ren4shi0   le0   yi1   ge4   xin1   peng2you3   ming2   jiao4
know   LE   one   CL   new   friend   name   call

zong1bei4bo2lao2
shrike
'What's worth mentioning is that I came to know a new friend in Taiwan called Rufous-backed Shrike.'

b. 他 . . . , 因下背至尾上覆羽红棕色而得名。

ta1   yin1   xia4bei4   zhi4   wei3shang4   fu4   yu3
he   PREP   lower_back   PREP   top_tail   cover   feather

hong2zong1se4   er2   de2ming2
red_brown   thus be_named
'It is named for red-brown feathers from the lower back to the tail.'

As a way to express emphasis, the speaker may use this pattern to express his/her stance of surprise, like, dislike, fear, etc.

[114]   她冲我喊, 什么没给你? 你还想要什么? . . . [我恨的]就是[这句话]。

ta1   chong4   wo3   han3   shen2me0   mei2   gei3   ni3
she   PREP   I   yell   what   NEG   give   you

ni3   hai2   xiang3yao4   shen2me0   wo3   hen4   de0   jiu4
you   yet   want   what   I   hate   DE   thus

shi4   zhe4   ju4   hua4
be   this   CL   words
'She shouted to me, "What didn't I give you? What else do you want?"
What I hate is these words.'

[114] also provides an example, similar to [110], where the focus marker 是 *shi4* 'be' is preceded and modified by the adverb 就 *jiu4*, 只 *zhi3* 'just' and is separated from 的 *de0* 'DE.'

17.3.4.2. Contrast alternatives

的 . . . 是 *de0 . . . shi4* sentences are often used to contrast alternatives. In addition to the above purpose of providing specification or new information, speakers may use the 的 . . . 是 *de0 . . . shi4* pattern to clarify a possible misunderstanding or contradict something said or presupposed, as indicated in [115].

[115] Q: 彼得跟我说是明天走。
             bi3de2   gen1   wo3   shuo1   shi4   ming2tian1   zou3
             Peter   PREP   I   say   be   tomorrow   leave
             'Peter said it's tomorrow that he will leave.'

     A: 妳大概记错了, [明天走的]是[我]。
             ni3   da4gai4   ji4   cuo4   le0   ming2tian1   zou3
             you   probably   remember   wrong   LE   tomorrow   leave

             de0   shi4   wo3
             DE   be   I
             'You've probably got it wrong. The one who will leave tomorrow is me.'

[116]   [但最后得奖的]是[罗伯兹]而非[周芷]。
             dan4   zui4hou4   de2jiang3   de0   shi4   luo2bo2zi1   er2
             but   finally   win_a_prize   DE   be   Roberts   but

             fei1   zhou1zhi3
             NEG   ZHOU_ZHI
             'The one who won the prize is Roberts not ZHOU Zhi.'

17.3.4.3. Elaboration of nuance

Another function of 的 . . . 是 *de0 . . . shi4* is to elaborate a nuance of the preceding conversation.

[117]   a.   游先生倡行社区教育委员会主导学校行政, 可惜的是,... 家长会
             企图把持校务 ...

you2   xian1sheng0   chang4xing2   she4qu1
YOU   Mr.   advocate   community

jiao1yu4wei3yuan2hui4   zhu3dao3   xue2xiao4   xing2zheng4
Education_Board   lead   school   administration

ke3xi1   de0   shi4   jia1zhang3hui4   qi3tu2   ba3chi2
pity   DE   be   PTA   attempt   manipulate
xiao4wu4
school_affairs
'Mr. You advocates [that the] community education board should be
leading administrative decisions, but the PTA attempts to manipulate
school affairs ...'

   b.   在此[我要说的]是, [事实与理论往往是相差甚远的 ...]。

zai4   ci3   wo3   yao4   shuo1   de0   shi4   shi4shi2
PREP   here I   want   say   DE   be   fact

yu3   li3lun4   wang3wang3   shi4   xiang1cha1   shen4
and   theory   often   be   differ   very

yuan3   de0
far   DE
'Here what I want to say is that reality often deviates from the
theory.'

In [117], the speaker agrees with Mr. You's view, which is challenged by a minor-
ity of parents. The speaker then elaborates on the nuance of his point by uttering
a 的 ... 是 *de0 ... shi4* sentence. A speaker may also summarize previous points as
a focus by using 的是 *de0 shi4*.

[118]   a.   如果一个执政者有心 ... 应该 ... 做个具备泰雅族特色的博物馆 ...
             成为泰雅族传承的标竿。

ru2guo3   yi1   ge4   zhi2zheng4zhe3   you3xin1   ying1gai1
if   one   CL   governor   thoughtful   should

zuo4   ge4   ju4bei4   tai4ya3zu2   te4se4   de0
do   CL   have   Atayal   characteristic   DE

bo2wu4guan3   cheng2wei2   tai4ya3zu2   chuan2cheng2   de0
museum   become   Atayal   heritage   DE

biao1gan1

standard

'If those who govern care for the aboriginal people . . . they should build a museum featuring Atayal characteristics . . . as a standard bearer of the Atayal heritage.'

b.   [可惜的]是[这样的人太少了]!

ke3xi1   de0   shi4   zhe4yang4   de0   ren2   tai4   shao3

pity   DE   be   like_this   DE   people   too   few

le0

LE

'It is a pity that we have too few of such people!'

On a par with the above-mentioned information structure, the 的 . . . 是 *de0 . . . shi4* pseudo-cleft manifests another type of topic−comment bipartition: the relative preceding 是 *shi4* 'be' serves as background and the phrase following 是 *shi4* 'be' is the focus.

17.4. 连 *lian2* . . . 都/也 *dou1/ye3* 'even' sentences

连 . . . 都/也 *lian2 . . . dou1/ye3* 'even . . . all/also' sentences not only assert the sentence proposition but also implicate the focused element after 连 *lian2* 'even' to be the least expected alternative in one's presupposition in the context (see Chapter 12). 连 *lian2* 'even' and 都 *dou1* 'all'/也 *ye3* 'also' occur in a pre-verbal position. As schematized in [119], various pre-verbal positions can host the 连- *lian2*- phrase, while 都/也 *dou1/ye3* 'all/also' usually immediately precedes the verb phrase. Adverbs like 甚至 (于) *shen4zhi4 (yu2)*, 竟然 *jing4ran2*, 居然 *ju1ran2* 'unexpectedly' can optionally precede 连-phrases.

[119]   a.   连 + S . . .   + 都/也 + VP [subject focus]
        b.   S + 连 adjunct   + 都/也 + VP [adjunct focus]
        c.   S + 连 complement + 都/也 + V__ [complement focus]
        d.   连 complement + S + 都/也 + V__[complement focus/CT]
        e.   连 adjunct + S + 都/也 + VP [adjunct focus/CT]

The sentences in [120] correspond to the structure of [119a], in which the bracketed subject is presupposed to be the least likely individual that the VP is predicated of. Adjunct foci of [119b] are illustrated in [121].

[120]   a.   连[向导]也是第一次来。

lian2   xiang4dao3   ye3   shi4   di4yi1ci4   lai2

even   guide   also   be   first_time   come

'Even the guide was here for the first time.'

b. 由于河水实在太急, 连[大象]也站不住脚。

you2yu2 he2shui3 shi2zai4 tai4 ji2   lian2 da4xiang4
because   stream   really   too   rapid even   elephant

ye3   zhan4 bu2   zhu4   jiao3
also stand NEG   firm   foot
'The stream is so rapid that even the elephant cannot stand firm.'

[121] a. …地震…连[在兰州市区]也有轻微震感。

di4zhen4   lian2 zai4   lan2zhou1 shi4qu1   ye3
earthquake even   PREP   Lanzhou   urban_area also

you3   qing1wei1 zhen4 gan3
YOU   slight   shake feel
'The earthquake can be felt even in [the] Lanzhuo urban area.'

b. 我真的没想到…连[在街上走]都会发生意外。

wo3   zhen1de0 mei2 xiang3dao4 lian2 zai4
I   really   NEG   imagine   even   PREP

jie1shang4 zou3 dou1 hui4 fa1sheng1 yi4wai4
street_on   walk all   can   happen   accident
'I cannot imagine that one may encounter accidents even when
walking on the street.'

Being able to be separated from 都/也 *dou1/ye3*, 连- *lian2* 'even' can occur in the
clause-initial position. As presupposed to be the least likely element, it often func-
tions to add further information in the continuation of the previous discourse, as
in [121b].

Focused elements introduced by 连 *lian2* 'even' must occur pre-verbally. There-
fore, when post-verbal elements such as nominal or clausal direct objects need
to be emphasized, they are required to be preposed, as shown in [122] and [123],
respectively.

[122] a. 思东连[开玩笑的话]都会用了, 简直跟中国人一样了嘛!

si1dong1 lian2 kai1wan2xiao4 de0 hua4   dou1 hui4
Stone   even   joke   DE   words all   can

yong4 le0 jian3zhi2 gen1 zhong1guo2ren2 yi1yang4
use   LE   almost   PREP Chinese   same

le0   ma0
LE   MA
'Stone even knows how to use jokes. He is essentially a Chinese!'

b. 有时甚至连[计程车]ᵢ也不见得叫得到。
you3shi2   shen4zhi4 lian2 ji4cheng2che1   ye3
sometimes   even   even   taxi   also
bu2jian4de0 jiao4 de0 dao4
may_not   call   DE   come
'Sometimes one cannot even find a taxi.'

[123]   她居然连[我叫什么名字]都知道!
ta1   ju1ran2   lian2 wo3 jiao4 shen2me0   ming2zi0
she   unexpectedly even   I   call   what   name
dou1   zhi1dao4
all   know
'She even knows what I am called!'

These sentences often co-occur with adverbs like 甚至 *shen4zhi4*, 竟然 *jing4ran2*, and 居然 *ju1ran2* for further emphasis, as in [124].

[124]   甚至连[选举日]他们都宁愿加班。
shen4zhi4 lian2 xuan3ju3 ri4   ta1men0 dou1
even   even   election   day   they   all
ning2yuan4   jia1ban1
would_rather work_overtime
'They prefer to work overtime even on voting day.'

Given the societal value of voting in newly democratic Taiwan, working over-time on voting day is thought to be the least likely scenario. Thus [124] shows that a non-definite nominal can appear in this position for the meaning of 'not even one . . . '

In addition, the clause-initial 连- *lian2*- phrase is used for contrasting alterna-tives, as shown in [125].

[125]   凯洛琳不是你抢走的? 威玛不是你抢走的? 现在连[贝珍]你也要抢!
kai3luo4lin2 bu4 shi4 ni3 qiang3zou3 de0 wei1ma3
Caroline   NEG be   you   take_away   DE   Wilma
bu4 shi4 ni3 qiang3zou3 de0 xian4zai4 lian2
NEG   be   you   take_away   DE   now   even
bei4zhen1 ni3 ye3 yao4 qiang3
Bea_Jane   you   also want   take_away
'Didn't you take away Caroline? Didn't you take away Wilma! Now you want to take even Bea Jane away from me!'

While the clause-initial 连- *lian2*- phrase retains its focus status, it behaves similarly as a contrastive topic (CT), which may be addressee-new but discourse-old in the sense of having an understood alternative to be contrasted with.

When 连 *lian2* 'even' brings focus to a noun phrase denoting the smallest amount (一 or 半 + classifier + noun, often called a "minimizer") in negative sentences, the proposition denies the existence of even the smallest amount, resulting in the meaning of "none."

[126]   a.   他在山上 . . . 跑了一整天, 却连[一只野兔]都没有发现。

  ta1   zai4   shan1   shang4   pao3   le0   yi1   zheng3
  he   PREP   mountain   on   run   LE   one   whole

  tian1   que4   lian2   yi1   zhi1   ye3tu4   dou1   mei2you3
  day   yet   even   one   CL   hare   all   NEG

  fa1xian4
  find
  'He hunted a whole day on the mountain, but didn't find even a hare.'

  b.   思汉觉得自己很笨, 连[一个字]也没听懂。

  si1han4   jue2de0   zi4   hen3   ben4   lian2   yi1   ge4
  SIHAN   feel   self   very   stupid   even   one   CL

  zi4   ye3   mei2   ting1   dong3
  word   also   NEG   listen   understand
  'Sihan felt himself stupid; he didn't understand even a word.'

  c.   没有一个例外, 连[半个]都没有呢。

  mei2you3   yi1   ge4   li4wai4   lian2   ban4   ge4   dou1
  NEG   one   CL   exception   even   half   CL   all

  mei2you3   ne0
  NEG   NE
  'There is no exception, not even half an exception.'

  d.   当我们双腿一伸的时候, 连[一片云彩]我们都带不走。

  dang1   wo3men0   shuang1tui3yi1shen1   de0   shi2hou0
  when   we   die   DE   when

  lian2   yi1   pian4   yun2cai3   wo3men0   dou1
  even   one   CL   cloud   we   all

  dai4bu4zou3
  cannot_take_away
  'When we die, we cannot take away even a cloud.'

[127]   耶稣曾说过他要睡觉连[个枕头]都没有。

ye1su1   ceng2   shuo1   guo4   ta1   yao4   shui4jiao4   lian2
Jesus   once   say   GUO   he   want sleep   even

ge4   zhen3tou2   dou1   mei2you3
CL   pillow   all   NEG

'Jesus once said that he didn't even have a pillow to sleep on.'

[126a] means he didn't find any prey, not even a hare, which is assumed to be the most likely prey to be found. [126b] means Sihan didn't understand anything, and [126c] means the speaker didn't earn anything on his first day of business. Note the numeral 一 *yi1* 'one' can be omitted, as shown in [127].

With an appropriate context, the omission of 连 *lian2* 'even' before a minimizer does not affect the meaning in a negative sentence with a minimizer, as shown in [128].

[128]   a.   爸爸至少救了上百人, 可是[半个]都没有来家感谢的意思。

ba4ba0   zhi4shao3   jiu4   le0   shang4   bai3   ren2
father   at_least   save   LE   more_than   hundred   people

ke3shi4   ban4   ge4   dou1   mei2you3   lai2   jia1
but   half   CL   all   NEG   come   home

gan3xie4   de0   yi4si0
thank   DE   idea

'Dad saved nearly one hundred people, but none of them came to say thanks.'

b.   空洞洞的书包, 常常[一本书]也不带。

kong1dong4dong4   de0   shu1bao1   chang2chang2   yi1
empty   DE   school bag   often   one

ben3   shu1   ye3   bu4   dai4
CL   book   also   NEG   take

'The empty school bag often doesn't contain any books.'

When it is the verb that is focused, the verb is repeated between 连 *lian2* 'even' and 都/也 *dou4/ye3* 'all/also,' for example, the verbs in [129].

[129]   a.   他连[动]也动不了。

ta1   lian2   dong4   ye3   dong4bu4liao3
he   even   move   also   unable_to_move

'He couldn't even move.'

b.   菜却弄焦了, ... 小狗连[看]都不看一眼呢!

cai4   que4   nong4   jiao1   le0   xiao3   gou3   lian2   kan4
dish   yet   do   burnt   LE   small   dog   even   look

dou1　bu4　kan4　yi1　yan3　ne0
all　　NEG　look　one　eye　　NE
'The food was burned. The puppy would not even take a look at it.'

The direct object is sometimes not overtly expressed in its canonical object position or understood as a topic, for example, 菜 *cai4* 'meal' in [129b]. The 连 ... 都/也 *lian2 ... dou1/ye3* 'event ... all/also' sentences not only signal the informative element but also reveal the speaker's presupposition or expectation in pragmatic situations. The variation of clause-initial or medial 连-phrases pertains to the discourse flow. For the former type to be understood, a set of alternatives must be mentioned or understood in the context.

17.5. 只 *zhi3*, 只 (有) *zhi3 (you3)*, and 只(是) *zhi3 (shi4)*

Another focus construction witnesses word order variations in sentences containing the restrictive focus adverb 只 *zhi3* 'only' (see Chapter 6).

[130]　a.　他(投篮5次)**只**进1球。 [S-*zhi*-V−O]
　　　　　ta1　tou2lan2　wu3　ci4　zhi3　jin4　yi1　qiu2
　　　　　he　shoot　　　five　CL　only　enter　one　ball
　　　　　'He (shot five times) and only made one.'

　　　b.　他(投篮5次)**只有**1球投进了。 [S-*zhi(you)*-OV]
　　　　　ta1　tou2lan2　wu3　ci4　zhi3you3　yi1　qiu2　tou2
　　　　　he　shoot　　　five　CL　only　　　one　ball　shoot

　　　　　jin4　le0
　　　　　enter　LE
　　　　　'He (shot five times) and only made one shot.'

　　　c.　(投篮5次)**只有**1球他投进了。 [*zhi(you)*-OSV]
　　　　　tou2lan2　wu3　ci4　zhi3you3　yi1　qiu2　ta1　tou2
　　　　　shoot　　　five　CL　only　　　one　ball　he　shoot

　　　　　jin4　le0
　　　　　enter　LE
　　　　　'(Having shot five times) there was only one shot that he made.'

[131]　　我一想, 果然只有这条路可以走。
　　　　　wo3　yi1　xiang3　guo3ran2　　　zhi3you3　zhe4　tiao2
　　　　　I　　one　think　　as_expected　only　　　this　CL

　　　　　lu4　ke3yi3　zou3
　　　　　way　can　　walk
　　　　　'I realized that I can take only this path.'

[132]　牠刚从母体落地时, <u>仅仅</u>只有八九十克。

    ta1   gang1   cong2   mu3ti3   luo4di4   shi2   jin2jin3
    it   just   PREP   mother   born   when   only

    zhi3you3   ba1jiu3shi2   ke4
    only   eighty_to_ninety   gram

    'When it was just born, it only weighed 80 to 90 grams.'

In [130a], 只 *zhi3* 'only' precedes the verb phrase in a canonical SVO sentence. By contrast, the object focus is displaced to precede the verb, as in [130b], or to the clause-initial position, as in [130c]. The displacement is possible only when the verb 有 *you3* 'have' conflates with 只 *zhi3* 'only.' As the subject is often omitted, the pre-verbal 只有- *zhi3you3-* phrase is possible both in the clause-medial or initial positions, as in [131], meaning 'there is only X that.' Sometimes a restrictive adverb 仅仅 *jin3jin3* 'only,' for example, that in [132], may precede 只 *zhi3* 'only' for further emphasis.

When the subject is restricted, 只有 *zhi3you3* 'only' immediately precedes it and often co-occurs with another restrictive focus (strictly pre-verbal) adverb 才 *cai2*.

[133]　a.　孔子认为**只**有「天」才真正了解他。

        kong3zi3   ren4wei2   zhi3you3   tian1   cai2   zhen1zheng4
        Confucius   think   only   God   just   truly

        liao3jie3   ta1
        understand   he

        'Confucius thinks only "heaven" can understand him.'

    b.　大家都耻笑他, **只有**鲍叔牙替他辩护。

        da4jia1   dou1   chi3xiao4   ta1   zhi3you3   bao4shu2ya2
        everyone   all   mock   he   only   BAO_SHUYA

        ti4   ta1   bian4hu4
        PREP   he   defend

        'Everyone looks down on him. Only BAO Shuya defended him.'

Like other pre-verbal elements, adjuncts, when being restricted, are preceded by 只有 *zhi3you3* 'only,' as shown in [134].

[134]　[数十万只红尾伯劳群集一处的自然奇观], 全世界**只有**恒春才 看得到。

    shu4shi2wan4   zhi1   hong2wei3bo2lao2
    several_hundred_thousands   CL   brown_shrike

    qun2ji2   yi1   chu4   de0   zi4ran2   qi2guan1
    gather   one   place   DE   nature   wonder

    quan2shi4jie4   zhi3you3   heng2chun1   cai2
    all_over_the_world   only   Hengchun   just

kan4de2dao4
be_able_to_see
'The natural wonder of hundred thousands of brown shrikes gathering at one place can be watched only in Heng-chun.'

In addition to the restricting function, 只 *zhi3* 'only' is used to contrast with opposing alternative(s), sometimes juxtaposed with a negative conjunct.

[135] 解说人员的言论<u>只</u>代表他们个人观感, <u>而不</u>代表艺术中心或创作者。
jie3shuo1ren2yuan2   de0   yan2lun4   zhi3   dai4biao3
docent   DE   speech   only   represent

ta1men0   ge4ren2   guan1gan3   er2   bu4   dai4biao3
they   individual   opinion   but   NEG   represent

yi4shu4zhong1xin1   huo4   chuang4zuo4zhe3
art_center   or   artist
'What the docents say only represents their own personal views, not those of the art center or the artists.'

只 *zhi3* 'only' can co-occur with 是 *shi4* 'be' in regular specifying copular sentences to restrict the predicate rendering "only" or "just" in [136], as well as in the "not only" context in [137].

[136] 孔子原来**只是**个平凡的小孩, 家里很穷 . . .
kong3zi3   yuan2lai2   zhi3   shi4   ge4   ping2fan2   de0
Confucius   originally   only   be   CL   ordinary   DE

xiao3hai2   jia1li3   hen3   qiong2
child   family   very   poor
'Confucius was just an ordinary child, from a poor family . . .'

[137] 桂花乌龙不**只是**茶香味美而已, 还有一种细腻温润。
gui4hua1   wu1long2   bu4zhi3   shi4   cha 2   xiang1
osmanthus   oolong   not_only   be   tea   fragrant

wei4   mei3   er2yi3   hai2   you3   yi1   zhong3   xi4ni4
taste   good   only   also   have   one   CL   delicacy

wen1run4
tenderness
'Osmanthus oolong tea does not just have fragrance and taste, it also has a touch of delicacy and tenderness.'

A whole proposition may be restricted in cases when 只是 *zhi3shi4* 'be only' precedes the clause.

[138] 没有啦!... 只是昨天晚上有两名青少年骑车在街上游荡, 被人拿刀 砍伤...

     mei2you3 la0 zhi3shi4 zuo2tian1 wan3shang4 you3
     NEG   LA   only   yesterday   evening   have

     liang3 ming2 qing1shao4nian2 qi2 che1   zai4
     two   CL   young_man   ride scooter PREP

     jie1   shang4 you2dang4 bei4 ren2   na2   dao1
     street on   wander   BEI people use knife

     kan3 shang1
     stab hurt

     'Nothing! It was just that yesterday there were two young men riding scooters on the street and being stabbed . . .'

The restrictive semantics then gets further extended to concession to soften the (opposing) tone of the speech, indicated by the sentence-final particle 啦 *la0* in [138] and 罢了 *ba4le0* in [139].

[139] a. 投资再多的电厂也只是浪费罢了。

         tou2zi1 zai4 duo1 de0 dian4chang3 ye3 zhi3shi4
         invest   more many DE power_plant also only

         lang4fei4 ba4le0
         waste   BALE

         'No matter how much investment one puts in more power plants, it is just a waste.'

    b. 台湾并不产虎, 最多只是被昵称为大猫的石虎罢了!

         tai2wan1 bing4   bu4 chan3 hu3   zui4duo1
         Taiwan   however NEG produce tiger at_most

         zhi3shi4 bei4 ni4cheng1 wei4 da4 mao1 de0
         only   BEI nickname as   big cat   DE

         shi2hu3   ba4le0
         leopard_cat BALE

         'Taiwan does not have tigers. The closest to tigers is just the leopard cat, which is nicknamed "the big cat."'

There are other means to express uniqueness, such as by employing the modifiers 唯独 *wei2du2* 'only' or 唯一 *wei2yi1* 'only,' as shown in [140].

[140] a. 别的好说, 唯独这件事, 我不管就受不了。

         bie2de0 hao3shuo1   wei2du2 zhe4 jian4 shi4
         others   easy_to_handle only   this CL   thing

wo3   bu4   guan3   jiu4   shou4bu4liao3
I   NEG   intervene   thus   cannot_stand
'Other things are fine. Only this matter, I cannot stand ignoring it.'

b. 唯一比较困难的地方是台湾早期的资料都是用日语写的。

wei2yi1   bi3jiao4   kun4nan2   de0   di4fang1   shi4
only   comparatively   difficult   DE   place   be

tai2wan1   zao3qi1   de0   zi1liao4   dou1   shi4   yon4
Taiwan   early_stage   DE   material   all   be   use

ri4yu3   xie3   de0
Japanese   write   DE

'The only difficulty came from the fact that early documents in
Taiwan were all written in Japanese.'

Appendix: Punctuation

Shui Duen Chan

Punctuation, strictly speaking, is part of the orthography and not a proper component of the grammar. In reading and writing, however, punctuation marks bring out the subtlety in grammar which is often inadequately expressed by textual representation. In this sense, punctuation is not unlike prosody in speech: something that is needed for understanding and has to be considered in conjunction with the perceived phonemic units. Punctuation is a relatively new innovation in Chinese writing. Traditional Chinese printed texts did not have punctuation and until the early twentieth century, readers of Chinese texts were required to break down the text into different units, as mentioned in Chapter 1. Punctuation marks are now an integral part of written Chinese. They are symbols to indicate pauses, the nature and function of certain expressions, and the structure and organization of sentences.

There are seventeen types of punctuation marks in written Chinese: period, question mark, exclamation mark, comma, caesura mark, semicolon, colon, quotation marks, emphasis marks, parentheses, dash, ellipsis points, connection mark, interval mark, separation mark (slash), book title mark, and proper noun mark. They can be classified into two major categories:

1 Punctuation marks that indicate boundaries, which are divided into three subcategories:
   (a) markers of major (usually sentential) boundaries: period, question mark, and exclamation mark;
   (b) markers of secondary boundaries between expressions or clauses: comma and caesura mark; and
   (c) markers of boundary and relationship between two expressions: colon and semicolon.
2 Punctuation marks that indicate the nature and function of expressions, which are divided into five subcategories:
   (a) markers to enclose a quotation or to indicate emphasis: quotation marks and emphasis marks;
   (b) markers to indicate amendment or explanation: parentheses and dash;
   (c) markers to indicate omission: ellipsis points;

(d)   markers to indicate the relation between words: hyphen, interval mark, and slash mark; and

(e)   markers to indicate the nature of certain expressions: book title mark and proper noun mark.

A.1. Boundary-marking punctuation marks

As mentioned above, there are three subtypes of boundary-marking punctuation marks.

A.1.1. Marks marking major boundaries

A.1.1.1. Period

A period "。" is a small circle at the bottom part of the line. It is different in appearance from the Western period "." but has similar functions. It is conventionally used to mark major boundaries of a statement, regardless of whether it is the end of a grammatical sentence or not and irrespective of the length of the statement concerned. The single clause in [1a] is a complete sentence with a period at the end, while the four clauses in [1b] also form a sentence with only one period.

[1]　　a.　我会按照指示去做的。

wo3　hui4　an1　zhi3shi4　　qu4　zuo4　de0
I　　　will　PREP　instruction　go　　do　　DE
'I will act according to the instruction.'

　　　　b.　客人进门, 服务员要先问候, 然后带位, 再送上菜单。

ke4ren2　jin4men2　　fu2wu2yuan2　yao4　xian1　wen4hou4
guest　　　enter_door　waiter　　　　　must　first　greet

ran2hou4　dai4wei4　zai4　　song4shang4　cai4dan1
then　　　　lead_seat　again　present　　　　menu
'When the customers come in, the waiters should greet them, take them to their seats, and then present the menu.'

It is important to note that a Chinese period does not necessarily mark the end of a sentence like an English full stop. Very often, it marks a string of sentences forming a topic chain, like in [1b]. In terms of orthography, the rule that a period marks the end of a sentence simply does not work. A period can sometimes be used at the end of a directive or exclamatory sentence that does not convey a strong feeling. The directive in [2a] is a soft suggestion and [2b] is a soft exclamation in the form of an admiring statement. Both have a period at the end.

[2] a. 请您先等一下。
     qing3 nin2   xian1 deng3 yi1xia4
     please you(honorific) first   wait   a_bit
     'Please wait a minute.'

   b. 她可真聪明。
     ta1 ke3   zhen1 cong1ming2
     she in_fact truly   bright
     'She is really smart.'

A.1.1.2. Question mark

A question mark "?" is used at the end of a direct question, as in [3].

[3] 他为什么不来?
     ta1 wei4shen2me0   bu4   lai2
     she why   NEG   come
     'Why did he not come?'

   A question mark has the additional function of being used in the middle of a sentence to indicate an unknown factor, typically appearing between parentheses, to express uncertainty or suspicion. The question mark in [4a] indicates that the birth year of the person is unknown or uncertain, and the one in [4b] conveys the speaker's doubt about the status of the "experts."

[4] a. 李广 (? – 前 119 年) 是汉代着名大将。
     li3guang3   qian2 119 nian2 shi4 han4dai4
     LI_GUANG   before 119 year   be   HAN_dynastiy

     zhu4min2   da4jiang4
     well-known   general
     'LI Guang (?–119 BC) was a famous general in the HAN Dynasty.'

   b. 这些专家 (?) 的言论不值得相信。
     zhe4xie1 zhuan1jia1 de0 yan2lun4 bu4 zhi2de2
     these   experts   DE   words   not worthy

     xiang1xin4
     believe
     'Words by these so-called experts are not reliable.'

A.1.1.3. Exclamation mark

An exclamation mark is often used at the end of an exclamative sentence to express excitement, as in [5a], surprise, as in [5b], or admiration.

[5]   a.   好精彩的表演!
       hao3   jing1cai3   de0   biao3yan3
       very   superb   DE   performance
       'What a wonderful show!'

       b.   吓死我了!
       xia4si3   wo3   le0
       scare_death   I   LE
       '(You are /This is) scaring me to death!'

It could also be used to indicate a strong directive. [6a] is a command and [6b] is a warning, and both are marked with an exclamation mark.

[6]   a.   伙计!赶快开灯!
       huo3ji4   gan3kuai4   kai1deng1
       staff_member   hurry_up   turn_on_the_light
       'Waiter! Turn on the light right now!'

       b.   躲开点!
       duo3kai1   dian3
       dodge_away   a_bit
       'Stay away!'

A.1.2. Marks marking secondary boundaries

A.1.2.1. Comma

A comma marks the boundary between elements within a statement or topic chain, such as between the clauses in [7].

[7]   昆明四季如春, 山清水秀, 是个养老的好地方。
       kun1ming2   si4ji4ru2chun1   shan1qing1
       KUMING   four_season_as_spring   mountain_green

       shui3xiu4   shi4   ge4   yang3lao3   de0   hao3   di4fang
       water_clean BE   CL   retire   DE   good   place
       'Kuming has a spring-like climate all year round. It has green mountains and beautiful rivers. It is an ideal place for retirement.'

A comma is sometimes used to separate a long subject with the predicate, as in [8a], or to separate a verb with a long object, as in [8b].

[8]   a.   坦桑尼亚的沿海城市桑几巴尔, 是主要港口和商业中心。
       tan2sang1ni2ya4   de0   yan2hai3   cheng2shi4   sang1ji3ba1er3
       TANZANIA   DE   coastal   city   ZANZIBAR

shi4   zhu3yao4   gang3kou3   he2   shang1yan4   zhong1xin1
be   main   port   and   business   center
'The seaside city of Zanzibar in Tanzania, is the main port and commercial center of the country.'

b.   报告指出, 近年来的恶劣天气与全球暖化有着密切关系。
bao4gao4   zhi3chu1   jin4nian2lai2   de0   e4lie4   tian1qi4
report   point_out   recent_year   DE   bad   weather
yu3   quan1qiu2nuan3hua4   you3   zhe0   mi4qie4
PREP   global_warming   have   ZHE   close

guan1xi1
relation
'The report says that the bad weather in recent years is clearly due to global warming.'

It can also be used to mark an inserted element, as in [9].

[9]   巴黎, 世界上最繁华的大都市之一, 素有"花都"之称。
ba1li2   shi4jie4   shang4   zui4   fan2hua2   de0   da4
PARIS   world   PREP   most   prosperous   DE   big
du1shi4   zhi1yi1   su4you3   hua1du1   zhi1
metropolis   one_of   used_to_have   flower_city   DE
cheng1
name
'Paris, one of the most prosperous metropolises in the world, is known as "the city of flowers."'

Its last function is to indicate the pause after a vocative, as in [10].

[10]   老板, 你听见没有?
lao3ban3   ni3   ting1jian4   mei2you3
boss   you   hear   NEG
'Boss, did you hear that?'

A.1.2.2. Caesura mark

A caesura mark "、" looks like a tilted water drop. It is used to indicate the boundary between parallel phrases, as in [11a], or numbers in a sequence, as in [11b].

[11]   a.   我教过英国文学史、比较文学、散文、翻译和现代诗歌。
wo3   jiao1   guo4   ying1guo2   wen2xue2shi3
I   teach   GUO   England   literature_history

bi3jiao4wen2xue2   san3wen2   fan1yi4   he2
comparative_ literature   essay   translation   and

xian4dai4shi1ge1
Contemporary_Poetry
'I taught history of English literature, comparative literature, essay, translation, and contemporary poetry.'

b. 我在北京住了五、六年。
wo3   zai4   bei3jing1   zhu4   le0   wu3   liu4   nian2
I   ZAI   BEIJING   live   LE   five   six   year
'I lived in Beijing for five or six years.'

A.1.3. Marks denoting boundary and relationship between two expressions

A.1.3.1. Colon

A colon is used to prompt or introduce a text or clause that elaborates on the element before the colon, such as the direct quote in [12].

[12]   他逢人便问 : "什么地方可以找到红豆?"
ta1   feng2   ren2   bian4   wen4   shen2me0   di4fang1
he   meet   person   then   ask   what   place

ke3yi3   zhao3dao4   hong2dou4
can   find   red_bean
'He asked everybody he met: "Where could I find the red beans?"'

The elaboration after a colon can be a phrase that provides an explanation, comment, or description, as in the dictionary entry of [13a] and the announcement in [13b].

[13]   a.   袭击 : 出其不意地打击
xi2ji2   chu1qi1bu4yi4   de0   da3ji2
surprise_attack   unexpected   DE   strike
'surprise attack: to strike unexpectedly'

b.   地点 : 香港理工大学
di4dian3   xiang1gang3li3gong1da4xue2
location   HONG_KONG_POLYTECHNIC_UNIVERSITY
'venue: The Hong Kong Polytechnic University'

It is also used to indicate the pause after the vocative in a speech or addressee in a letter, as in [14].

[14] 各位嘉宾：
  ge4   wei4   jia1bin1
  each   CL   honorable_guest
  'Dear Guest.'

A.1.3.2. Semicolon

The typical use of a semicolon is to mark the boundary between coordinated parallel expressions, such as between the two coordinated causative complex sentences in [15].

[15] 有了门，我们可以出去；有了窗，我们可以不必出去。
  you3   le0   men2   wo3men0   ke3yi3   chu1qu4   you3   le0
  YOU   LE   door   we   can   go_out   YOU   LE

  chuang1   wo3men0   ke3yi3   bu4bi4   chu1qu4
  window   we   can   NEG   go_out
  'With door, we can go out (to the outside world); with window, we do not have to go out (to see the outside world).'

Another use for a semicolon is to indicate the end of items in a list, as in [16].

[16] 出发前的准备事项包括：
  chu1fa1   qian2   de0   zhun3bei4   shi4xiang4   bao1gua1
  start_out before DE   preparation issues   include
  'Preparations before the trip are:'

  一、把水箱加满水；
  yi1   ba3   shui3xiang1   jia1man3   shui3
  one   BA   radiator   add_full   water
  '1. to fill the radiator with water;'

  二、检查轮胎的气压；
  er4   jian3cha2   lun2tai1   de0   qi4ya1
  two   check   tire   DE   pressure
  '2. to check the air pressure of the tires;'

  三、把油箱加满汽油；
  san1   ba3   you2xiang1   jia1man3   you2
  three BA   gas_tank   add_full   gas
  '3. to fill the gas tank;'

四、多带一个备胎。
si4   duo1   dai4   yi1   ge4   bei4tai1
four   more   bring   one   CL   spare_tire
'4. to get an extra spare tire.'

A.2. Punctuation marks indicating the nature and function of expressions

When such marks are used, the marked element will be assigned a specific function or a particular status.

A.2.1. Marks enclosing a quotation or indicating emphasis

A.2.1.1. Quotation marks

There are two quotation marks, double quotation marks [" "] and single quotation marks [' ']. These paired punctuation marks mark direct speech, or expressions that should receive special attention or are carrying some connotative meaning. Under normal circumstances, double quotation marks [" "] are the choice, as in [17a]. Single quotation marks [' '] are used to indicate a quotation within a quotation, as illustrated in [17b].

[17]   a.   二乔问伙计："新娘子来了没有？"伙计答道："来了。"
              er4qiao2   wen4   huo3ji4   xin1nian2zi0   lai2   le0
              ERQIAO   ask   staff_member   bride   come   LE

              mei2you3   huo3ji4   da2dao4   lai2   le0
              NEG   staff_member   reply_say   come   LE
              'Erqiao asked the waiter, "Has the bride arrived?" The waiter said,
              "Yes. She has."'

       b.   她对记者说："我不喜欢在歌里出现'炸弹'这种字眼。"
              ta1   dui4   ji4zhe3   shuo1   wo3   bu4   xi3huan1   zai4
              she   PREP   reporter   say   I   NEG   like   PREP

              ge1   li3   chu1xian4   zha4dan4   zhe4   zhong3   zi4yan3
              song   in   appear   bomb   this   CL   wording
              'She told reporters, "I do not like words like 'bomb' to appear in the
              lyrics."'

A.2.1.2. Emphatic marks

Emphasis marks highlight the importance of the word or words that should be marked to attract special attention. They are written as a string of small dots placed beneath the words concerned, like those in [18]:

[18]   离港旅客必须出示登机证及旅行证件, 接受保安人员检查。

li2   gang3   lü3ke4   bi4xu1   chu1shi4
depart   HK   passenger   must   show
deng1ji1zheng4   ji2   lü3xing2zheng4jian4   jie1shou4
boarding_pass   and   travel_document   receive
bao3an1ren2yuan2   jian3cha2
security_personnel   check
'Departing passengers should have their boarding pass and travel
document ready for inspection by security personnel.'

A.2.2. Marks indicating amendment or explanation

A.2.2.1. Parentheses

Parenthetical marks come in several paired forms. The most common are parentheses "( )," while square brackets "[ ]," hexagon brackets "〔 〕," and thick brackets "【 】" are variants. Parentheses are typically used to indicate an explanation, a supplement, or an amendment, as in [19]:

[19]   祭品中绝对少不了的是"糖瓜儿" (一种瓜形的麦芽糖)。
ji4pin3   zhong1   jue2dui4   shao3bu4liao3   de0
worship_offering   among   absolutely   lack_NEG_LE   DE
shi4   tang2gua1er0   yi1   zhong3   gua1xing2   de0
BE   Sugar_melon   one   CL   melon_shape   DE
mai4ya2tang2
malt_candy
'One that is absolutely necessary among the offering is "sugar melon"
(which is melon-shaped malt candy).'

Parentheses are also used with numbers or order words, as in [20a] where some major punctuation marks are listed with numbering. Square and hexagon brackets "[ ], 〔 〕" are typically used with the name of an era or country, as in [20b]. Thick brackets "【 】" are used with the name of a press agency or lexical entries in dictionaries, as in [20c].

[20]   a.   (1) 句号 *ju4hao4*; (2) 问号 *wen4hao4*; (3) 感叹号 *gan3tan4hao4*.
           '(1) period; (2) question mark; (3) exclamation mark.'

        b.   [英] 达尔文《物种起源》
            ying1   da2er3wen2   wu4zhong4qi3yuan2
            ENGLAND   DARWIN   THE_ORIGIN_OF_SPIECES
            '*On the Origin of Species* by Darwin of England.'

〔宋〕苏轼著《苏轼文集》
song4   su1shi4   zhu4   shu1shi4wen2ji2
SONG   SU_SHI   author   COLLECTED_ESSAYS_BY_SU_SHI
'*A Collection of Su Shi's Essays* by Su Shi of the Song Dynasty.'

c.   【路透社3月15日讯】
lu4tou4she4   3   yue4   15   ri4   xun4
REUTERS   3   month   15   day   dispatch
'Reuters, March 15'

【扣除】从总额中减去：扣除伙食费。
kou4chu2   cong2   zong3e2   zhong1   jian3qu4
deduction   PREP   total_sum   in   minus

kou4chu2   huo2shi2fei4
deduct   food_expenses
'Deduction: what is taken out of the sum, e.g., deduction of food expenses.'

A.2.2.2. Dash

A dash is normally used to indicate an explanation, or to mark an insertion or summary. It can mark an extended pause or a prolonged speech sound. The dash in [21a] introduces an explanation to the cliché that goes before it, while the two dashes in [21b] indicate a prolonged pronunciation of the word 你 *ni3* 'you.'

[21]   a.   泥菩萨过江--自身难保
ni2pu2sa4   guo4   jiang1   zi4sheng   nan2   bao3
mud-Budda   cross   river   self   hard   keep
'A mud Buddha statue crossing the river: not even sure if it can keep itself safe.'

b.   你瞧--你--你倒是评评理看!
ni3   qiao2   ni3   ni3   dao4shi4   ping2ping2li3   kan4
you   watch   you   you   indeed   judge_judge   see
'You take a look, you, you make a fair judge!'

Another usage of the dash is to introduce a subtitle, as in [22a], or to indicate supplementary information to a quotation or a name, such as the author in [22b].

[22]   a.   从毕加索到爱因斯坦
--《大学英文读本》编后
cong2   bi3jiasuo3   dao4   ai4yin1si1tan3
PREP   PICASSO   PREP   EINSTEIN

da4xue2ying1wen2du2ben3   pian1   hou4
COLLEGE_ENGLISH_READER   edit   after
'From Picasso to Einstein – A note after compilation of *University English Reader*.'

b. 举头望明月, 低头思故乡。
–– 李白
ju3tou2   wang4   ming2yue4
raise_head   gaze   bright_moon
di1tou2   si1   gu4xiang1
lower_head miss homeland
li3bai2
LI_BAI/LI_PO
'"Head raised, gazing at the Moon bright and clear, lowered, yearning for hometown far and away" – by LI Bai/LI Po.'

A.2.3. Marks of omission

Ellipsis points "......" are six small dots close to the bottom of a line. They are mainly used to indicate omissions from listed items or a quoted text or speech. The ellipsis points in [23a] indicate that the speaker utters quite a number of 好 *hao3* 'fine' as well as 你赢了 *ni3 ying2le0* 'you win.' If the omitted part is a whole line or a paragraph, the number of dots can be increased to twelve. The quoted statements in [23b] are part of a long list of eulogies to an author who has passed away and the twelve dots indicate that the list is very long. Although six- or twelve-dot ellipsis points are prescribed, in actual use speakers often use as few as three and sometime even an arbitrary number of dots. It is very rare, however, to see more than thirteen dots.

[23] a. 他气得连声说道 : "好, 好......你赢了, 你赢了......"
ta1 qi4   de0 lian2sheng2 shuo1 dao4 hao3 hao3
he angry DE repeatedly   say   that   fine fine
ni3 yin2 le0 ni3 yin2 le0
you win LE you win LE
'He got so angry that he uttered repeatedly, "Fine, fine . . . You won. You won . . ."'

b. "这个作家真像是时代的一面镜子。"
"他的作品是生活的镜子。"
. . . . . .
zhe4 ge4 zuo4jia1 zhen1 xiang4 shi4 shi2dai4 de0
this CL   author   true   like   be   era   DE

yi1	mian4	jing4zi0	ta1de0	zuo4pin3	zhen1	shi4
one	CL	mirror	his	work	true	be

sheng1huo2	de0	jing4zi0
life	DE	mirror

'This writer is like a mirror of our time.'

'His work is a reflection of life.'

. . .

A.2.4. Marks indicating relationship between words

A.2.4.1. Hyphen

There are three kinds of hyphens, the long hyphen "–," the short hyphen "-," and the tilde "~," which can sometime be a variant of the short hyphen. The long hyphen is used to represent two endpoints of a range of items mentioned, such as the range of page numbers in [24a], or the two endpoints of a journey, as in [24b].

[24] a. 第10–28 页

di4	shi2	er4shi2ba1	ye4
DI	ten	twenty_eight	page

'from page 10 to page 28'

 b. 北京–上海旅客快车

bei3jing1	shang4hai2	lü3ke4	kuai4che1
BEIJING	SHANGHAI	passenger	express

'passenger express train from Beijing to Shanghai'

The short hyphen is used between words in a compound involving different orthographic units, such as between a character and a numeral in [25a]. The tilde, on the other hand, is used to mark the range of numbers in estimation.

[25] a. 歼-10 歼击机

jian1	10	jian1ji2ji1
strike	10	jet_fighter

'F-10 jet fighter'

 b. 30 ~ 35 克

30	50	ke4
30	50	gram

'between 30 to 35 grams'

A.2.4.2. Interval mark

An interval mark is a small dot " • " appearing at the middle level of a line and is used to separate related words, such as between the first, middle, and last names

of foreigners, as in [26a], between the book title and the chapter title, as in [26b], and between the dates of events, as in [26c].

[26]   a.   乔治•华盛顿
   qiao2zhi4 hua2sheng4dun4
   GEORGE WASHINGTON
   'George Washington'

  b.   《论语•颜渊》
   lun2yu3   yan2yuan1
   THE_ANALECTS YAN_YUAN
   'Chapter *Yan Yuan* in *Confucian Analects*'

  c.   九•一八事变
   jiu3   yi1ba1 shi4bian4
   September eighteen incident
   'The September Eighteenth Incident.'

A.2.4.3. Slash

A slash is used to indicate alternative lexical items in a text, which often marks a coordinative ellipsis. Sometimes it can be written as a straight line "|."

[27] 登记/补领身份证
   deng1ji4 bu3ling3   sheng2fen4zheng4
   register receive_replacement identity_card
   'to register for or to receive reissued identification card'

A.2.5. Marks indicating the nature of expressions

A.2.5.1. Book title mark

A book title mark is a pair of double angle brackets "《 》" or single angle brackets "〈 〉." It is used to mark the title of books, magazines, journals, plays, movies, songs, or TV programs, as in [28a]. The double angle brackets are used more commonly, while the single angle brackets are normally used to indicate a title within a title, as in [28b].

[28]   a.   《现代汉语》
   xian4dai4 han4yu3
   modern Chinese
   '*Modern Chinese*'

b. 《评 <狂人日记>》
　　ping2　kuang2ren2　ri4ji4
　　review　mad_man　　diary
　　'On *The Diary of a Mad Man*'

A.2.5.2. Proper noun mark

The proper noun mark is used to mark proper nouns, including the names of a person, place, dynasty, religion, and other proper nouns. It is written as an underline when horizontal writing is used, such as in [29], and a vertical line to the left when vertical writing is used.

[29]　　　《永乐大典》是在明朝皇帝朱棣的授意下编撰的。
　　　　　yong3le4　da4dian3　　　shi4　zai4　ming2chao2
　　　　　YONGLE　great_classics　be　　PREP　MING_dynasty

　　　　　huang2di4　zhu1di4　de0　shou4yi4　　　xia4
　　　　　emperor　　ZHU_DI　DE　authorization　under

　　　　　bian1zhuan4　de0
　　　　　edit_author　DE
　　　　　'*The Great Classics of Yongle* was compiled under the authorization of Emperor ZHU Di of the MING Dynasty.'

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